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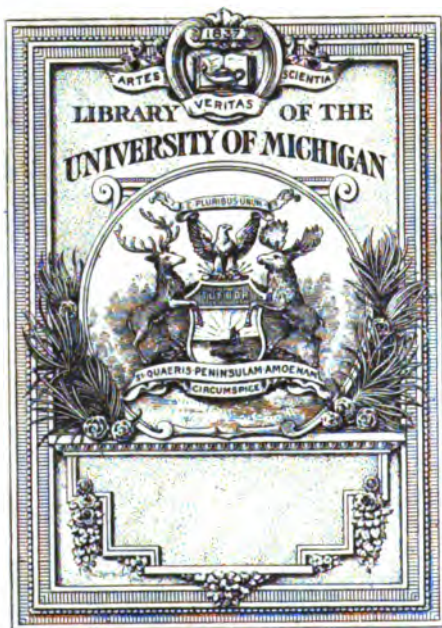
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THE 2-308

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. II.



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Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

*The History of the Arabs, to the taking of Baghdád
by the Tartars.*

SECT. IV.

THE *Arabs*, as well as the foreigners at that time in *Ali* is un-
the city of *Medina*, being informed of *Othmán's* animously
death, were divided in their sentiments about a suc-*ceeded*
cessor. *Telha* and *Zobeir* having assembled the *An-Khalif*,
fárs and *Mohájerin*, declared for *Ali*, tho' in their hearts they
hated him ; as did also *Ayesha*, the youngest and best-beloved
wife of *Mohammed*. But the *Arabs* being, for the most part,
inclined to favour him, not only on account of the near re-
lation he bore to the prophet, but likewise of the immediate
alliance he had contracted with *Mohammed's* family, by mar-
MOD. HIST. VOL. II. A rying

rying his daughter *Fâtema*, they thought proper to dissemble their aversion to him, and even the very day on which *Othmân* was murdered, to take the oath of allegiance to him. This, however, they resolved to break as soon as a proper opportunity of doing it offered. The *Basrans*, in the mean time, shewed a disposition to favour *Telba*; tho' *Zobeir* had likewise a considerable party amongst them. The *Cûfans* and *Egyptians* had the highest regard for *Ali*, as well as the *Arabs*; so that his interest was too powerful to admit of any competitor. However, *Zobeir's* friends declared themselves so warmly for him, or at least for any other person whose interest he should support, that they threatened him with death, if he did not either take the government upon himself, or see it immediately conferred upon some other person. The troops likewise that had arrived from *Mesopotamia*, *Persia*, and the different parts of *Arabia*, as well as those from *Basra* and *Egypt*, in order to depose *Othmân*, resolved to cut off all the candidates for the *Khalifat*, if one of them was not without delay advanced to that dignity. The eyes, therefore, of all were fixed upon *Ali* at this critical juncture; and the principal men pressed him with unusual vehemence to accept of the honour designed him, as being the best qualified for it, both by his personal accomplishments and the affinity he bore to the prophet. To this he discovered for some time an invincible reluctance, saying, "he had much rather serve another in the capacity of *Wazîr*, or *Vîsîr*, than take upon himself the government." The troops being apprized of this, and finding that the family of *Ommiyah* had withdrawn themselves, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, and insisted upon the inhabitants of *Medina's* bringing the controversy to a decision; declaring, that they would allow them but one day to consider of it; and that if, in that time, a *Khalîf* was not elected, they would put *Telba*, *Zobeir*, *Ali*, and several others, to the sword. This struck the citizens of *Medina* with such terror, that they again pressed *Ali* in the most suppliant manner to suffer himself to be inaugurated; and, upon his again declining this, they adjured him by God to consider the lamentable condition in which they were, the miserable state of their religion, and the distraction of the whole nation. Overcome at last with such pathetical exclamations, he answered, "If I should comply with your request, I will always act according to the best of my knowledge; and if you will excuse me, I shall ever be one of the most submissive and obedient of all the *Moslems* to whomsoever you shall be pleased to set over me." Then addressing himself to *Telba* and *Zobeir*, who intreated him in the most moving terms to accept of the *Khalifat*, he said, "If you intend

" 10

“ to recognize my authority, as the successor of *Mahammed*,
 “ swear to be faithful to me; otherwise permit me to take
 “ the oath of allegiance to one of you.” The latter of
 which proposals they refused, and consequently accepted of
 the former; upon which, *Ali* was immediately proclaimed
Khalif. He was the son of *Abu Táleb*, the son of *Abd’al-*
motaleb, the son of *Hâshem*; his mother, according to *Al*
Makin, being *Fâtma*, the daughter of *Afed*, the son of *Hâ-*
shem. He was elected, by the unanimous suffrages of the
Moslems, emperor of the faithful, to use the *Arab* stile, the
 same day that *Othmán* was slain. It seems to be intimated
 by *Al Makin*, that *Ali*, immediately after his election, con-
 stituted *Kais Ebn Sa’id*, governor, or prefect, of *Egypt*.*

ALI being thus advanced to the *Khalifat* without opposi- And inau-
 tion, though many were secretly disgusted at his election, re- gured is
 solved to be inaugurated publicly in the mosque at *Medina*, the mosque
 that all parties might be satisfied, and have no just cause of at Me-
 complaint. This he judged a necessary precaution, as *Ayesha*, dina.
Telba, *Zobeir*, and the house of *Ommiyah*, of which *Muâ-*
wiyyah, the governing prefect of *Syria*, was chief, had con-
 ceived so strong a prejudice against him; which, he was sen-
 sible, would prompt them to give him all the disturbance in
 their power. He, therefore, went to the mosque in a thin cot-
 ton gown, tied about him with a girdle, with a coarse turban
 upon his head, carrying his slippers in one hand, and in the
 other a bow, which he made use of as a walking-staff. Upon
 his arrival there, *Telba* and *Zobeir* were sent for, who instantly
 came, and gave him their hands, as a mark or token of their
 approbation of what had been done. After which, with great
 seeming alacrity, they took the oath of allegiance to him;
 and many of the principal persons in *Medina* followed their
 example. When *Telba* offered *Ali* his hand, it was observed
 by *Habib Ebn Dhowaib*, that the fingers were contracted by
 a wound he had formerly received; which he considered as
 ominous, saying, “ A lame hand seems to indicate, that the
 “ business done by it will be performed in a lame manner;
 “ how proper, therefore, would it be to have it undone!”
 Which kind of prophecy was afterwards fulfilled, as in the
 sequel of the history of *Ali* will more fully appear. We must
 not forget to observe, that the house of *Ommiyah*, the traitor
Murwân Ebn Al Hakem, *Sa’id Ebn Al As*, and *Walid Ebn*

* *AL JANNAB. EBN AL ATHIR*, in hist. univers. vol. ii. MSS.
Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 137. *ISM. ABULFED*. hist.
 univ. vol. i. MSS. *Pocock*. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 303.
GREG. ABU’L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 185. *AL MAKIN*, in hist. Sara-
 cen. lib. i. c. v. p. 36. *EUTYCH*, ubi sup. p. 342, 343.

Akba, refused to have the oath of fidelity to *Ali* administered to them. They, therefore, probably did not attend at his inauguration, which happened on *Friday* the 25th day of *Dhu'l-bajja*, and the 35th year of the *Hejra*; nearly answering to the year of our Lord 655^b.

Ali resolved to dismiss the governors of provinces appointed by *Othmân*. AFTER the recognition of his authority, *Ali* resolved to dismiss all those governors of provinces, who had been put into their posts by his predecessor *Othmân*; but *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, not *Ebn Said*, as he is called by *D'Herbelot*, endeavoured to divert him from this resolution; at least till he had more firmly established himself in the government: This advice not proving agreeable to *Ali*, *Al Mogheirah* visited him the next day, and told him, that he had altered his opinion, and found it highly expedient to execute the project he had formed. In the midst of this conference, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbas*, who was just returned from *Mecca*, came in; and having been informed of the subject they were upon, told the *Khalif*, that "*Al Mogheirah's* first advice was good, but the last treachery. For," said he, "all *Syria* will immediately declare for *Moawiyah*, upon the first news of his dismissal; and as no confidence can be reposed either in *Telha* or *Zobeir*, there is great reason to believe, that, upon the eruption of a flame in *Syria*, they will both appear in arms against you. Wherefore," continued he, "permit *Moawiyah* to remain in the post he at present enjoys, till his submission; after which, I will undertake to pull him out of his house by the ears, whenever you desire it." But *Ali* swore, that "*Moawiyah's* portion should be the sword." Which induced the other to tell him, that "he was a man, indeed, of admirable courage, but not of equal conduct." After the conclusion of this conference, *Al Mogheirah* retired to *Mecca*; and the *Khalif* persisted in his former resolution. In agreement with *Abd'allah's* observation, relating to the courage of *Ali*, we are told by some of the eastern writers, that this *Khalif*, for his unparalleled bravery, was surnamed by the Arabs the lion of God, always victorious.

Telha and Zobeir retire to Mecca. THOUGH *Ayesha* was at first very well pleased with the news of the murder of *Othmân*, to which she had not a little contributed, as hoping that her favourite *Telha* would succeed him in the *Khalifat*; yet being afterwards informed, that *Ali* had been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the *Moslems*, she expressed a great concern for that tragical event. Nay,

^b AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali*, p. 89.

^c ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 186. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 9, 10, 11.

the accused *Ali*, in order to render him odious to the house of *Ommiyah*, to which *Othmân* belonged, of the perpetration of that horrid fact; when there was in reality not the least ground or pretext for such an accusation. Some of the *Moslems*, therefore, who knew how active she had been in that bloody affair, reprehended her for endeavouring to throw the odium of so black a crime upon an innocent person; since she could not but be conscious of her own guilt, as having been one of the first who suggested, and even strongly recommended, the late *Khalif*'s assassination to his rebellious subjects. But in answer to what was objected to her conduct on this occasion, she replied, that *Othmân*'s infidelity obliged her at first to declare against him; but that, on his repentance and reconversion, she became reconciled to him, and would have saved him, had it been in her power. At the time of *Ali*'s inauguration, as well as when the disaffected *Arabs* murdered *Othmân*, she was at *Mecca*, and enjoyed a very considerable share of influence and authority there. Not content with this, she endeavoured to animate all orders and degrees of men against the new *Khalif*; and was continually employed in forming schemes to embarrass the administration. Nor did she want persons of note to forward and promote all her wicked machinations. For, in the beginning of the 36th year of the *Hejra*, *Telba Ebn Obeid'allah* and *Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, with others of their party, represented to *Ali*, that the assassins, who had embued their hands in the blood of *Othmân*, ought to be brought to condign punishment; offering him, at the same time, their assistance for that purpose. This they did, purely to sow amongst the people the seeds of sedition, and occasion disturbances that might finally weaken *Ali*'s party, and terminate in his destruction. The *Khalif* perceiving their intention, represented to them the impossibility of carrying their design at present into execution, by reason of the civil dissensions which so distracted the *Arab* nation. Upon which, they desisted from all farther solicitations on that head. However, as *Ali* found, by this effort of *Telba* and *Zobeir*, supported by *Ayesha*, to embroil his affairs, that he had very powerful enemies to contend with, he took all possible opportunities of caressing the *Koreish*, hoping by this means to conciliate to him the affections of that powerful tribe. Which step was, indeed, very expedient; as the departure of the *Ommiyan* family had irritated a considerable part of his subjects, and occasioned in some provinces of the empire great murmurings and commotions. In the mean time, *Telba* and *Zobeir*, notwithstanding the repulse they had lately met with, desired *Ali* to confer upon one of them the government of *Cûsa*, and upon the other that of *Basra*; pretending,

that they should thereby be enabled to extinguish with the greater ease any rebellion that might happen in the neighbourhood of either of those cities. But the *Khalif*, by this request, easily penetrated their designs, and excused himself from complying with it, by telling them, that as his government was not yet sufficiently established, he should stand in need of persons of their great capacity, so much superior to that of any of his other ministers, to consult with on such emergencies as might happen in an unsettled state. This answer nettled them to a great degree; but they were obliged to appear satisfied with it. However, they resolved to attempt undermining that government they could not assail by open force; and, therefore, knowing that *Ayesha* was gone on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, they begged leave of the *Khalif* to go likewise on the same occasion thither. This they hoped would give them an opportunity of caballing with *Ayesha*, and of executing, in conjunction with her, the pernicious scheme they had formed. *Ali* was sufficiently aware of this, tho' he permitted them to go to *Mecca*, for the reason they assigned. However, he was determined to have a strict eye upon them, and narrowly to watch all their proceedings in that place.

A strong
party
formed
against
Ali.

THINGS being in this situation, a civil war, or rather an open rebellion, soon seemed absolutely inevitable. Every step that was taken on both sides, that is, by the *Motazalites*, or *Separatists*, for so those who adhered to the house of *Qmmiyah* were called, and the *Khalif*, after this, manifestly tended to a rupture. The *Motazalites* in a little time had two considerable armies on foot, ready to enter upon action; one under the command of *Moâwiyah* in *Syria*, and another headed by *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, at *Mecca*, that began to be in motion. The *Khalif*, contrary to the salutary advice given him by *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, resolved to remove all the governors of provinces who had their posts assigned them by *Othmân*, and to appoint others in their room, that he could intirely depend upon. In pursuance of which resolution, he dispatched *Sahel Ebn Hanif*, the *Ansâr*, to *Syria*; *Kais Ebn Sa'id* to *Egypt*; *Othmân Ebn Hanif* to *Basra*; *Ammârab Ebn Sahal* to *Cûsa*; and *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* to *Yaman*. *Sahel* being arrived at *Tabûc*, on the confines of *Syria*, met a party of horse that had been sent thither by *Moâwiyah*, whose commander obliged him to return home. A great number of the *Egyptians* refused to receive *Kais*, and to submit to *Ali's* government, till the murderers of *Othmân* had been brought to justice. *Othmân Ebn Hanif* found the people divided at *Basra*;

• AL MARIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

how-

however, with some difficulty, he took possession of his post; but the *Cûfans* being determined not to acknowledge the new *Khalif*, *Ammar* was obliged to return to *Ali*, with the news of their resolution. *Abdallah Ebn Abbâs* was received in *Yaman*; but, before his arrival, *Yak*, who had received his commission from *Othmân*, plundered the treasury, made the best of his way to *Mecca*, and deposited the money in the hands of *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*. In the mean time, *Ali* made the necessary dispositions for his defence, and was joined by the *Ansârs*, who came over to him almost unanimously in abody*.

MOAWIYAH having driven *Sabel Ebn Hanif* out of *Syria*, *Moâwi-* assembled a body of troops on the frontiers, as well as a nu- yah de- merous army, to take vengeance of the murderers of *Othmân*, *clares* He did his utmost to inspire the people under his government *against* with an abhorrence of *Ali*, whom he represented, on all oc- *bim*. casions, as the principal person concerned in the assassination of his predecessor. He exposed on the pulpit the bloody shirt in which *Othmân* was murdered, with his wife's fingers, that were cut off when that tragedy was acted, fixed upon it, to public view. This so incensed the *Syrian* forces, that they vowed to revenge the violent death of *Othmân*; and were undoubtedly sincere in their resolution. But as for *Ayesha* and her associates, they were not at all displeased with the murder of *Othmân*, having in reality been deeply concerned in that murder; but only exclaimed against that barbarous action, in order to be furnished with a pretext to take up arms, and to be supported by the house of *Ommiyah* in their attempts against the present *Khalif*. This was very well known to *Ali*, though *Moâwiyah* seems to have been a stranger to it. *Sabel* arrived at *Medina* just before the departure of *Telha* and *Zobeir* for *Mecca*; and, by the news he brought from *Syria*, they plainly perceived that a rupture with *Moâwiyah* was at hand. However, the *Khalif*, probably with a view of concealing from them his true intentions, declared his resolution to make use of all possible expedients to prevent at least the speedy commencement of hostilities. He, therefore, dispatched an express to *Moâwiyah* in *Syria*, and another to *Abu Mûsa* at *Cûfa*, with a letter to each of those commanders, in order to dispose them to an accommodation. With regard to the latter, the overtures made him on this occasion were so advantageous, that he seems to have immediately closed with them. For, in answer to *Ali*'s letter, he assured him, that all the *Cûfans* were intirely at his service; and moreover sent him a list of those who came in

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

first of their own accord, as well as of those who afterwards followed their example. It can, therefore, scarce be doubted but *Ali*, at least, confirmed *Abu Mûsa* in his government of *Cûfa*, if he did not make some farther concessions to that general. As for *Moâwiyah*, he did not so much as vouchsafe the *Khalif* an answer, till a considerable time after his letter came to hand. Then he sent one by a courier, dispatched for that purpose to *Medina*, sealed up, with the following direction: *From Moâwiyah to Ali*. This the *Khalif* opened, and found it to be a mere blank, not so much as a single word being visible in it. Turning then to *Moâwiyah's* courier, he asked him, "What news was stirring in *Syria*?" To which the messenger replied, "There are no less than 60,000 men in arms under *Othmân's* shirt, which is erected as a standard upon the pulpit at *Damascus*." *Ali* then asked, "Whether or no they required the blood of *Othmân* at his hands?" At the same time he called GOD to witness that he was innocent of it, and implored the divine assistance. As he could view *Moâwiyah's* pretended letter in no other light than that of a token of the utmost defiance and contempt, and the troops assembled under *Othmân's* shirt were destined to act against him, he told *Ziyâd*, who sat by him, that a war in *Syria* was inevitable; which *Ziyâd* soon communicated to the people. The *Khalif* then wrote circular letters to the different provinces of *Arabia*, ordering them to send him a proper number of recruits; and exhorted his subjects to distinguish themselves in the war they were going to enter upon against the disturbers of the public repose. We are told by *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, as well as *Theophanes*, that, about this time, *Moâwiyah* was actually proclaimed *Khalif*, and inaugurated, by the western provinces, or, in other words, the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* troops^f.

Ayesha

*begins her
march for
Basra.*

TELHA and *Zobeir* having made their escape to *Mecca*, under the pretext of performing the pilgrimage thither, gave a lamentable account of the murder of *Othmân*, aggravating extremely every circumstance of that barbarous action, to *Ayesha*; thinking by this means, as in reality they did, to make themselves more agreeable to her. Not long after their arrival, *Yali*, *Othmân's* governor of *Yaman*, likewise arrived at *Mecca*, and delivered the public money he had brought with him into the hands of *Ayesha*, under whose auspices *Telha* and *Zobeir* were just beginning to act. This communicating life and activity to their councils, they soon assem-

^f EBN AL ATHIR, in hist. univ. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 137. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 288. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Ali*.

bled a body of troops, with which, in conjunction with the forces of the house of *Ommiyah*, they proposed to march against *Ali*, and his adherents. To this *Ayesha*, who put herself at the head of these troops, was excited by the account of the distracted situation of the *Khalif's* affairs at *Medina*, she had received from *Telha* and *Zobeir*. They were, however, at a loss for some time what place to chuse for the scene of their military operations. *Ayesha* was for striking at the root, and marching directly to *Medina*, where *Ali's* affairs were so miserably embarrassed; others were of opinion, that it would be the most proper to join the *Syrian* army under the command of *Moáwiyah*; and, lastly, others believed that the good of the common cause required them to move as soon as possible to *Basra*, where *Telha* had a considerable interest. After mature deliberation, the last expedient was pitched upon as the most conducive to the attainment of the salutary end they had in view; and therefore public notice was given to the inhabitants of *Mecca*, that "as the mother of the faithful, with *Telha* and *Zobeir*, was upon the point of setting out for *Basra*, all who were desirous of supporting the true religion, and revenging the death of *Othmán*, might join the forces that attended her in this expedition." This produced a very good effect. For, in a short time, the *Mec-cans* reinforced the troops she had already on foot with a body of 600 men, and at least an equal number of camels; so that, at her departure out of *Mecca*, she found herself at the head of 1000 *Arabs*, all determined to fight for the faith, which they apprehended to be in danger by the advancement of *Ali* to the *Khalifat*, with the most undaunted bravery. The camel on which *Ayesha* rode, that had been presented to her by *Menhah*, was called *Al Ascar*, that is, *the army*, and cost an hundred *dinárs*. Mounted on this camel in a litter, she led her forces out of *Mecca*; which, by the accession of several other parties of *Arabs* on their march, before her arrival at *Basra*, formed a body of about 3000 men. The first place to which she advanced was *Jowáb*, a village of no great note, situated upon a rivulet of the same name.

UPON *Ayesha's* approach to *Jowáb*, all the dogs in the place met her in a body, and barked at her with great fury. As she had a mind to rest, or rather halt, here, she made use of this accident as a pretext to take up her lodging in that village. She declared, that the prophet himself had once intimated to his wives on a journey, in her hearing, that it was advisable to lodge within the barking of the dogs of *Jowáb*;

* EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 37. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 186.

and had even predicted the present uncommon event. After citing, therefore, a passage of the *Korân*, she struck her camel on the leg to make him kneel, in order to dismount; resolving to remain there at least the following night. But *Telha* and *Zobeir* knowing of what vast importance a forced march would be to them at this critical juncture, when they apprehended that *Ali* would soon come up with them, prevailed upon fifty persons to swear, that this village went by another name; though this did not enable them to divert *Ayesha* from her former resolution. At last, by order of those commanders, one of the soldiers cried out, "Make haste, make haste, *Ali* appears behind us." Upon which, they all resumed their march with the utmost celerity. This the *Moslem* writers own to have been a solemn public lie, and assert it to have been the first that was told between the commencement of *Islamism* and the present defection of *Ayesha*. Be that as it will, the troops under her command being terrified by this rumor, propagated without any manner of foundation, made the best of their way to *Basra*, where they arrived much sooner than was expected. In the mean time, *Moâwiyah* receiving advice of the vigorous resolution taken by *Ayesha*, and her march to *Basra*, was greatly animated by those prosperous events. This induced him to send her a considerable reinforcement, which joined the forces under her conduct before they reached *Basra*. By the accession of which, and other auxiliary troops, her army soon amounted to 30,000 men. It has been already observed, that *Othmân Ebn Hanîf* was *Ali*'s governor of that place ^h.

She takes
Basra.

OTHMAN EBN HANIF having been informed of the enemy's approach, resolved to reconnoitre them with a party of the garrison; tho' he was sensible that the troops he commanded in the town would make but a very feeble resistance. He soon fell in with the vanguard of *Ayesha*'s army, which he very briskly attacked; but was defeated after a sharp skirmish, wherein he had forty of his men killed upon the spot, and was himself taken prisoner. *Ebn Al Athir* relates, that *Othmân* having received two messengers from *Ayesha*, with repeated solicitations to join her, in order to revenge the tragical exit of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, dispatched a courier to the *Khalif*, to know what part he was to act on this occasion; and received for answer, that as *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, had, by that expedition, declared war against the whole *Arab* nation, notwithstanding the oath of allegiance to him the two latter had taken, he was to oppose them to the utmost of his power, if

^h *EBN AL ATHIR*, ubi sup. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. *D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 89.*

nothing less than the election of a new *Khalif* could induce them to lay down their arms. The same author also informs us, that, before the courier was dispatched to *Ali*, several bloody skirmishes happened between *Ayesha's* troops and *Telba's* party in the town on one side, and *Othmân's* forces, with the *Bassans*, that adhered to *Ali*, on the other; in the principal of which *Othmân* was worsted, and lost a considerable number of men. He likewise farther relates, that, during the absence of the same courier, *Telba* and *Zobeir* found means, by favour of a tempestuous night, to post themselves with a pretty strong party in the mosque at *Basra*; from whence they sallied out upon *Othmân's* men, cut about forty of them in pieces, took the commander himself prisoner, and sent him to *Ayesha*. But, with regard to the fate of that general, the oriental writers are not perfectly agreed. One of them says, that *Ayesha* at first resolved to put him to death, but was afterwards prevailed upon by one of the women about her to convert that punishment into forty stripes, and imprisonment; whereas another affirms, that *Ayesha* commanded his beard and eye-brows to be tore out by the roots, and then, after a short confinement, dismissed him. Be this as it will, *Ayesha's* troops, without much difficulty, and with a very small effusion of blood, made themselves masters of *Basra*, and plundered *Ali's* treasury there. Upon *Othmân Ebn Hanif's* arrival afterwards at *Ali's* camp, he met with a gracious reception from the *Khalif*; who assured him, that he could not fail of receiving an ample reward from God for what he had suffered on account of his fidelity to the emperor of the faithful.

As soon as *Ali* had received the bad news of the loss of *Ali Basra*, he made a formal speech to the people, who had been *marches* assembled on this occasion, and desired their assistance. But, *against* notwithstanding he was extremely well beloved, was *ac-*ber, and knowleged by all to have been fairly elected, and was the *incamps* best orator of the age, he could not, with all the eloquence *Arrab-* he was master of, for some time, prevail upon them to give a *dah* decisive answer in his favour. *Ziyâd Ebn Hantelah*, perceiving this, slept to *Ali* of his own accord, and said, "Who-
"soever retreats, we will advance." Upon which, two *An-*
sârs, doctors of the law, stood up, and pronounced the following decision: "The *Imâm Othmân*, master of the two
"testimonies, did not die by the master of the two testimo-
"nies;" that is, in other words, "*Ali* is not guilty of the
"death of *Othmân*." Where, by the two testimonies, we
are to understand the two articles of the *Mohammedan* faith,

¹ ISM. ABULFED. EBN AL ASHIK, AL MAKIN, & GREG.
ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Ali*.

There is but one God; Mohammed is the apostle of God. Which sentence, formally pronounced in favour of *Ali*, soon induced the *Anfars*, and the body of the people, to espouse his quarrel. The first of the *Anfars*, who exerted himself at this juncture, was *Abu Kotadab*, and he was supported by *Omm Salma*, who obliged her cousin-german to attend the *Khalif*, in the expedition he proposed to undertake for the recovery of *Basra*. *Ali* afterwards made him governor of *Babrein*. Being resolved, if possible, to bring the rebels back to a sense of their duty, he left *Medina* at the head of 900 men, and advanced to *Arrabdab*, where he was joined by his son *Hasan* with another body of troops. That young prince here took the liberty to censure his father's conduct, and told him, that the difficulties in which at present he found himself involved, were owing partly to his not abandoning *Medina*, when *Othmán* was besieged in his palace there; partly to his being inaugurated before he had been recognized by all the provinces; and partly to the design he had formed of reducing *Ayesba*, and her two associates, by force of arms, before he had tried what could be effected by pacific measures. Against all which points of conduct, he said, he had before advised him; and added, that his refusing to comply with such salutary advice might prove of fatal consequence to him. But to this *Ali* replied, that, had he abandoned *Medina*, when his predecessor was surrounded by his rebellious subjects there, he should, in all probability, have met with that prince's unhappy fate himself; that, had he deferred his inauguration till the body of the *Moslems* had acknowledged him, he should have offered an injury to the *Anfars*, in whom the right of electing a *Khalif* was lodged; and that, lastly, had he sat still at home, and neglected the means of his own preservation, by refusing to make the necessary preparations for his defence, after the public declaration of *Ayesba*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, of their intention to depose him, he should have animated them in their rebellion, and must necessarily have fallen a sacrifice to their ambition. He, therefore, enjoined his son silence, and ordered him to acquiesce in the measures that had been taken. In the mean time, *Ali*'s army was reinforced by various parties of *Arabs*, that were continually joining him in his camp^k.

Ali writes WHILEST the *Arab* forces under *Ali* lay incamped at *Arrabdab*, the *Khalif* dispatched *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* and *Mohammed Ebn Jaasar*, with a letter to his friends at *Cúfa*, and *Medina*. He did not press them in this letter to declare openly for him,

^k EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 89. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 187.

but

but only to dispose the *Motazalites* to an accommodation. He extolled their fidelity to him, and assured them, that he reposed a greater confidence in them than in any of his other subjects. He likewise told them, that he hoped providence, by means of their interposition, would heal the breaches that had been made amongst the *Moslems*, and restore peace, and unanimity to their councils. The *Khalif* also sent to *Medina* for farther assistance, that he might be enabled to prosecute the war with vigour; and received, in a short time, from thence a very copious supply of horses, arms, and other implements of war. In one of his public harangues to the troops, he exhibited to their view, in the strongest light, the inestimable blessing they enjoyed by the propagation of the true religion amongst them; which had effected so happy a union amongst all their tribes, that were before rendered contemptible by their animosities and divisions. At the same time, he did not fail reminding them, that they enjoyed an uninterrupted repose amongst themselves till the death of *Othmân*; from whence the devil took occasion to sow amongst them the seeds of dissension; which would prove their destruction, unless they could prevail upon God, by imploring his assistance, to avert the impending evil. Then addressing himself to his son, he assured him, that the time would come when the *Moslems* should be divided into seventy-three sects; the worst of which would be that which should set him at nought, and not follow his example. He, therefore, advised him, as being now forewarned, always to consider the *Korân* as his guide and rule of faith, whatever distractions might happen in the state, to adhere to *Islâm* as his religion, and never to deviate from the directions of *Mohammed*. After he had given this salutary advice both to the army under his command, and his son, he made the necessary dispositions for moving towards the enemy; having received advice, that they were incamped in the neighbourhood of *Basra* ¹.

BEFORE the army decamped from *Arrabdah*, *Ebn Refaa* He is joined by a party of the tribe of Tay at Arrabdah. demanded of the *Khalif*, "what he would have, and whither he intended to conduct the *Moslem* troops then ready to act under his command?" To which he replied, "I would have the rebels to accept of peace; but if they refuse this, I would leave them to their own temerity and presumption." "What is to be the consequence of that?" said *Ebn Refaa*. "We will suffer them," answered *Ali*, "to persist in their wicked opposition, without hurting them, as long as they abstain from any acts

¹ EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90.

“ of violence; but if they shall think fit to attack us, we
 “ will defend ourselves.” Upon which, one of the *Ansârs*
 then present told the *Khalif*, that, “ though he liked
 “ his discourse, his conduct by no means pleased him;”
 adding, with an oath, that, “ as he had given their body the
 “ name of *Ansârs*, or *helpers*, he would help God, by as-
 “ sisting him to the utmost of his power.” Soon after, *Ali*
 was joined by a party of the tribe of *Tay*, whose leader, *Said*
Ebn Obeid, addressed him in the following terms: “ O em-
 “ peror of the faithful! some mens hearts do not correspond
 “ with their tongues; but that is not the case with me. I
 “ have always had for thy person the greatest respect and ve-
 “ neration; and will not fail fighting thine enemies where-
 “ soever I find them. I consider thee as a person endued with
 “ the most excellent qualifications of any in the present age.”
 Upon this cordial declaration in his favour, *Ali* gave him his
 benediction, by saying, “ God have mercy upon thee;” and
 assured him, that he was perfectly satisfied with the sin-
 cerity of his intentions. The tribe of *Tay* was seated in a
 mountainous district, whose capital was called *Taima*, between
Al Thâlabiya and *Al Hejr*, at almost an equal distance from
 each of those places. There was a castle here in the days of
Abulfeda, called *Al Ablak*; which name was given it by *Al*
Shamâl Ebn Adhia, according to that celebrated writer. Not
 long after the arrival of *Said Ebn Obeid* at the *Moslem* camp,
 another body of *Arabs*, composed of the tribe of *Ased*, and
 part of that of *Tay*, offered their service likewise to the *Kha-*
lif; but he dismissed them in a courteous manner; telling
 them, that, besides the *Ansârs*, he had a sufficient number of
 the *Mohâjerin* to attend him in the expedition ^m.

Abu Mûsa
refuses to
join Ali.

It has been already observed, that *Abu Mûsa*, the gover-
 nor of *Cûsa*, discovered an inclination to support *Ali*, if he
 did not actually declare for him, as *Ebn Al Athir* gives us
 reason to believe he did. But receiving advice, that *Ayesha*,
Telba, and *Zobeir*, with the forces under their command, had
 made themselves masters of *Basra*, he began to warp in his
 fidelity to the *Khalif*. When *Mohammed Ebn Abu Beer* and
Mohammed Ebn Jaasar, therefore, with *Ali*'s letter, arrived
 at *Cûsa*, and the people were assembled in the mosque there,
 as usual on such occasions, to hear it read; after the contents
 of it had been communicated to them, not a single person of-
 fered to interpose in favour of the *Khalif*. But, at last, some
 of the *Hadji's*, or *pilgrims*, coming in towards the evening,

^m EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in Arab. p. 34.
 Aut. lib. AL AZIZ. YAKUT, in lexic. Vide etiam JOAN. GAON.
 not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 34.

and

and asking the governor whether he intended to march with any troops to the assistance of *Ali*? *Abu Mûsa* explained himself on that head in the following terms: "My sentiments yesterday, and to-day, in relation to *Ali*, are not a little different. To remain at home in a pacific posture seems more agreeable to the councils of heaven; but to enter into the war now commenced may perhaps appear more consistent with the dictates of worldly wisdom. Therefore act as you shall think proper." To this none of the people answered a single word; but *Ali*'s ambassadors gave *Abu Mûsa* very reproachful language, for the manifest partiality he had discovered in favour of *Ayesha*. However, this he little regarded; telling them, that "he would not engage in their master's quarrel, unless compelled to it by absolute necessity, before vengeance had been taken of the murderers of *Othmân*; and that they were at liberty to impart this resolution to him." This answer proved extremely agreeable to *Ayesha*, and her associates, who still remained with their forces incamped near *Basra*. Here they proposed to wait for *Ali*, and made the proper dispositions for meeting him in the field, in case on both sides it should be found necessary to come to a general action.

AFTER the departure of the army from *Arrabdab*, *Ali* advanced to *Dbûlkhar*; where *Othmân Ebn Hanif*, the late governor of *Basra*, waited upon him. *Othmân* told the *Khalif*, last send him a reinforcement. that "he had sent him to *Basra* with a beard; but must receive him from thence without one." "Thy sufferings," said *Ali*, "are meritorious. All the *Moslems* acquiesced in the election of the three preceding *Khalifs*. At last I was chosen, as a proper person to succeed *Othmân*; nor did either *Talha* or *Zobeir* refuse a recognition of my authority. However, they have since violated the engagements they entered into. But they shall know, that I am not less capable of doing myself justice than any of my predecessors." As soon as *Ali* had received *Abu Mûsa*'s answer, which amounted to a clear and explicit denial of interesting himself in his favour, he sent *Al Ashtar*, a man of great resolution, and *Ebn Abbâs*, to *Cûsa*, with a full and unlimited power to act as they should think fit for the good of his service. But neither could they prevail upon *Abu Mûsa* to enter into a war against *Ayesha*. He advised the people over whom he presided not to entertain any thoughts of coming to a rupture with either of the contending parties; but only to receive the person injured, if it should be agreeable to him to accept of such an offer, into their houses, till the *Moslems* on both sides could

be disposed to an accommodation. This not a little chagrined the *Khalif*. However, he came to a resolution to make one other effort to procure the assistance of the *Cûfans*; and, for this purpose, dispatched his eldest son *Hâsan* and *Ammâr* to their city, with instructions, that permitted them to make, on the part of the *Khalif*, any concessions to *Abu Mûsa* that he could in reason desire. But this attempt likewise, with regard to the governor, proved ineffectual; he exerting himself to the utmost of his power to prevent the *Cûfans* from complying with the *Khalif*'s proposals. This was also for some time hindered by *Zeid Ebn Sawkhân*, who read the two letters he had received from *Ayesha*; wherein she commanded him either to stay at home, or come with a body of troops to her assistance. However, at last *Hasan*, by a pathetic speech he made, wherein, with great art, he expatiated upon the perfidy and prevarication of *Talha* and *Zobeir*, and the unheard-of injury offered the *Khalif*, prevailed upon the people to send a reinforcement to the *Moslem* army, commanded by *Ali*, then on its march to *Basra*. Some authors, however, relate, that, whilst the two parties were contending with great acrimony and vehemence in the mosque, *Al Ashtar*, whom *Ali* sent after his son *Hasan*, found means to seize the castle of *Cûfa* by surprise, with a small detachment assigned him for that purpose by the *Khalif*; and that he treated very roughly some of *Abu Mûsa*'s men, whom he found there. This, continue they, made such an impression on the minds of the *Cûfans* in *Ali*'s favour, and rendered *Abu Mûsa* so contemptible to them, that, had he not instantly closed with the *Khalif*'s proposals, he would have been plundered, and perhaps assassinated, by the mob. Nor would this, after all, have probably been prevented, had not *Al Ashtar* vigorously interposed in his favour. Be that as it will, the *Cûfans* immediately sent a body of 8,600 men, to reinforce *Ali*'s troops in the camp of *Dulkhâr*. This we learn from *Ebn Al Athir*; tho' the *Cûfan* troops, destined to act against *Ayesha* at this time, did not amount to above 6000 men, according to *Abu'l-Faraj* P.

Ali advances to
Basra.

THIS reinforcement greatly animated the troops commanded by *Ali*; who, being apprized of its approach, began immediately to put themselves in motion. The *Khalif* himself advanced at the head of them to meet the *Cûfans*; to whom, after he had come up with them, he made a speech to the following effect: "You *Cûfans*," said he, "have always distinguished yourselves by your bravery and conduct. You

P EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 186, 187. ISM. ABULFED. hist. univ. vol. i. MSS. Peacock, in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 303.

"have

“ have dispersed the forces of the kings of *Persia*, and made
 “ yourselves masters of their dominions. You have not only
 “ secured yourselves from the insults of other powers, but
 “ likewise afforded assistance to your neighbours. I have de-
 “ fired your interposition, in order to bring about a pacifica-
 “ tion between me and my brethren at *Basra*. I shall not
 “ fail persisting in my design to pursue gentle measures, till
 “ they proceed to hostilities against the troops under my com-
 “ mand. On my part, nothing shall be omitted that may
 “ forward an accommodation, as I shall always prefer the
 “ sweets of peace to the miseries and desolations of war.”

After which, having before decamped from *Dulkhâr*, he
 marched without opposition to *Basra*; where he found the
Moslem army under *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, ready to re-
 ceive him. The *Khalif* had several conferences with the two
 latter in the sight of both armies, that now faced each other.
 In one of these *Ali* demanded of *Zobeir*, if he did not re-
 member that *Mohammed* once asked him, whether he loved
 his dear son *Ali*? and that, upon his answering in the affir-
 mative, the prophet told him, “ that, notwithstanding this,
 “ he should prove the source of a long series of calamities
 “ both to him and all the *Moslems*.” *Zobeir* made answer,
 that “ he remember’d this perfectly well; and that, had he
 “ recollected it sooner, he would never have taken up arms
 “ against him.” Some have affirmed, that, after this con-
 ference, *Zobeir* discovered a great reluctance to come to an
 engagement with *Ali*; but was confirmed in his former reso-
 lution by *Ayesha*, who bore an implacable hatred to the *Khalif*.
 Others have declared, that he was diverted from his intention
 of remaining neuter by his son, who asked him, “ whether he
 “ was afraid of *Ali*’s colours?” and, upon his answering in
 the negative, but asserting, that the oath he had taken would
 not permit him to act against that prince, assured him, that
 he might free himself from the obligation he was under by the
 manumission of a slave. However this may be, such an ex-
 piation of an inconsiderate oath, which, by the way, was very
 different from the oath taken by *Zobeir*, as that here men-
 tioned, provided the slave be a *Moslem*, is allowed by the
Korân P.

THE two armies being drawn up in order of battle, faced *Both the*
 each other for some time; the commanders on both sides pre- *Khalif and*
 tending to be extremely averse to a general engagement. But *Ayesha*
 an accident happened the night before the day of the camel, *prepare*
 for an en-
 gagement.

P EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. v. Vide etiam
 LUDOVIC. MARRACC. not. in sur. quint. Alcoran. & SALA’s trans.
 and not. on the Kor. p. 94.

that rendered this absolutely inevitable. There were some disorders committed then in one of the armies, the authors of which could never be discovered; upon which, *Telba* and *Zobeir* were told by certain persons, who must have been desirous of leaving the dispute about the *Khalifat* between *Ali* and *Ayesha* to the decision of the sword, that the *Cûfans* had fallen upon their forces in the night. *Ali*, said they, will put an end to this quarrel by a decisive action; and therefore he has suffered the *Cûfans* to begin hostilities. Being informed of this, the *Khalif* considered these rumours as an artifice of his enemies, propagated with a design to force him to a battle; and therefore he declared *Ayesha* and her associates to be the aggressors, and consequently imputed to them the effusion of the *Moslem* blood that was to be spilt in this war. Before the propagation of these rumours, which gave infinite disgust to both parties, *Ayesha* seemed greatly dismayed at the countenance of *Ali's* troops, and was inclined to have settled with him the preliminaries of a future treaty; but after they became current, there was no room left for an accommodation. *Ayesha* was animated by despair, and the *Khalif* incensed more than ever; tho', in one of the former conferences, he had reproached *Telba* and *Zobeir* for their infidelity, and declared in the presence of the two armies, that the divine vengeance would most certainly overtake them. *Ayesha*, in order to infuse life and vigour into her troops, was mounted on her great camel; in a pavilion (or little tent, surrounded with curtains, wherein women were carried on camels in the east) resembling a sort of cage, and moved with great resolution from one part of her army to another in the heat of the action. Hence it came to pass, that the day on which the battle was fought was called *the day of the camel* by some of the *Arab* historians; tho' the engagement itself seems to have been denominated the battle of *Khoraiba* by *Abu'l-Faraj* ¹.

The battle of Khoraiba.

THE army *Ali* brought into the field on this occasion did not exceed 25,000 men, according to *Al Makin*; but it amounted to 30,000, if we will believe *Ebn Al Athir*. *Ayesha's* forces are said to have consisted of 30,000 men by the former of those authors, and to have exceeded that number by the latter; so that it is agreed on all hands, that the army commanded by *Ayesha* was more numerous than that of the *Khalif*. But notwithstanding this, the odds were apparently on *Ali's* side. For *Ayesha's* troops were composed of raw and undisciplined men, drawn together in haste; whereas those of the *Khalif* were the flower of the *Moslem* soldiery, consisting

¹ EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 187.

chiefly of the *Ansârs* and *Mobâjerîn*, as well as the *Cûfan* veterans, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in the conquest of *Persia*, and consequently such as might be intirely depended upon. Besides, *Ali* himself was infinitely superior, both in point of valour and capacity, to any of the enemy's generals. The dispute, therefore, was not of any long continuance; the enemy being quickly routed. *Ebn Al Athir* relates, that *Merwân* perceiving the victory to incline to *Ali*, in the heat of the action, said to him, " *Telha* lately imbrued his hands in the blood of *Othmân*, and now, infatuated by ambition, he pretends to revenge his death;" and immediately letting fly an arrow at him, wounded him in the leg. Upon which, his horse throwing him, he called for help; saying at the same time, " O God, take vengeance of me for the blood of *Othmân*, in the manner THOU shalt think most proper." His man then took him up behind him, and conveyed him to a house in *Basra*, where he in a very short time expired. But just before his death, he said to one of the *Khalif's* men, " Give me your hand, that I may put mine into it, and by that action renew the oath of fidelity to *Ali*, which I have already taken to him." Of which the *Khalif* being informed, declared publicly, " that God would not call *Telha* to heaven, till he had atoned for the former violation of his oath by this last protestation of fidelity to him." As for *Zobeir*, having made his escape out of the battle, he retired to a valley crossed by a rivulet called *Sabaa*, on the road to *Mecca*; where he found *Hanaf Ebn Kais* incamped with a body of troops, with which he intended to join the victor, after the end of the action. Soon after his arrival there, *Amru Ebn Jarmûz*, one of *Hanaf's* men, struck off his head whilst he was at prayers, performing the prostration, and carried it to *Ali*. But the *Khalif* receiving it with indignation, and, at the sight of it, bidding him " go carry the good news to *Ebn Safia* in hell;" he could not forbear breaking out into the following exclamation: " You are the evil genius of the *Moslems*. If a person delivers you from any of your enemies, he is presently doomed to hell for such deliverance; and if he kills one of your men, you instantly pronounce him one of the devil's companions." Then, not being able to survive the indignity offered him, he drew his sword, and put a period to his days. With regard to *Ayesha*, the victory was by no means complete, till the *Khalif* had obliged her to make her submission." As long as her camel stood upon his legs, her troops made a tolerable resistance; and *Ali* found it not so easy to disperse them. *Al Tabari* relates, that seventy men, of the *Banu Daba*, who held his bridle, had their hands cut off successively in

the dispute; and that the pavilion in which she sat was stuck so full of javelins and arrows, that it resembled a porcupine. At last, the camel was hamstringed, and *Ayesha* forced to lie there till the conclusion of the engagement; when *Ali* treated her with great politeness, dismissed her in a courteous manner, and ordered his sons *Hasan* and *Hosein* to attend her, with a splendid equipage, a day's journey on her return home. However, he thought fit afterwards to confine her to her house at *Medina*, and commanded her from thenceforth never to concern herself with state-affairs; tho' he permitted her, in order to ingratiate himself the more with the *Arabs*, who still retained a secret regard and veneration for her, to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. We are told by an *Arab* author of good repute, that, when her camel failed her, *Ali* sent *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* to see whether she was dead or alive; and that, upon his presenting himself before her pavilion, she gave him opprobrious language. Thus ended the battle of *Kboraiba*, or, as 'tis called by *Eutychius*, the battle of the camel; wherein both *Telha* and *Zobeir*, who violated the oath they had taken to *Ali*, lost their lives. The *Arab*, who killed the latter, is named, by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Omar Ebn Fârmûs*, but, by *Ebn Al Athir* and *Al Makin*, *Amru Ebn Fârmûz*, as has been already observed. The people of the camel, as *Al Makin* calls *Ayesha's* troops, according to some of the *Arab* writers, had 8000, or, as others say, 17000 men killed in the action; whereas the whole loss sustained by *Ali* did not exceed 1000 men. The spoil taken at this battle the *Khalif* distributed amongst the heirs of his soldiers who fell in it, as a just reward for the bravery of their fathers and relations. He also constituted *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* governor of *Basra*; and reprehended, with some asperity, the people of that place, for their disaffection to him. From thence he went to *Cûsa*, which he made the seat of his government. Some of the *Arab* historians relate, that, on both sides, above 30,000 men were killed in the battle of *Kboraiba*, which was fought on *Tburf-day*, the 10th of the former *Jomada*, in the 36th year of the *Hejra*, nearly answering to the year of our LORD 656^r.

Moâwiyah disputes the Khalifat with Ali.

AFTER so complete a victory, *Ali* could have no enemies to contend with either in *Arabia*, *Irâk*, *Egypt*, *Persia*, or *Kboraifân*; so that it must have rendered him extremely formidable. However, there was still a very powerful party formed against him in *Syria*; *Moâwiyah* persisting in his resolution to dispute

^r EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 187, 188. MIRKHOND, D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in Ali. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. p. 342, 343. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

the *Khalifat* with him, and having all the *Syrian* troops at his devotion. Notwithstanding some overtures that had been made to him by *Ali* for an accommodation, he refused to acknowledge him *Khalif*; and even still continued to animate the *Syrians*, in order to advance his own affairs, against him. Whilst matters were in this situation, *Amru Ebn Al As*, and not *Amru Ebn Ali*, as he is called by Mr. *Ockley*, who commanded in *Palestine*, arrived at *Damascus*, then the residence of *Moáwiyah*, and took the oath of allegiance to him. This was done in the presence of all the army, and had before been concerted between *Amru* and *Moáwiyah*; the latter having engaged to confer upon the former, in order to procure his assistance, the lieutenancy of *Egypt*, if he could be advanced to the *Khalifat*. In consequence of this recognition of *Moáwiyah*'s authority, *Amru* gave his new master the titles of lawful *KHALIF* and *Prince of the Moslems*. The foregoing action was followed by the acclamations of the people, who likewise unanimously took the oath of fidelity to *Moáwiyah*, and inaugurated him by the title of *Emir*. *Al Makin* relates, that the *Khalif* dispatched *Khariz Ebn Abd'allah Al Nabati* to *Damascus*, to dispose *Moáwiyah* to an accommodation; but that all his endeavours in this point proved ineffectual.

As soon as *Ali* received advice of these commotions, he *endeavoured*, first by gentle means, to bring the rebels of *Syria* back to a sense of their duty. But finding afterwards, that the people of that large province had unanimously declared against him, he feared it would be in vain to set on foot any other negotiation. As, therefore, he perceived it would be necessary to invade *Syria*, in order to reduce the rebels to his obedience, he advanced to the frontiers at the head of an army of 70,000 men; but had scarce entered that country, when he was obliged to incamp upon a spot of ground, where he found himself greatly distressed for want of water. In these calamitous circumstances, he met with a *Christian* hermit, who told him, that there was a small cistern in the neighbourhood; but that this would scarce supply him with three hogshheads of water for his troops. However, upon *Ali*'s saying, that the antient prophets of the people of *Israel* formerly made their abode, and dug a pit, there, the hermit farther told him, that he had been informed by some old men, that there was really a pit, or well, shut up near the place where he had incamped, which, according to a tradition prevailing in the country, could only be discovered and opened by a pro-

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 38. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 188. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90, 91. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 47.

phet, or one sent by him. Upon this, *Ali* went in quest of it, soon found it, and removed a stone that covered it, of an immense size, with the greatest facility; which so surprized the hermit, that he immediately embraced his knees, and would never after leave him. To which some of the eastern writers add, that this hermit presented the *Khalif* with an old parchment manuscript, said to have been written by *Simon Ebn Sasa*, or *Simon Cephas*, that is, *Simon Peter*, or *St. Peter*, surnamed *Cephas*, one of the apostles of *JESUS CHRIST*, which contained an account of the advent of *Mohammed*, of the arrival of his lawful successor in those parts, and of the miraculous discovery of this well. After *Ali* had returned *GOD* thanks for so signal a blessing, and furnished his troops with a sufficient quantity of water, he continued his march to *Seffsein*, a place between *Syria* and *Irak*, where *Moâwiyah* had posted himself with an army of 80,000 men. Before his arrival there, *Ali* sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Ashtar Al Nakhai*, to attack a body of troops posted by *Moâwiyah* on that part of the road leading to the *Euphrates*, in order to render it impracticable, and impede the *Khalif's* march. *Ashtar* executed his orders with so much bravery, that he drove the enemy from their post, cut several of them in pieces, and opened a passage for the army to *Seffsein*. According to *Al Makin*, *Ali's* troops amounted to 90,000 men, and *Moâwiyah's* to 120,000; so that, if this author is to be credited, all the *Moslem* forces on both sides, assembled on this occasion, consisted of 210,000 men*.

The battle of Seffsein. TOWARDS the close of the 36th year of the *Hejra*, the two armies came in sight of each other, and seemed to be ready to enter upon action. Some skirmishes happened between their advanced guards, wherein neither the *Khalif* nor *Moâwiyah* sustained any considerable loss. The first month of the following year was spent in attempts to forward an accommodation; but without effect. The next month, being *Safar*, they began to fight in parties, or plottoons, without hazarding a general engagement. The continuance of these encounters is variously related by the *Arab* historians. Some extend it to forty days, others to an hundred, and others to an hundred and ten. In that space, *Ali* lost 5000, or, as others say, 25,000 men, twenty-six of whom had been intimately acquainted with the prophet, attended him at the battle of *Bedr*, and were dignified with the title of the COMPANIONS. The most famous of these was *Ammar Ebn Jassar*, or rather *Ammâr Ebn Yûser*, *Ali's* general of the horse, who was about ninety

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 91. JOH. i. 42. MAT. x. 2. xvi. 16. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 188. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 39.

years of age, and had been in three several engagements with *Mohammed* himself. The *Syrian* forces suffered still more than those of the *Khalif*; 45,000 of them having been killed upon the spot in these rencounters. *Ali* commanded his men never to begin the attack, never to kill any one that fled, never to take any plunder, and always to treat the women that should fall into their hands in a decent manner. He also, before the beginning of these rencounters, which *Al Makin*, or rather *Abu Jaafar*, makes to amount in all to 90, intreated *Moâwiyah* to take the oath of fidelity to him, and prevent the farther effusion of *Moslem* blood. But this *Moâwiyah* constantly, till the death of *Ammâr*, refused; declaring publickly, that he would not lay down his arms till he had taken vengeance of the murderers of *Othmân*, deposed *Ali*, and enabled the people to proceed to a new election. But that fatal event made a deep impresson both upon *Amru* and *Moâwiyah*; the former declaring, that he would rather have died twenty years before, than have survived so worthy a person as *Ammâr Ebn Yâfer*, who had deserved so well of all the *Moslems*. The loss of this general so exasperated *Ali*, that he charged the *Syrians* with a body of 12,000 men, broke them, and challenged *Moâwiyah* to fight him in single combat. This challenge *Amru* would have persuaded *Moâwiyah* to have accepted; but he absolutely declined it, insisting that it was not a fair one, since *Ali* could not but be conscious of his superior strength; he having killed every person who had to that time entered the lists against him. *Amru* urged, that it would be dishonourable, and argue a want of courage, to refuse so fair an offer. To which *Moâwiyah* made no other reply than this; "You aspire to the *Khalifat* yourself, and desire to enjoy it after I am gone." The last action at *Seffein* continued all night, to the great disadvantage of the *Syrians*. *Al Ashtar* pushed them to their camp; which, being vigorously supported by *Ali*, he was upon the point of making himself master of. *Moâwiyah* seeing things in such a desperate situation, resolved, in concert with *Amru*, to make use of an artifice, that might possibly excite the *Khalif's* men to desert; since nothing, at that perilous conjuncture, could, as he apprehended, save both him and his troops, but such a desertion. He, therefore, instantly ordered some of his men to fix several copies of the *Korân* upon their lances points, and to carry them at the head of his troops; at the same time crying out, "This is the book that ought to decide all differences between us; this is the book of God between us and you, which absolutely prohibits the effusion of *Moslem* blood." Nor did this stratagem, coarse as it was, fail of producing the desired effect. For, the troops of *Irâk*, that were

the flower of the *Khalif's* forces, immediately threw down their arms; threatening to abandon him, and even to deliver him into the hands of his enemies, if he would not sound a retreat. This, therefore, he found himself obliged to do; tho' he most bitterly exclaimed against that point of conduct in the strongest manner; assuring the mutineers, that *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* had not the least regard for the *Korân*; and that his view in the present war was only to force them to act according to the tenets and decisions of that book. But he found it impossible to stem the torrent that now threatened to overwhelm him, without an immediate compliance with what they required; especially as the *Kbârajites*, an enthusiastic sect, openly declared, that, unless he instantly ordered the troops under *Al Ashtar* to desist from the attack of the Syrian camp, they would serve him in the same manner they had done the son of *Affân*, meaning the last *Khalif Othmân*, whom they had inhumanly murdered. *Al Ashtar*, therefore, by the *Khalif's* command, was obliged, tho' with the greatest reluctance, to retire, and suffer the victory, of which he thought himself so secure, by this stratagem, to be wrested out of his hands. The night in which this battle was fought has been named by the Arab historians THE VALIANT NIGHT; because, says *Al Makin*, the *Moslems* behaved so valiantly in it, that they broke all their spears, and spent the remainder of it in a close engagement. About 70,000 fell on both sides that fatal night, according to some of the Arab historians, if we will believe the same author; 25,000 on the *Khalif's*, and 45,000 on that of the *Syrians*. But others of them, as he also observes, and with a greater appearance of truth, as we apprehend, affirm, that *Ali* lost 25,000 men, and *Moâwiyah* 45,000, in all the actions that happened at *Seffin*. Upon the return of the day, *Ali* was obliged to cool the ardour of his victorious troops, when they had, as it were, rendered the action decisive in his favour, in the manner already related. The stratagem that occasioned this was contrived, and suggested to *Moâwiyah*, by *Amru Ebn Al As*, if any credit be due to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* ^b.

The dispute between Ali and Moâwiyah referred to

MOAWIYAH, after the end of the action, desiring that the dispute betwixt him and *Ali* might be brought to a decision by two persons nominated by the parties concerned, according to the true and genuine sense of the *Korân*; *Asbaath Ebn Kais*, who was supposed to have been corrupted by *Moâwiyah*, asked *Ali* how he approved of that expedient. The

^b AL MAKIN & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 188, 189. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

Khalif answered him coldly, "He that is not at liberty can-^{the arbi-} not give his advice. You are to conduct this affair as you ^{tration of} shall think proper." This apparently glanced at the late ^{two per-} perfidious conduct of the troops of *Irâk*, who considered ^{sons.} *Asbaath* as their chief.

Not content with offering so gross an affront as they had done to the poor *Khalif*, they insisted upon nominating for him *Abu Mûsa Al Asbari*, a very weak man, and one who had once betrayed him; refusing to admit, as he desired, either *Ebn Abbâs* or *Al Ashtar*, or indeed any other person that they thought had the least regard for him. *Moâwiyah*, on the other hand, was treated in quite a different manner. He was allowed to trust his interest with whom he pleased; and accordingly he nominated *Amru Ebn Al As*, one of the greatest men of the age, to assert his right to the *Khalifat*, and explain the *Korân* in his favour. The two arbitrators, with whom the determination of this affair was intrusted, were enjoined to decide it the next *Ramadhân*, agreeably to the tenor of the *Korân*, and the collection of the prophet's traditions. This point being agreed upon, tho' by no means to the satisfaction of the *Khalif*, *Moâwiyah* retired to *Damascus*, and *Ali* to *Cûsa*, in order to wait the event of that arbitration. But, before their departure, each of them left the command of his army to one of his generals; and invested with a proper authority, that he might better be enabled to settle every thing relating to religion, in their absence, a particular *Imâm*. We find it intimated by *Abu Jaasar*, that the Syrian and *Irâkian* troops chose the arbitrators; and consequently, that *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* had no hand in that election. The place appointed for the scene of this arduous transaction, upon which the fate of the *Moslem* empire, yet in its infancy, seemed to depend, was *Dawmat Al Jandal*, a town on the borders of Syria, about fifteen or sixteen days journey from *Medina*, and five from *Damascus*. The antient inhabitants of this place, as well as those of *Tabûc*, were the *Calbites*, descended from *Calb*, and consequently a branch of the tribe of *Hamyar*.

ABOUT eight months after the battle of *Seffin*, *Abu Mûsa Ali* deposed and *Amru Ebn Al As* came to *Dawmat Al Jandal*, attended by both the by several of the companions, and escorted by a detachment of arbitra- the *Moslem* forces *Ebn Abbâs*, before the opening of the ^{tors.} conferences, desired *Abu Mûsa* to remember this, whatever else he forgot, that *Ali* had no blemish to render him incapable

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 39, 40. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 189. SAAD AL YAMANI, SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABULFED. in cap. de Arab. pur. D'HER-REL. ubi sup.

of the government, nor *Moâwiyah* any virtue to qualify him for it. But, notwithstanding this salutary admonition, *Amru*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the genius of his colleague, by his artful address, so far insinuated himself into his good graces, that he could bring him into any measures which he should think proper to suggest to him. He, therefore, easily persuaded *Abu Mûsa*, that, in order to re-establish peace amongst the *Moslems*, it would be absolutely necessary to depose both *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*; that a new *Khalif* might be elected, who should be acceptable to all the people. This important article being settled, a tribunal was erected between the two armies, on which each of the arbitrators was to declare publicly his opinion. This *Abu Mûsa*, at *Amru*'s request, mounted first, and with a loud voice pronounced the following words: "I depose from the *Khalifat* both *Ali* and "*Moâwiyah*, in the same manner that I now take this ring off my finger;" and having made this declaration, he immediately came down. Then *Amru*, in his turn, ascended the tribunal, and said, "You have heard, gentlemen, how "*Abu Mûsa* has deposed *Ali*, whom I likewise depose, and "*confer the *Khalifat* upon *Moâwiyah*. I therefore invest "*that prince with the supreme authority, in the same manner that I put this ring upon my finger. And this I am "*the more readily disposed to do, as having justice on my side; he having been declared by *Othmân* his successor, "*and being now the avenger of his blood, as well as the "*most worthy of all the *Moslems* of that sublime station to "*which I now advance him."* This unexpected declaration greatly shocked all the partizans of *Ali*, who complained bitterly of *Abu Mûsa*; and he, on his part, in very severe terms, reflected upon *Amru*'s conduct, who had so shamefully violated the principal article stipulated in the late convention. In fine, *Abu Mûsa*, after having been so outwitted by *Amru*, not thinking himself safe in *Ali*'s camp, fled to *Mecca* for his farther security. Some of the *Arab* writers relate, that this *Abu Mûsa* had the most musical voice of any person of his time. According to *Abu Jaafar*, the two arbitrators did not only agree to depose both *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, but likewise to promote to the *Khalifat* *Abd'allah*, the son of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*. For a circumstantial detail of *Amru*'s perfidious conduct on this occasion, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Abu'l-Paraj*, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction ^d.*****

^d ABULFED. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. D'HERBEL, ubi sup. p. 91, 92. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 189, 190.

THE preceding determination, far from effecting a reconciliation between the contending parties, incensed their adherents to such a degree, that they publicly cursed and excommunicated one another in a very dreadful manner. Nor did the houses of *Ali* and *Ommiyah*, to the last of which belonged both *Othmân* and *Moâwiyah*, for a long time lay aside that reciprocal malediction. Nay, it may be said still to subsist in that rivetted antipathy between the *Turks* and the *Persians*, which is visible at this very day. However, *Amru*, after the public declaration he had made, and the *Syrian* troops he commanded, returned to *Damascus*, and complimented *Moâwiyah* upon his new election. On the other hand, *Ali* being determined to assert his right to the *Khalifat*, and even in a short time to march against *Moâwiyah*; no less than 60,000 of his subjects took a fresh oath of allegiance to him, and even obliged themselves to support him to the last drop of their blood. But notwithstanding this vigorous resolution taken in his favour, that *Khalif's* interest, from the fatal period we are now upon, began greatly to decline.

IT may not be improper here to remark, that, before the *Ali drops* articles of the treaty of peace, which followed the late suspension of arms between *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, could be perfectly reduced to writing, both *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* insisted, that the title of *emperor of the faithful*, which *Ali* had assumed, and prefixed to a copy of those articles, should be intirely effaced. To this *Abnâf Ebn Kais* would have persuaded the *Khalif* never to give his consent. But *Ali* told him, that, when he was secretary to his father-in-law *Mohammed*, *Sobail Ebn Amru* refused to treat with the prophet, on the part of the people of *Mecca*, unless he would renounce the title of the APOSTLE OF GOD. Which, for the sake of peace, he accordingly did, without hesitation; and ordered me, said *Ali*, to efface that title, after it had been inserted at the head of the instrument containing the articles of the treaty to be signed by both parties, and substitute in its room the following words, *Mohammed the son of Abd'allah*. At the same time, he addressed himself to me, continued the *Khalif*, in the following remarkable terms: *Remember, there will hereafter come a day when you shall find yourself in a similar case.* *Ali*, therefore, agreed to the omission of that title, of which, by his own arbitrator, *Abu Mûsa*, he had been so solemnly deprived. All these transactions happened in the 37th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 657, as did also the defection of the *Khârejites*, or *rebels*, for that the word really signifies; of which, as it is a very curious article of the *Arabic* history, in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, we must beg

leave to give our readers here a distinct and particular relation ^f.

The defection of the Khârejues.

AFTER *Ali* had submitted the decision of his right to the *Khalifat*, which *Moâwiyah* disputed with him, to arbitration, he retired to *Cûfa*, as has been already observed. But he was no sooner arrived there, than 12,000 *Khârejites*, that is, *rebels*, or *revolters*, who had fought under him at the battle of *Soffein*, and themselves forced him to take that ignominious step, pretending to be offended at this submission, revolted from him. These were also called *Mobakkemites*, or *Judicialians*; because the reason they gave for their revolt was, that *Ali* had referred a matter concerning the religion of GOD to the judgment of men; whereas the judgment, in such case, belonged to GOD alone. In consequence of this notion, they urged, that, instead of standing to the peace he had made, he ought to pursue his enemies, who were likewise the enemies of GOD, without mercy. But *Ali* answered, that, as he had given his word, he ought to keep it; and that in so doing, he should follow what the law of GOD prescribed. The *Khârejites* replied, that GOD was the only judge between him and *Moâwiyah*; and that consequently he had committed an enormous sin, of which he ought sincerely to repent. This irritating *Ali*, he, with some warmth, remonstrated to them, that, if any sin had been committed on this occasion, the world would justly impute the guilt of it to them; who, contrary to their oath of allegiance to him, had abandoned him in the heat of the late action, and obliged him to pursue those very measures, which, at that time, as they pretended, gave them so much offence ^g.

Their rebellion is extinguished by Ali.

THE rebels, not at all satisfied with these reasons, chose, for their general, *Abd'allah Ebn Wabeh*, who appointed *Naharwan*, a town situated between *Wâset* and *Baghdâd*, about four miles to the east of the *Tigris*, the place of their rendezvous. They had not been here long before they were joined by great numbers of *Ali's* disaffected subjects from *Cûfa*, *Basra*, and various parts of *Arabia*. The *Khalif* at first took little notice of them; his thoughts being chiefly bent upon reducing *Moâwiyah*, whom he considered as much the more formidable enemy. But being informed, that they were increased to the number of 25,000 men, that they condemned as impious all who did not fall in with their sentiments, and

^f EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 92. AL BEIDAWI, ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xlv. p. 87. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 269.

^g AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 270. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 92.

that they had already put to death several *Moslems*, for refusing to comply with their iniquitous measures; he resolved, in fine, to exterminate a sect, which tended to the subversion of the very foundations of *Mohammedism*. However, he thought fit, before he proceeded to extremities, to try gentle methods; but these proving ineffectual, he assembled a considerable body of troops, at the head of which he presented himself to their view. Nevertheless, before he attacked them, he had the precaution to plant a standard without the camp, and to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that whosoever would come under it, should have quarter, and whosoever would retire to *Cufa*, should find a sanctuary there. This stratagem produced the desired effect; inasmuch that *Abd'allah Ebn Wabsb* soon found his army reduced to 4000 men. However, being animated by despair, he attacked the *Khalif's* forces, notwithstanding the inequality of his troops. But he received the just reward of his temerity and presumption; being cut to pieces, with all his men, except nine who escaped. Of these, as we are told by some historians, two fled into *Omân*, two into *Kermân*, two into *Sijistân*, two into *Mesopotamia*, and one into *Tel Mawrûn*, in *Yaman*; in all which places they propagated their heresy, where, as we are told, it remains to this day. Others maintain, tho' not with such an appearance of truth, in our opinion, that, of the 4000 *Khârejites*, commanded by *Abd'allah Ebn Wabeb*, not a man survived the general destruction; *Ali* being resolved to pursue this impious and rebellious sect even to excision. Before the beginning of the action, *Ali* told some of his friends, that "the rebels, who pretended to spend so much of their time in reading the *Korân*, without observing its precepts, would desert their profession, at the approach of danger, with as great celerity as arrows fly from a bow, when they are discharged from it;" which accordingly came to pass. It will be proper to observe here, that the heresy of the *Khârejites* consisted chiefly in two things: 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of *Imâm*, or prince, tho' he was not of the tribe of *Koreish*, nor even a free man, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications; and also held, that if the *Imâm* turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death, or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any *Imâm* at all in the world. 2. In that they charged *Ali* with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by God alone; and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account. The principal sects, or branches, of the *Khârejites*, besides the *Mobakkerites* here mentioned, are six; which, tho' they greatly differ

differ amongst themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz. that they absolutely reject *Othmân* and *Ali*, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms; that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels; and that they hold it necessary to resist the *Imâm* when he transgresses the law. The most celebrated of the *Khârejites* seem to be the *Waidians*, so called from *Al Waid*, which signifies the threats denounced by God against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the *Morgians*, and assert, that he who is guilty of an enormous sin ought to be declared an infidel, or an apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer; which opinion of theirs occasioned the first rise of the *Motaxalites*. One *Jaafar Ebn Mobasbar*, of the sect of the *Nodhâmians*, was yet more severe than the *Waidians*, pronouncing him to be a reprobate, and an apostate, who steals but a grain of corn. The defeat, or rather almost total extirpation, of the *Khârejites*, who persisted in their rebellion, whose name also, according to *Ebn Al Kossa*, signified *tribute*, as they received tribute without the leave of the prince, and even in opposition to him, happened in the 38th year of the *Hejra*, the year following their revolt, at a place, as should seem from *Eutychius*, called *Khorûzi*, or *Kborûzia*, at a small distance from *Naharwan*. Their leader, *Abdallah Ebn Waheb*, lost his life in the action; and the glorious victory gained on this occasion reunited under the government of *Ali* the whole body of the *Moslems* settled in *Arabia* ^b.

The Khalif's camp at Cûfa abandoned by his troops.

THE *Khalif* having thus happily extinguished this rebellion, which struck at the very foundations of *Islamism* itself, as well as the supreme authority with which he was at first so legally invested by the unanimous suffrages of the *Moslems*, he made the necessary dispositions for marching immediately against *Moâwiyah*, in order to reduce him likewise to his obedience. But he was diverted from this design by some persons about him, who probably were secret well-wishers to *Moâwiyah*, as this would have been the most proper season to have attacked him, when his men were so flushed with their late success, under the pretence, that he had not yet made sufficient preparations for so long a war as this was like to be; and that he ought to allow his troops some refreshment, after the fatigues they had sustained. *Ali*, therefore, following their advice, formed a camp at *Nakilah*, in the neighbourhood of *Cûfa*; and per-

^b AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 39. Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 270. D'HERBEL, ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 256. AL JANNAB. & ABULFED. ubi sup. GRIE. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. & p. 169. EBN AL KOSSA, apud Pocock. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342, 343.

mitted his men to retire to *Cúfa*, to follow their occupations there one day, and return to the posts assigned them the next, during the time of his incampment there. The consequence of which was, that the camp was soon intirely deserted by the troops that formed it, and of course the *Khalif* himself obliged to retire to *Cúfa*, then the receptacle of those troops ¹.

It has been already observed, that *Ali*, in the beginning of Egypt his *Khalifat*, conferred the government of Egypt upon *Kais conquered Ebn Sa'id*, who acquitted himself of his charge with great by Amru of *Othmán*, or rather *Moáwiyah*, formed a very considerable Ebn Al As. faction, he thought it proper to accommodate himself to the times; which he did with so much address, that he kept every thing in good order; insomuch that the whole body of the people were very well pleased with his administration. This conduct of *Kais* furnished *Moáwiyah* with an occasion of publishing every-where, that the governor of Egypt was his friend, and acted in concert with him; which he did, in order to render him suspected to *Ali*, who yet had not a more faithful friend amongst his subjects. That he might the more effectually carry his point, *Moáwiyah* forged a letter in *Kais's* name, directed to himself; wherein it was insinuated, that the reason why he had not treated with more severity the adherents of the house of *Ommiyah* was, because he was himself intirely in their measures. Which artifice of *Moáwiyah* had the desired effect. For *Ali* hereby entertaining a suspicion of *Kais's* fidelity to him, immediately recalled him, and appointed *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* governor of Egypt in his room; which occasioned great commotions in that province. For the new governor no sooner set his foot there, than he began to chase out of that country all those who professed any regard for *Othmán*, or preserved any veneration for his memory. Upon which, such civil wars and dissensions ensued, that *Ali* was obliged to send for *Mohammed* home, and to dispatch *Malec Shutur*, sometimes called *Ushur Malec Ebn Hâreth Al Najai*, into Egypt, to re-establish his authority there. *Moáwiyah* being apprized of this, prevailed upon a friend of his at *Kolzum*, a town upon the Red Sea, where *Ushur Malec* was to lodge, in his passage to Egypt, to poison him; which he accordingly did, by giving him some poisoned honey at an entertainment he had prepared for him. This obliged *Ali* to continue *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* some time longer in the government of Egypt; from whence he immediately expelled all the *Banu Hâreth*, probably on account of the relation they bore to *Ushur Malec* his successor, who were

¹ D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 92, 93.

some of the blackest and most swarthy kind of *Arabs*; which proved the total ruin of *Ali's* interest in that region. For, they instantly retired to *Damascus*, where they informed *Moâwiyah* of the treatment they had met with from *Mohammed*; at the same time assuring him, that he might easily make himself master of *Egypt*. Upon receiving this intelligence, *Moâwiyah* sent *Amru Ebn Al As* with a body of 6000 men, to take possession, in his name, of the government of that country. *Amru*, in pursuance of his orders, marched with all possible expedition into *Egypt*, seized the capital city, and was soon joined by *Ebn Sharig*, who had put himself at the head of *Othmân's* party, with a considerable force. After this junction, *Amru* attacked *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, *Ali's* governor, intirely defeated him, and took him prisoner. Not satisfied with this, he put him to death; and, inclosing his body in that of an ass, burnt it to ashes. This barbarity gave great offence to his sister *Ayesha*, who begged a curse upon *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* for it at the end of all her prayers, and took *Mohammed's* dependents and domestics under her protection. *Ali* also himself was greatly concerned at this tragical event; saying, "We shall account for him before GOD." *Abu Jaafar* relates, that *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, after the defeat of his forces, escaped out of the battle, and hid himself; but was discovered, and brought to *Amru*, by *Moâwiyah Ebn Khodhaj*, who treated him in the cruel manner above-mentioned. He was cut off in the fortieth year of his age, after he had been five months only governor of *Egypt*. After his death, the post he filled was occupied by *Amru Ebn Al As*; upon whom it was conferred by *Moâwiyah*, who then acted as *Khalif* in *Syria* *.

Moâwiyah's
troops
make in-
cursions
into Ali's
territories.

THE next year, being the 39th of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* sent several detachments to make incursions into *Ali's* territories, where they committed dreadful depredations. The most considerable of these detachments, under the command of *Dahak Ebn Kais*, consisting of 3000 men, plundered several districts of *Irâk*, and then penetrated into *Hejâz*. But *Dahak* was met by a body of the *Khalif's* troops, consisting of 4000 men, under the conduct of *Hajar Ebn Adi*, after he had retired out of that province, at *Tadmor*. Here *Hajar* attacked the enemy with such bravery, that he put them to flight, killed several of them upon the spot, and recovered the booty they had acquired. This vigorous action was of considerable service to the *Khalif's* subjects in those parts, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation. For, the

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 36, 40. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 93. ISM. ABULFED. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup.

Syrians had not only pillaged the country through which they moved, but likewise put all the *Arabs* they could meet with to the sword; which had struck the *Moslems* there with such terror, that, for some time, none of them durst even perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*¹.

THE same year, as we apprehend, and not the preceding, *Basra* ~~as~~ has been intimated by *D'Herbelot*, without any manner of *ken* by foundation, who has been followed herein by *Mr. Ockley*, *Ali Moâwîs* sent for his faithful friend, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*; from *Basra*, *yah's* of which place he was then governor, to *Medina*, that he ^{troops, and} might with him take such resolutions as were suitable to the ^{retaken by} present situation of his affairs. *Moâwiyah* receiving advice ^{those of} of this event, immediately ordered *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi* ^{Ali.} to march to *Basra* with a body of 2000 horse, and possess himself of that city. These orders he easily executed, as *Ziyâd*, *Ebn Abbâs's* lieutenant there, had not a sufficient number of troops to oppose him, and the city itself was not capable of making any defence. *Ali* being informed of this, sent a reinforcement to *Ziyâd*, who had abandoned *Basra* at *Abd'allah's* approach, under the command of *Hârith*, who joined *Ziyâd* at a small distance from *Basra* without any loss. After this junction, the combined forces attacked *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi* near that city, overthrew him, and killed him upon the spot. Upon which, *Basra* surrendered again to *Ali*; who immediately sent back thither *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, to command there as he had done before. Which transactions we have thought fit to place in the 39th year of the *Hajra*, as the incursions mentioned by *Mr. Ockley* immediately before them seem to correspond exactly with those that *Al Makin* assures us were made by *Moâwiyah's* detachments that year. Our learned and curious readers, therefore, we hope, will not censure us for preferring the authority of *Al Makin* to that of *M. D'Herbelot*, in the point before us^m.

BUT notwithstanding several incursions were made, and *Ziyâd* got some few expeditions of little note undertaken by the troops ^{versus} *Per* of *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* this year, no action of *eclat* seems to ^{have} *happened* in it. The *Syrians* having already sustained ^{great} *equi-* very considerable losses in this war, were not in a condition ^{ty} and to make any great impression upon the *Arabs*; and the *Arabs*, ^{prudence.} on the other side, being still harassed by dissensions, did with no small difficulty maintain themselves in a state of independency. As the dispute betwixt *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* had disturbed the repose of *Syria* and *Arabia*, so the tranquillity of

¹ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 41. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 190. ABULFED. ubi sup. ^m AL MAKIN & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 67, 68.

Persia was likewise not a little affected by the present commotions. This induced *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, *Ali's* lieutenant of *Basra*, to send *Ziyâd*, a person of great prudence and moderation, who had lately, in conjunction with *Hâreth*, defeated *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi*, one of *Moâwiyah's* generals, into *Persia*, that he might take upon him the government of that country; in which post he behaved himself so well, that the *Persians* declared they had never been blessed with so happy an administration since the days of *Anushirwân*. After the late defeat, *Dahak*, who then lost a considerable number of men upon the spot, with great precipitation abandoned the district of *Hems*; and with much difficulty, by favour of the night, made his escape into the interior part of *Syria* °.

Moâwiyah's troops make incursions into Ali's territories. IN the 40th year of the *Hejra*, or the year of our LORD 660, *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofîân* sent *Basheer Ebn Artah*, with a body of 3000 horse, to make an irruption into *Hejâz*; with orders to possess himself of *Mecca* and *Medina*, the inhabitants of those places having kept a correspondence with him ever since the death of *Othmân*, and by this means open himself a passage into *Yaman*. *Abu Ayub*, the *Ansâr*, and *Fathâm Ebn Abbâs*, who commanded in those places for *Ali*, abandoned them at *Basheer's* approach; upon which, he obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to *Moâwiyah*, and threw down the walls of *Medina*. *Abu Ayub*, the commandant of that city, before *Basheer* entered it, with a few attendants, made his escape to *Cûfa* °.

Ebn Artah's cruelty in Arabia. ABD'ALLAH EBN ABBAS, surnamed the *Ansâr*, in order to distinguish him from *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, one of *Ali's* most faithful friends, and governor of *Basra*, *Ali's* lieutenant of *Yaman*, fearing a visit from *Ebn Artah*, and being in no condition to oppose him, upon the rumour of what had happened to *Mecca* and *Medina*, fled likewise to *Cûfa*. He attempted to carry off with him his two sons, who were boys; but they had the misfortune to fall into *Ebn Artah's* hands upon the road, who caused them to be barbarously murdered. He also put to the sword a great number of *Arabs* in *Yaman*, and particularly at *Sanaa*, who had declared themselves adherents to *Ali*. Then he returned to *Mecca*, and afterwards cut off 30,000 *Arabs* more at *Al Tâyes*, *Yamâma*, and *Medina*. *Ali* being apprized of what had happened, sent a detachment of 4000 horse, under the command of *Jariyah*, to pursue *Ebn Artah*; but he found it impossible to come up with him. We are told, that *Ali* was so extremely touched at hearing the

° ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 93.
AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 41. ° D'HERBEL. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

news of the murder committed on the young sons of *Abd'allah*, that he cursed *Ebn Artah*, and begged of God to deprive him of his senses and understanding. Which petition, according to some of the eastern writers, was heard; that commander really becoming an idiot towards the close of his days, and dying in that miserable condition. Notwithstanding the war was carried on with such circumstances of cruelty on the part of *Moâwiyah*, that prince, at this juncture, prayed publicly for *Ali*, *Hasan*, and *Hosein*; as the *Khalif* did for him, *Amru*, and *Dahak*. About this time, *Ali's* brother, *Okail*, went over to *Moâwiyah*, who assigned him a large revenue for his defection. *Okail* alledged no other reason for this infamous conduct, than that his brother had not treated him with such marks of distinction as he thought he might justly have expected of him. We must not forget to inform our readers here, that *M. D'Herbelot* is guilty of a most egregious blunder, when he confounds *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, governor of *Yaman*, with *Ali's* lieutenant of *Basra*, who had the very same name; and that, in consequence of this mistake, he has committed several others, which he has taken care to insert in his history of *Ali*. The former *Abd'allah* seems to have been distinguished from the latter by the additional term, or cognomen, *Al Ansâri*, the *Ansâr*; as may be inferred from at least one of the oriental historians. Which observation had *Mr. Ockley* sufficiently attended to, as well as to what has been advanced in the point before us by *Al Makin*, he would not only have evinced, but also rectified, *M. D'Herbelot's* mistake, much more to the satisfaction of his curious and intelligent readers.

A little after the battle of *Naharwan*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, *Khorúzia*, three of the *Khârejites*, that were extremely zealous for the advancement of their sect, happened to meet at *Mecca*; where they made frequent mention of those that were killed in that battle, magnified their own merit, and greatly lamented the loss of their companions. These three men, called *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Amru Ebn Becr*, said one to another, "If the three erroneous *Imâms*, *Ali*, *Moâwiyah*, and *Amru Ebn Al As*, were dead, the affairs of the *Moslems* would soon be in a more flourishing condition; let us, therefore, without hesitation, dispatch them." This being immediately agreed upon, they pitched upon *Friday*, the day of the solemn assembly of the *Moslems*, the 17th of *Ramadân*, for the execution of their bloody design; and, having poisoned their

¶ *Iidem* *ibid.* *ISM. ABULFED.* ubi sup. *OCKLEY's* hist. of the *Sarac.* vol. ii. p. 70.

swords, took all their respective routes. *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, one of the assassins, being arrived at *Damascus*, struck *Moâwiyah* in the reins; but the wound did not prove mortal. However, the surgeon told him, that it would not be cured, unless he would either submit to be cauterized, or to drink a potion that would render him incapable of generation. He chose the latter of these, and, in consequence of that choice, had no other children besides those that were born to him before he received his wound. The assassin was instantly seized, discovered the conspiracy he had entered into, and had his hands and feet cut off; but was suffered to live. However, afterwards marrying, it was thought unreasonable that he should enjoy the pleasures of a conjugal state, as he had rendered the *Syrian Khalif* incapable of these; and therefore one of *Moâwiyah's* friends, tho' he had no order for this, killed him with his own hands.

as another does Amru Ebn Al As. AMRU EBN BECR, the second of the conspirators, went to *Egypt*, and appeared in the mosque, where *Amru* performed his devotions, on the 17th of the month of *Ramadân*. But fortunately for him, *Amru* being then troubled with a violent fit of the cholic, did not officiate that day in the mosque as *Imâm*. Wherefore, *Kharijah*, whom he appointed to perform the office for him, and who then actually supplied his place, being struck by the villain, who mistook him for *Amru*, fell down dead with the blow. As the assassin was led to execution, he said, without the least concern, *I designed Amru; but GOD designed another*. *Abulfeda* relates, that, when he was brought before *Amru*, he asked who that person was? Upon which, they told him *Amru*. "Whom then," said he, "have I killed?" They answered, *Kharijah*. Then *Amru* himself cried out to him, according to this historian, *You meant Amru; but GOD meant Kharijah*. This *Kharijah*, according to *Al Makin*, was the captain of *Amru's* guards. The same writer seems likewise to intimate, that *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, the first assassin, was cut to pieces immediately after he had attempted to murder *Moâwiyah*; notwithstanding what may have been advanced to the contrary by some other authors.

Ali assassinated. THE third of the conspirators, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, who undertook to assassinate *Ali*, met with better success, in the execution of his wicked design, than either of his profligate companions. Being arrived at *Cûsa*, he engaged a woman, whose nearest relations had been killed at the battle of *Na-*

¹ AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. in *Ali*. ABU JAAPAR, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342, 343. ² ABU JAAPAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ABULFED. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

barwan, and who, for that reason, bore an implacable hatred to *Ali*, by marrying her, and the assistance of a dower, consisting of 3000 *dirhems*, a slave, a maid, and a promise of *Ali*'s head, to enable him to perpetrate the horrid crime he had in view. To facilitate this, she joined to him two associates, called *Werdân* and *Shabib* by *Abulfeda*, who attended him into the mosque, where *Ali* officiated as *Imâm*, the 17th of the month of *Ramadân*. Here, whilst these three villains pretended to quarrel amongst themselves, *Werdân* struck at the *Khalif* with his sword, but missed him, and the blow fell upon the gate of the mosque. Then *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem* gave him a blow on the head, just in the same place where he had received a wound before, at the battle of *Abzâb*, or *Asab*, which was fought in *Mohammed*'s time; and that stroke proved mortal. After which, the villain took to his heels, saying as he made off, *By the lord of the Caaba, I have killed him*. Of the assassins *Shabib* only escaped the punishment due to so atrocious a crime. For *Werdân*, having been seen with a sword in his hand lifted up against *Ali*, was pursued home by a *Moslem*, who killed him upon the spot; and *Abd'alrahmân* was seized, lurking in a corner, with his sword in his hand, and soon constrained, by a consciousness of his guilt, to own himself the murderer of *Ali*. The *Khalif* ordered his son *Hasan* to put him under arrest, to supply him with necessaries of every kind, and, if he died, to execute him at one stroke only. *Hasan*, according to the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, probably some of the *Persian* historians, punctually observed what had been enjoined him by his father, who died either on the 19th, 20th, or 21st, of *Ramadân*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 660. With these, however, the *Arab* authors by no means agree. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abulfeda* relate this matter after a quite different manner. According to them, the hands and feet of the assassin were cut off, his eyes put out with a red hot iron, his tongue cut out, and then he was reduced to ashes. Others say, that he was first beheaded, and his body afterwards burnt. Here we must beg leave to observe, that the account given by *Abu Jaafar* and *Abulfeda* of this tragical affair seems to have the greatest appearance of truth on its side; since the enormity of the crime and the vindictive disposition of the *Arabs* render it highly probable, that, whatever orders *Ali* might give in his life-time to the contrary, the bloody villain *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, for so execrable a fact as the assassination of the *Khalif*, would be put to a most cruel death. *Abu Jaafar* writes, that *Ali* said to the people about him, "If I recover, spare *Abd'alrahmân*; but if I die, send him after me, that I may have an immediate opportunity of accusing

“him before the divine tribunal.” With regard to the place of his interment, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say, he was buried opposite to the mosque in *Cûfa*; others in the royal palace there; and others, that his son *Hasan* deposited his remains by those of his wife *Fâtéma* at *Medina*. But, according to *Ebn Al Athir* and *Abulfeda*, he was buried in that place which is visited by the *Moslems* as his tomb at this day. The sepulchre of *Ali* was kept concealed during the reigns of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Ommiyah*, and discovered whilst one of those of the house of *Abbâs* sat upon the *Moslem* throne. *Adado'ddawla*, the second prince or *Salsân* of the house of *Bûiyah*, who began to reign at *Baghdâd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 366, or of *CHRIST* 976, under the *Khalif* *Al Tay' Ebn Al Moty'*, erected a superb monument on the spot where *Ali* was interred, which is called by the *Persians* *Konbud Faïd Al Anwâr*, that is, *the dome of the distributor of lights and graces*.

The Christian writers say little of the Khalifat of Ali.

It has been observed by some of the *Moslem* writers, that *Ali*, during the month in which he was killed, had several presages of his death; and that some words, when he was in private with his particular friends, to this effect escaped him. He was heard once to say, after he had suffered a good deal of inquietude, *Alas! my heart, there is need of patience, as no remedy can be found out against death*. In fine, on *Friday*, the 17th of *Ramadân*, early in the morning, when he set out for the mosque, it was remarked, that a large troop of domestic birds made an uncommon noise, as he passed through his yard; and that, when one of his slaves threw a stick at them, to make them silent, he said, *Let them alone; for their cries are only lamentations foreboding my death*. He was assassinated by *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi*, in the month of *Ramadân*, in the 40th year of the *Hejra*; being then about 63, or, according to some 57, or lastly, as others will have it, 58 years of age. But, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, he was either 63, 56, or 59 years old, when he met with his tragical fate. The wound would not have been attended with any fatal consequences, had not the sword that gave it been poisoned; but the poison, soon diffusing itself over the whole mass of blood, rendered it mortal. He reigned about four years and nine, or, as others say, ten, months. The *Christian* historians take little notice of what happened during his *Khalifat*. One of them, however, observes, that, in an engagement between him and *Moâwiyah* near the *Euphrates*,

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ISM. ABULFED. & EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. EUTYCH. D'HERBEL. & GREG. ABUL-FARAJ, ubi sup.*

by which he must undoubtedly mean the battle of *Seffin*, the latter had the advantage; which, according to him, was owing to the want of water that *Ali*'s troops laboured under, *Mosawiyah* having taken care to cut off all communication between them and the *Euphrates*. This single instance is a demonstrative proof, to omit an infinite number of others that occur, of the little light given by the *Greek* writers to the *Arabic* history, during the infancy of *Islamism*; and, of course, clearly shews how much we are obliged to the oriental historians for the assistance they afford us in compiling that history for this particular period. The *Christian* author here referred to calls *Ali* the prince of *Persia*, because, as we suppose, he was in some measure supported by the troops of *Irâk*, and the *Persian* forces; and only in general insinuates; that he came to a violent death. Another *Christian* writer, of the *Jacobite* persuasion, only intimates, that a battle was fought by the *Arabs* engaged in a civil war, meaning that of *Seffin*, in the year of CHRIST 657, without informing us of the consequences of it, or communicating to us any particulars of that action; and that the *Moslems* were harassed during the space of five years after *Othmân*'s death with intestine commotions. That author, by mistake, gives *Ali* the name of *Abbâs*, and says, that this prince was assassinated by his own subjects, whilst he was on his knees at prayers. He also intirely omits the *Khalifat* of *Hasan*, *Ali*'s son; which was, indeed, but of a very short and inconsiderable duration¹.

As to his person, *Ali* had a very red face, large eyes, a prominent belly, a large beard, a hairy breast, a bald head, and ^{*son and*} a very swarthy complexion. He was rather short than middle-sized; of a youthful, florid, and frequently smiling, countenance. Some, however, write, that he had hair on his head, which was not very grey, but formed into curls. With regard to his disposition, this *Khalif*, if we will believe the *Moslem* writers, had the fear of GOD constantly before his eyes, was extremely charitable, just, humble, and a strenuous defender of what they call the true religion. He was also very acute, learned, and extremely well versed in all useful arts and sciences. His bravery never failed him; nor was he more eminent and conspicuous for that than for his liberality and munificence, as well as that sweetness of temper which so remarkably distinguished him on all occasions. His secretaries were *Abd'allah Ebn Rafi* and *Sa'id Ebn Neurân*, of *Haz-*

¹ D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 94. ABU JAAPAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ABULFED. EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 288. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 103.

mdan; his principal judge, *Sharib Ebn Al Hâreth*; the captain of his guards, *Ma'kal Ebn Kifi Al Zabaji*; and his chamberlain *Basber*, or, according to *Eutychius*, *Kanbar*, his servant. The inscription of his seal was, *The kingdom belongs to the only the mighty GOD* *.

His family.

ALI had in all nine wives; the first of which was *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, during whose life he married no other woman. He had by her three sons, *Hasan*, *Hosein*, and *Mohaffan*; the last of which died in his infancy. His second wife was *Omm Al Nebiyin*, who bore him four children, *Abd'allah*, *Abbâs*, *Othmân*, and *Jaafar*, who were all killed at the battle of *Kerbelab*. *Asimah*, his third wife, was the mother of *Yabya* and *Aûn*; as *Omm Habiba*, was of *Omar*. His sixth wife, *Khaulab*, was the mother of *Mohammed*, surnamed *Ebn Hanifyab*, of whom a farther account will be given hereafter. The names of the other three wives have not been handed down to us by any of the oriental historians; tho' three more of his sons, *Mohammed the second*, *Mohammed the younger*, and *Amru*, have been mentioned by some of them. Besides which, there was another that has been passed over in silence by all the eastern writers. For, it clearly appears from some authors of good repute, that he had fifteen sons, five of whom only, *Hasan*, *Hosein*, *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyab*, *Abbâs*, and *Amru*, left issue behind them. As for his daughters, who were no fewer than eighteen, we find no material particulars concerning them, preserved by the Arab historians. And let this suffice for an account of the family of *Ali*, which we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit here, as it will be of singular service to us hereafter, by enabling us to understand several passages of the *Moslem* historians; which, without it, would be almost, if not altogether, unintelligible *.

Some farther particulars concerning him and his family.

A vast number of the *Moslems*, and particularly all the *Shiites*, pretend, that *Ali* was the first who embraced their religion. Nay, some of them go so far as to assert, that he made profession of it in his mother's womb; and even hindered her, during her pregnancy, from prostrating herself before an idol she commonly worshipped. They also say, that his mother was delivered of him in the very temple of *Mecca* itself; which never happened to any one else. The name his mother gave him first was *Kaid*; but *Mohammed* changed it into *Ali*. The form of benediction added by the

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. ut & ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342—345. * Ibid. ABULFED. EBN AL ATHIR, AL JANNAB. AL KODAI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, &c. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 94, 95.

Moslems, when they name him, is, God glorify the face of him. *Mohammed* himself is reported to have said of him, *Ali is for me, and I for him; he bears the same relation to me that Aaron did to Moses; I am the city in which all knowledge is shut up, and he is the gate of it.* Several of the eastern writers have been very prolix in their accounts of the excellence and prerogatives of the house of *Ali*. One of them in particular, named *Amūd*, has produced a thousand pretended traditions of *Mohammed* concerning the excellence of this *Khalif*, and in favour of the *Shiites*; who gave him a large sum of money for drawing up that composition *.

THE *Shiites* are the opponents of the *Kbārejites*, of whom *An* we have already given our readers some account. Their name *count* of properly signifies *sectaries*, or *adherents*, in general; but is *his* particularly used to denote those of *Ali Ebn Abu Tāleb*; who maintain him to be lawful *Khalif* and *Imām*, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendents. They also teach, that the office of *Imām* is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, but a fundamental article of religion, that could not have been left by the prophet to the fancy of the common people. Nay, some of them, thence called *Imāmians*, have not scrupled to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true *Imām*. The principal sects, or branches, of the *Shiites* are five, which are subdivided into an almost infinite number; so that some understand *Mohammed's* prophecy of the seventy odd sects of the *Shiites* only. But *Ali* himself, according to *Ebn Al Athir*, was of a different opinion; since, a little before the *day of the camel*, he assured his subjects, that the worst of the seventy-three sects into which the *Moslems* were to be divided, would be that which set him at nought, and refused to follow his example. The *Kassabians*, one of the five primary sects of the *Shiites*, entertain very extravagant sentiments in several points. They believe, that *Ali* was more than a man; and that this supreme pontiff and director of *Islamism* is still living. They also reckon the succession of the twelve *Imāms* of the posterity of *Ali* in a manner peculiar to themselves, and different from the computation observed by every other sect. The general opinions of the *Shiites* are, 1. That the peculiar designation of the *Imām*, and the testimonies of the *Korān* and *Mohammed* concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the *Imāms* ought necessarily to keep themselves free from legal sins, as well as those that are more

* ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. viii. p. 19, 20, & alib. AL BOKHARI, MOSLEM, &c. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 95. & GAGN. la vie de Mahom, tom, ii. p. 212.

grievous. 3. That every one ought publickly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be not the least dissimulation. In this last point, however, the *Zeidians*, a sect of the *Shiites*, so named from *Zeid*, the great grandson of *Ali*, dissented from all the rest of the *Moslems*, whose tenets we are here considering. The great schism between the *Sunnites*, or *Traditionists*, that is, those of the *Moslems* who acknowledge the authority of the *Sonna*, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of *Mohammed*, and the *Shiites*, or partizans of *Ali*, still subsists, and is maintained on both sides with implacable hatred and most furious zeal at this very day. This most remarkable difference at first arose upon a political occasion, which commenced in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, as sufficiently appears from the preceding history of that reign; and was afterwards so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that, at present, both parties detest and anathematize one another as the most abominable of heretics, and even farther from the truth than either the *Christians* or the *Jews*. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. The *Shiites* reject *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, the three first *Khalifs*, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the *Sunnites* acknowledge and respect them as rightful *Imâms*. 2. The *Shiites* prefer *Ali* to *Mohammed*, or, at least, esteem them both equal; but the *Sunnites* admit neither *Ali*, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to *Mohammed*. 3. The *Sunnites* charge the *Shiites* with corrupting the *Korân*, and neglecting its precepts; and the *Shiites* retort the same charge upon the *Sunnites*. 4. The *Sunnites* receive the *Sonna*, or book of traditions of their prophet, from whence they derive their name, as of canonical authority; whereas the *Shiites* reject it as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit. And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has so long reigned between the *Turks*, who are *Sunnites*, and the *Persians*, who are of the sect of *Ali*. Some authors maintain, that these last are subdivided into no less than seventy different branches, or smaller sects; all of which hold a *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, and the *Al Hakk*, or descent of God upon his creatures, or the transmission of the spirit of sanctity from one person to another. The *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah* likewise, and their successors, the *Shiites* consider in the same light as they do the three first *Khalifs*, *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*. The *Sunnites* make use of the word *Shiites*, or *Shii*, and apply it to their adversaries, as a term of reproach, formed from *Sbiyah*, denoting properly a scandalous reprobate sect. For, a sect that follows

approved

approved opinions is called by the *Arabs Medheb*. The partizans of *Ali*, therefore, stile themselves *Adahyah*, which signifies the religion of them who follow justice and the right side; and stigmatize the *Sonnites* with the odious appellation of *Shiites*. At this day, the powerful kingdom of *Persia*, one half of the princes of the *Uzbeks*, whose dominions lie beyond the *Fibin*, or the *Amu*, the *Oxus* of the antients, and some *Mohammedan* kings of the *Indies*, are followers of *Ali*, and, amongst the other *Mohammedans*, go under the afore said opprobrious denomination.

NOTWITHSTANDING the sepulchre of *Ali* is so well known *The extra-* to be near *Cufa*, many of his followers believe him to be still *vagant* alive; and affirm, that he shall come at the end of the world *notions the* with *Elias* in the clouds, and fill the earth with piety and *Shiites en-* justice. Nay, several of his votaries have carried their vene- *ertain of* ration for him and his descendents so far, that they have trans- *Ali*. gressed all bounds of reason and decency; tho' some of them have been less extravagant than others. The *Gholaites*, who had their name from their *excessive* zeal for their *Imams*, were so highly transported therewith, that they raised them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them; transgressing in both extremes, by deifying of mortal men, and by making GOD corporeal: for one while they assimilated one of their *Imams* to GOD, which was sinning in excess; and another while they made GOD to resemble a creature, which may be considered as a sin in defect, and is consequently placed in the opposite extreme. The sects of these are various, and have various appellations assigned them in different countries. *Abd'allah Ebn Saba*, who had been a *Jew*, and had asserted the same thing of *Jeshua* the son of *Nun*, was the ring-leader of one of them. This man gave the following salutation to *Ali*, viz. *Thou art Thou*, i. e. *Thou art GOD*. And another, named *Alabâ Ebn Darâ Al Hasâdi*, preferred *Ali* to *Mohammed*; pretending that the latter was sent by the former to call all men to him; but that, being an impostor, he called them to himself. Some of the *Shiites* assert, that the angel *Gabriel*, by mistake, took *Mohammed* for *Ali*, being deceived by the resemblance they bore to each other; those two prophets having been as like one another as are two crows; whence it came to pass, that they were called *Gora-*

† AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 261, 262, 263, ut & ipse Poc. ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 169. EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Schiab*. RYCAUT's state of the Ottoman empire, b. ii. c. 10, 12. CHARD. voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 169, 170, &c. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182. See also OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 30, 88.

hites,

bites, or the *Corvine* sect. The *Gholaites* above-mentioned were divided into several classes or branches; some maintaining the divinity, or something like it, of *Ali*, and others of some one of his descendents. By the *Al Holul* hinted at above, according to *Al Shabrestani*, they mean that GOD is present in every place, speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual person: whence several of them have asserted their *Imâms* to be prophets, and at length gods. The *Nofairians* and the *Ishâkians* taught, that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies; and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They also assert, that GOD hath appeared in the form of certain men; and since, after *Mohammed*, there hath been no man more excellent than *Ali*, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that GOD hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands; for which reason, say they, we attribute divinity to them. And, in support of these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of *Ali*; as his moving the gates of *Kbaibar*, which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity, and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form GOD appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands; wherefore, say they, he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth. In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in Scripture of CHRIST, by applying them to *Ali*. These extravagant fancies of the *Shiites*, however, in making their *Imâms* partake of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those *Imâms* in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other *Mohammedan* sects are tainted with the same madness; there being found many amongst them, and amongst the *Sûfis* especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people. We must not forget to observe here, that, amongst the descendents of *Ali*, there was one *Mohammed*, for whom one branch of the *Shiites*, ever since his death, have expressed a most particular regard and veneration. They are so firmly persuaded of the certainty of his second advent at the end of the world, that this notion is received amongst them as an article of faith, and he is deemed guilty of infidelity, who entertains the least doubt about so indubitable a point. Some of the *Shiites* believe, that there has been an interruption of the series of their *Imâms*, who are known by the name of *Al Wakefians*; tho' others contend for the uninterrupted succession of those *Imâms*, and maintain, that there shall never be one of them wanting to supply the place of their great prophet *Ali*: nay, several of them

them affirm, that there may be two lawful *Imâms* in different parts of the world at the same time, and even admit of the validity of all their decisions, how opposite and contradictory soever².

We have already observed, that *Ali*, on account of his superior bravery, was sometimes denominated by the *Arabs* the names. *AlHaidar*, or *AlHaidara*, which also denotes a *lion* in the *Arabic* language. The former of which appellations, the *victorious lion of God*, or the *lion of God*, was applied to persons remarkable for their valour by the *Hebrews* themselves, as may be inferred from Scripture. This ought to be considered as a proof of the great affinity between the proverbial expressions, as well as idioms, of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, to omit an infinite number of similar instances that might be produced and viewed in the same light. But this point is so clear, that it will not be disputed by any one who is at all acquainted with the spirit and genius of those languages (the latter of which is undoubtedly the daughter, or descendent, of the former) as well as the history of the nations to which they belong. The *Arabs* have also conferred upon *Ali* the surnames, or honourable titles, of *Wâsi*, *legatee*, or *heir*, that is, of *Mohammed*, and *Mortada*, or *Mortadi*, which signifies *beloved by*, or *acceptable to*, *God*. The latter of which surnames corrupted, as has been observed by Mr. *Ockley*, some *European* travellers have prefixed to his name, and absurdly called him *Mortis Ali*. The *Shii*, who are his followers, or rather adorers, often denominate him *Fâid Al Anwâr*, the *distributor of lights and graces*; and in *Persian*, *Shâh Mordman*, the *king of men*, and *Shîr Khoda*, the *lion of God*; which last seems to be a sort of translation of the first *Arabic* title here mentioned, that is undoubtedly of *Hebrew* extraction².

² AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. gen. cap. de gent. *Moslem*. sive *Mohammedan*. LUDOVIC. MARRACC. prodr. par. iii. p. 80, &c. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xlv. p. 90. ABU RAFE', apud Abulfed. ibid. AL SHAHREST. & Poc. ubi sup. p. 266, 267. AL GHAZAL. apud Pocockium, ibid. p. 267—269. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 96, 786, &c.

² ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 94. JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. xlv. p. 90. 2 SAM. xxiii. 20. VAL. SCHIMP. Lex. Pentaglot. p. 117. Hanoviæ, 1612.

BUT

Ali and his family cursed by the Khalifs of the house of Ommyyah.

BUT notwithstanding the fulsom, or rather impious, eulogies bestowed on *Ali* and his family, they were cursed publicly, and excommunicated, in all the mosques of the empire, during the reigns of the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommyyah*, from the accession of *Mo'awiyah* to the time of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, who suppressed that solemn malediction. Several *Khalifs* likewise of the family of *Abbās* expressed a great aversion both to him and his posterity; such were *Al Mo'taded* and *Al Motawakkel*, to whom he is reported to have appeared in their sleep, and threatened them with his indignation. On the contrary, the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Egypt* ordered his name to be added to that of *Mohammed* in the publication of the times of prayer, which the *Muedhdbins*, or criers, made from the *minarets*, or steeples, of their mosques. The oriental writers mention several apparitions of *Ali*, after his death, and particularly those that happened in the days of the *Khalifs* *Al Mo'tasem*, *Al Mo'taded*, *Al Motawakkel*, and *Al Kader*; in the last of which *Ali* seemed to be of an extraordinary stature, told *Al Kader* he should soon be advanced to the *Khalifat*, and recommended the care of his posterity to him^b.

The pieces ascribed to Ali.

AFTER what has been said, it cannot appear wonderful, that *Ali's* wisdom should be so celebrated amongst all the *Mohammedans*. There is extant of his a *Centiloquium*, or an hundred sentences, which have been translated into *Turkish* and *Persian* out of the *Arabic*; as likewise a collection of verses under the title of *Anwâr Al Okail men asbâr wasî al resûl*, which is to be met with in the *French* king's library. We have in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* a large book of his sentences, or maxims; an *English* translation of which has been annexed to his history of the *Saracens* by the learned Mr. *Ockley*. But the most celebrated piece of all is intitled *Jesr we Jame*. It is written upon parchment in mysterious characters intermixed with figures, wherein are couched all the grand events that are to happen from the beginning of *Islamism* to the end of the world. This parchment is deposited in the hands of those of his family, and even to this time nobody has deciphered it in any manner but *Jaasar Sadek*. For, as to the intire explication of it, that is reserved for the twelfth *Imam*, who is surnamed, by way of excellence, *Al Mohdi*, or the grand director^c.

Some of his sentences and maxims.

BESIDES the books above-mentioned, several sentences and apophthegms, under the name of *Ali*, occur in the oriental writers. The author of *Rabi Al Akyar* quotes this, which is

^b AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, pass. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. pass. ^c D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali*, p. 95. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 84—87.

one of the most striking and instructive: *If a man would be rich without means, powerful without subjects, and subject without a master; let him depart from sin, and serve God, and he will find these three things.* One of his captains having one day asked him, with impudence enough, what was the reason that the reigns of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, his predecessors, were so peaceable, and that of *Othmân* and his own so full of troubles? the *Khalif* answered, with great acuteness and sagacity, in the following terms: "The reason is plain. It is "because *Othmân* and I served *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, during "their reign; and *Othmân* and I found no body to serve us "but you, and such as are like you."

THERE is in the book *Rabi Al Akyar* likewise another of *Ali's* maxims, which is extremely remarkable, and diametrically opposite to the conduct of those who so highly value themselves upon account of their being his followers: "Take "care," said he, "never to separate yourselves from the society of the other *Moslems*. For, he that separates himself "from them belongs to the devil, as the sheep that leave the "stock appertain to the wolf. Give no quarter, therefore, to "him who marches under the standard of *schism*, though he "wears my turbant on his head; since he carries along with "him the infallible mark of a man that walketh wrong." It has been remarked by *M. D'Herbelot*, that the sectaries who entertain such elevated sentiments of *Ali* have not only a turbant of a particular form, but likewise that they twist their hair in a different manner from that of the rest of the *Moslems*. The family of *Ali* is divided into several branches; the principal of which is formed by the descendents of *Hosein*, the second son of that *Khalif*; as this branch continues the lineal descent of the twelve *Imâms*. Nevertheless, the family of *Hasan*, his eldest son, who succeeded his father in the *Khalifat*, has produced several persons, who have made a considerable figure, and even occasioned insurrections in different provinces of the empire, under the government of the *Khalifs* both of the house of *Ommiyah* and *Al Abbâs*. From the former of these branches, and not the latter of them, as *M. D'Herbelot* has been pleased to assert, sprung *Mohammed*, who was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Medina* in the year of the *Hejra* 145, and who assumed the title of *Al Mohdi*, or *Mahadi*; that is, the supreme, or general, director of the *Moslems*. This new *Khalif*, who was the great grandson of *Hosein*, had a brother called *Ibrahim*, who caused *Irâk*, and a great part of *Persia*, to revolt at the same time from the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. But the movements occasioned in the empire by these two princes were not of any long continuance;

“D'HÉRIBEL. et OCKLEY, ubi sup.

they having both been soon defeated by that *Khalif's* nephew, who sent their heads to his uncle, who was then building the city of *Baghdád*. *Al Mansúr* having received advice of that victory, which restored peace to his dominions, took occasion from thence to honour his new city with the title, or surname, of *Dar al Salám*, that is, *the house, or habitation, of peace* *.

Another of his say- ings. BESIDES the aforesaid maxims, or sentences, attributed to *Ali*, we find the following passage ascribed to him by *Hosein Waez*, in his paraphrase and commentary upon the *Korán*:

“ God has given men two *Imáms*, that is to say, two pontiffs, or mediators, between him and them. The first is the prophet, who is gone, and is no more amongst them. The second, which remains, and always shall continue with them, is the prayer that they make to obtain pardon of their sins †.”

The descendants of *Ali* occasion some disturbances in the empire.

THERE was another great grandson of *Hosein*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *M. D'Herbelot*, besides that above-mentioned, who began to make a noise in the *Khalifat* of *Harún Al Rashid*, named *Yahya Ebn Abd'allah*; but he was soon rendered incapable of executing any seditious designs. This ill success, however, did not hinder others of *Ali's* descendants, in successive periods of time, from making themselves masters of several provinces; as of *Mazanderán*, in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mostain* and *Al Mostaded*, of *Kermán*, in the times of the princes of the family of *Seljúk*, of part of *Khorasán* and *Tabaristán*, in the days of the *Seltáns* of *Khwarazm*, of *Yaman* and *Cúfa*, and, in fine, of a great part of the provinces conquered by the *Moslems* in *Africa*. The *Khalifat* being afterwards transferred from the house of *Ommiyah* to that of *Al Abbás*, which was nearly related to *Ali*, as being descended from their common ancestor *Háshem*, the *Khalifs* of the former family were excommunicated in their turn, in the same solemn manner that *Moáwiyah* had excommunicated *Ali* and his family, in all the mosques within his jurisdiction. *Ahmed*, the third son of *Al Búiyah*, surnamed *Moexo'ddawla*, having made himself master of *Baghdád*, and consequently of the person of the *Khalif Al Mostakfi*, of the house of *Abbás*, did not content himself with cursing and anathematizing publicly the family of *Ommiyah* by word of mouth, but he likewise ordered the malediction to be engraved in large characters upon the gates of all the mosques; together with the principal causes of that fulmination. These were, 1. Because *Moáwiyah* and his family had deprived *Ali's* descendants of the territory of *Fidák*,

* D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 95, 96. AL MAKIN & GREG.

ABU'L-FARAJ, pass.

† HOSEIN WAEZ, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 95. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.

which

which *Mohammed* had given his daughter *Fâtema* as a dower, when he married her to *Ali*. 2. Because the members of that family would not suffer *Hafan* to be buried near the remains of his grandfather *Mohammed*. 3. Because the house of *Ommiyah* had excluded *Abbâs*, from whom the *Khalifs* of his family deduced their origin, from the number of those who were rendered capable of aspiring to the *Khalifat* after the death of *Omar*. The same *Ahmed* had so high a regard for the memory of *Ali*, that he once intended to transfer the *Khalifat* of *Baghdâd* from the branch of the house of *Ali*, or rather of *Hâshem*, that then reigned, to his lineal descendants; tho' this design, however sanguine that prince might be in the formation of it, was never carried into execution ².

Thus have we finished our history of the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, *Ali one of* and given our readers a fuller and more perfect account of the *the great-* memorable transactions of that great prince's reign than is to *est men* be met with in any other author. And if we have been a *ever pro-* little more prolix than usual in our description of the principal events that happened during the short interval he sat upon *duced in* the *Moslem* throne, as well as of the principal tenets, and fate of his followers, even to the present time; this, we flatter ourselves, will not only be excused by, but even prove acceptable to, our curious readers; as it contains in it so very considerable a part of the *Arab* history, and renders much more intelligible what is hereafter to follow. Besides, it would have been unpardonable in us, and so deemed by all our judicious and intelligent readers, to have been in any respect deficient in our relation of the glorious exploits of *Ali*, who was certainly by much the most considerable person, after *Mohammed*, that ever was born in the peninsula of the *Arabs*. Nay, with regard to his courage, temper, and understanding, he seems to have been at least equal, if not superior, to the *Moslem* prophet himself; and consequently from those who paid so great a deference to *Mohammed's* decisions, he ought to have met with a better fate ³.

S E C T. V.

THE poison communicated to the mass of blood by *Ab-He is suc-* *d'alrahmân Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi's* sword having ren- *ceeded by* dered the wound received by *Ali* from that assassin mortal, his *his son* friends desired him to nominate a successor before his death. *Hasan*. But he told them, that, with regard to this affair, he would

² AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et D'HERBEL. in Biblioth. orient. pass.

³ D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali*. OCKLEY's introduct. to his hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. xxxviii. and his hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 89.

follow the example of the apostle of God, who left the election to the people. However, his son *Hasan*, inheriting his father's piety, though not his courage, and being greatly esteemed on *Ali's* account, was advanced to the *Khalifat*, without any scruple or debate. In the public harangue that, as eldest son, he made to the people, immediately after his father was dead, he expressed his sense of the late *Khalif's* assassination, as well as his superior merit, in the following remarkable terms: "You have killed," said he, "a man on the same night in which the *Korán* came down from heaven, in which *Isa* ascended into heaven, and in which *Jeshua*, the son of *Nun*, was slain. None of his predecessors excelled him, nor will any of his successors be ever equal to him." At his inauguration, which soon after followed, *Kais* addressed himself to him in this form: "Stretch out your hand, as a token that you will adhere to the book of God, as well as the collection of apostolic traditions, and make war against all their opposers." *Hasan* answered, "Very willingly, as the book of God, and the traditions of his apostle, will always stand their ground." The principal of his other subjects then approaching, he insisted upon their being obedient to him, at peace with his friends, and at war with his enemies. The last of which articles by no means pleased the troops of *Irák*, who, being greatly fatigued with the *Syrian* war, had flattered themselves with the hopes of enjoying the sweets of a durable peace, after the new *Khalif* had mounted the *Moslem* throne¹.

A rupture apprehended between *Hasan* and *Moâ-wiyah*.

BUT it was soon perceived, that, notwithstanding a fort of treaty had been precipitately struck up between *Ali* and *Moâ-wiyah*, a little before the violent death of the former, such measures were pursued by the latter, as must in a short time infallibly disturb the public repose. That prince kept on foot a powerful army, with which he threatened to make an irruption into *Irák*. He looked with an evil eye upon *Hasan*, both before and after his father's death; and even refused to recognize his authority after his accession. Nay, he assigned as a reason for this, that *Hasan* had been an accomplice in the murder of *Othmán*; which was a plain indication of his hostile intentions, as a greater affront than that could not have been offered him².

Hasan offers to resign the Khalifat to Moâ-wiyah;

IN the mean time, *Hasan* was pressed by those about him to come to an open rupture with *Moâ-wiyah*; tho' he was of a most pacific disposition, looked upon the effusion of *Moslem*

¹ EEN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ² ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

blood with the greatest horror, and consequently was by no means qualified for such an undertaking. However, he was at last prevailed upon, contrary to his inclination, to declare war against *Moâwiyah*, and even to begin his march for the invasion of that prince's territories. As *Ali* had left behind him a well-disciplined army, consisting of 60,000 men, who had entered into an engagement to support him, and his pretensions, to the last drop of their blood; *Hasan* was persuaded to carry on the war with vigour, and to exert himself in the prosecution of it. Before the new *Khalif*, therefore, began his march, he sent *Kais Ebn Saad* towards the frontiers with a body of 12,000 men; of which *Moâwiyah* receiving advice, he advanced to *Ma'sken*, a place in the neighbourhood and district of *Cûfa*, where he took post with all his forces. But, before his arrival there, he sent *Basber*, or *Basfar*, *Ebn Ariab* with a strong detachment to reconnoitre the enemy, and give him intelligence of their motions. *Basfar* happening to meet with the troops commanded by *Kais Ebn Saad*, a brisk dispute ensued between them; but which side had the advantage, we are not informed by any of the Arab historians. Soon after the end of the action, *Hasan*, with the army he led against *Moâwiyah*, reached *Al Madâyen*; but had scarce entered that place, when a spirit of mutiny, excited by the sudden murder of one of his men, inflamed the troops, and had like to have proved fatal to him. He was not only, without any regard to his distinction, thrown from his seat, but likewise wounded by some of the soldiery. Nay, upon his retiring into the castle of *Al Madâyen*, in order to avoid a more tragical fate, the governor's nephew solicited his uncle to deliver him up into the hands of *Moâwiyah*. To this the governor turned a deaf ear, and even rejected the proposal made by his nephew with indignation. However, *Hasan*, finding himself deserted by the troops of *Irâk*, perceiving the other part of the army wavering in their fidelity to him, and being sufficiently frightened by the disturbance that had lately happened, wrote a letter to *Moâwiyah*, offering, upon certain terms, to resign the *Khalifat* to him¹.

BEFORE the letter was sent away, his brother *Hossein* did and actually his utmost to divert him from the resolution he seemed too ally resigns precipitately to have taken; representing to him, that nothing could be a more severe reflection upon his father's memory than such an unseasonable and ill-timed abdication. But

¹ ISM. ABULFED. et EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. vi. p. 44. ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 191, 192.

Hasan being well apprized of *Moâwiyah's* courage and activity on one side, and of the perfidious disposition of the forces drawn from *Irâk* on the other, was determined to persist in his former resolution. Nay, according to some authors, he had before rendered himself incapable of departing from it, by making a similar proposal to *Moâwiyah* before the last action between *Bashâr Ebn Artab* and *Kais Ebn Saad*, or *Kais Ebn Said*, and the disturbance that had happened at *Al Madâyen*. In answer to which, as we find intimated by the same authors, *Moâwiyah* had sent him a *carte blanche*, or a full and unlimited power to prescribe what terms he should think fit; assuring him of an absolute compliance with them. This paper, however, according to what has been suggested by them, seems not to have reached *Hasan* till he had sent his second letter; which induced him to desire an interview with *Moâwiyah*; wherein he insisted upon more advantageous conditions than those he had formerly demanded. But with these *Moâwiyah* refused to comply; alledging, that it would be dishonourable in *Hasan* to deviate from his own terms. However, at last a treaty was signed by them both, which consisted of the following articles. First, *Hasan* shall receive all the money in the treasury at *Cûsa*. Secondly, *Moâwiyah* shall assign him the revenue arising from *Daraljerd*, a district of considerable extent in *Persia*. Thirdly, He shall never reflect upon the late *Khalif* in the presence of *Hasan*. Fourthly, He shall grant a pardon and amnesty to all those who adhered to *Alî*; and, after his death, to *Hasan*, in the former troubles that so distracted the *Moslems*. Fifthly, in consideration of these concessions, *Hasan* shall renounce all pretensions to the *Khalifat*, and consequently henceforth recognize the authority of *Moâwiyah*, as supreme director of the *Moslems*, and emperor of the faithful. The money found in the treasury at *Cûsa* amounted to 5,000,000 *dirhems*; but this never came into *Hasan's* hands, as will hereafter more fully appear. *Abu'l-Faraj* relates, that the effusion of blood in the engagement between *Bashâr* and *Kais*, which struck him with horror, first disposed *Hasan* to an accommodation; which manifestly implies, that, on both sides, many men must have been killed in that action. It has been observed by *Al Makin*, that *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah* had an interview at *Masken*, in the 41st year of the *Hejra*, a little before the conclusion of the aforesaid treaty ^m.

Hasan retires to Medina.

FROM *Masken*, which seems to have been the scene of the late negotiation, *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah*, after they had settled

^m ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 192. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

the terms of the pacification, set out in company for *Cûsa*; into which they made their public entry together, in a very amicable manner. Upon their arrival there, *Moâwiyah* commanded *Hasan*, by *Amru Ebn Al As's* advice, to notify to the people in a speech his abdication; which he did in such terms as seemed to preface a new révolution. This so exasperated *Moâwiyah*, that he ordered *Hasan* instantly to sit down, and severely reprimanded *Amru* for the advice he had given him. Nay, some authors say, that he was never afterwards thoroughly reconciled to that general. Be that as it will, as such a public speech from *Hasan* was altogether superfluous, it seemed to indicate a great want of judgment and discretion in *Moâwiyah* to require this of him, especially as he might have been sensible that it would furnish an unhappy man with an opportunity of lashing him who had been the source of all his misfortunes. Before his departure from *Cûsa*, *Hasan* accused publicly the people of *Irâk* of his father's murder, of several insults offered to his person, and of plundering him of his lawful effects. The last crime he laid to their charge, their conduct after the conclusion of the late treaty proved them to be guilty of; for tho', by one of the articles of that treaty, the public money at *Cûsa* ought to have been deposited in his hands, *Moâwiyah* could not prevail upon the inhabitants of that city, the capital of the *Arab Irâk*, to put him in possession of it, by any motive whatsoever. However, in order to compensate the loss *Hasan* sustained on this occasion, *Moâwiyah*, whose ambition had been so fully gratified, assigned him an annual pension of 150,000 *dinârs*, and made him several presents of very considerable value. Being thus reduced to the condition of a private person, he and his brother *Hosein* retired to *Medina*, where he spent the remainder of his days. Most of his vast revenue he disposed of in acts of charity; and was so little attached to the things of this world, that he twice stripped himself of all he had, and thrice divided half of his substance amongst the poor. Notwithstanding his abdication, the *Persians* affirm, that he was *Khalif* and *Imâm* to the day of his death. They also, as well as the other followers of *Ali*, maintain, that he and his two sons were the three first lawful *Imâms* ².

AL MAKIN observes, that the first day of *Hasan's Khalifat* He reigned was *Monday*, and the last *Friday*; as also that he reigned six only about months and five days; but, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, he sat six months upon the throne five months only. His father's last secretary

² Idem ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 119, 123. KHONDÉMIR, D'HÉRBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hassan*. MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

continued in his post during the short *Khalifat* of *Hasan*; whose symbol, or motto, on his seal was, *There is no God but God, the true and manifest king*. *Sharib Ebn Al Hâreth*, who had been *Ali*'s principal judge, served his son *Hasan* also in the same capacity. After the conclusion of the late treaty, *Hasan* immediately ceded *Cûsa* to *Moâwiyah*, who, with his former competitor, made his public entry into that city on the 26th day of the former *Rabî*, or, as others will have it, on the same day of the former *Jomâda*, in the 41st year of the *Hejra*. That *Masken*, the place where *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah* had had an interview before that entry, was about a station distant from *Cûsa*, we may infer from *Abu'l-Faraj* °.

He declines the command of a body of troops.

UPON *Hasan*'s arrival at *Medina*, some of his friends there greatly censured his conduct; which nevertheless has always been urged by the *Shiites* as a demonstrative proof of the excellence of his disposition, and his tenderness for the people over whom, by their unanimous suffrages, he was appointed to preside. The reasons he himself assigned for his conduct on this occasion were, that he was tired of the world, and that the *Cûsans* were so faithless, perfidious, and mischievous a people, that it would be impossible for him ever to meet with any assistance from them. Which character of them was extremely just, tho' afterwards they seemed to be touched with remorse for their traiterous behaviour to him. For, when he first entertained thoughts of a resignation, and told them, that "he was their commander and chief, of their prophet's family, from which all pollution had been removed, and which God had purified," they all burst out into tears, and wept so loud, that every one of them might have been heard to sob. They also shed many tears at his final departure from *Cûsa*, after he had come to a fixed resolution to make *Medina* the place of his residence. Nor did that restless people fail giving some disturbance to his successor *Moâwiyah*; tho' we do not find, that this was attended with any fatal effects. For, the *Khârejites*, not long after *Hasan*'s arrival at *Medina*, made an insurrection against *Moâwiyah*, who thereupon desired him to lead an army against them. But *Hasan* declined the command of the army offered him, telling the *Khalif*, that, had he had a military genius, he should have exercised it against him, and not have taken leave of public affairs. *Moâwiyah* probably offered him that command, with a view of shortening his days; since 'tis certain he conceived an aversion to him, on account of the foregoing

° *ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. *D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.* p. 434.

speech,

speech, which, in all likelihood, was never afterwards thoroughly obliterated or effaced P.

HASAN enjoyed the sweets of a private life about eight years after his abdication, and died at *Medina* in the 49th year of the *Hejra*, coincident with the year of our LORD 669. He was poisoned by his wife *Jaadab*, according to *Hafsedh* *Hejra* 49. *Abru*, who had been bribed by *Moâwiyah* with large presents to perpetrate that execrable crime. We are told by a very learned author, extremely well versed in oriental history, that, by an article of the foregoing treaty, *Moâwiyah* engaged himself not to nominate a successor during the life of *Hasan*; but to leave him the power of chusing a certain number of persons, in whose hands the election of a new *Khalif* was to be lodged, as had formerly been done by *Omar*. But *Moâwiyah* having afterwards an inclination to leave the *Khalifat* to his son *Yezid*, and not finding this practicable without the death of *Hasan*; in order to gratify his inclination, he prevailed upon *Jaadab*, by valuable presents, and by promising her his son *Yezid* in marriage, to put a period to her husband's days. This she did, by rubbing him with a poisoned linen cloth, that had been sent her by *Moâwiyah* for that purpose, which was the immediate cause of his death. Of which *Moâwiyah* being apprized, he remitted her a sum of 500,000 *dirhems*, as a reward for her villainy; but took care to keep far enough from her embraces his son *Yezid*. *Hasan* was born in the third year of the *Hejra*, and died when he was about 47 lunar years of age. When he was at the point of death, his physician told his brother *Hosein*, that his bowels were consumed with poison. This greatly affected *Hosein*, who begged *Hasan* to impart to him the name of the murderer, which it seems he knew, that he might take vengeance of him for so barbarous an action. But this *Hasan* refused to do; saying, "O brother! the life of this world is made up of nights that vanish away. Let him alone, till he and I meet before the divine tribunal, where he will certainly have justice done him." Some authors relate, that *Jaadab* was clear of the horrid fact laid here to her charge; and that certain of his servants, at the instigation of *Moâwiyah*, found means to dispatch him. Be that as it will, it is universally agreed, that *Moâwiyah* was the principal agent in this tragical affair, and had the chief hand in effecting his destruction. *Hasan* was born in the middle of the month of *Ramadan*, and died either in the former *Rabi*, or *Safar*. Those who assert his wife to be innocent relate, that he had

† MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 193.

a poisonous draught given him by one of his servants, at the request, or rather command, of *Mo'awiyah*, which almost instantly destroyed him. *Hasan* was of a very mild, humane, beneficent, and pious disposition; and deserved a much better fate. From the year of the *Hejra*, in which this prince was born, it appears pretty plainly, that his father *Ali* must have been at least sixty-three years of age at the time of his death, in agreement with what we find advanced by some good authors; and therefore could not have been then so young as others have made him. *Hasan* performed five-and-twenty journeys on foot, according to *Al Makin*, though he had horses attending him in all those peregrinations.

Some remarkable particulars relating to him and his family.

AMONGST other traditions concerning this *Khalif*, current in all places where *Islamism* prevails, there is one that has been handed down to succeeding generations, containing several remarkable particulars of him. According to this, he was extremely like his grandfather *Mohammed*, who, as soon as he was born, spat in his mouth, and named him *Hasan*. That pretended prophet frequently expressed his fondness of this favourite child, says the same tradition, in a very disagreeable manner. When he was officiating in the mosque, little *Hasan* would sometimes clamber up to him; when, in order to please the boy, he would designedly prolong the prayers. Nay, sometimes in the midst of a discourse to the people, if he saw *Hasan* and *Hosein* approaching him, he would come down, embrace them, and take them up with him into the pulpit; and, after making an apology for his conduct on that occasion, proceed in his harangue. This could not but greatly endear *Hasan* to all the *Arabs*, who had any real regard or veneration for the memory of *Mohammed*. Nor is it to be doubted but he would have firmly seated himself upon the *Moslem* throne, had he been a man versed in military affairs; since the *Syrians* only set up *Mo'awiyah*, because there was none to oppose them. We are told by an anonymous *Arab* writer, that, according to a tradition of *Sefinah*, the apostle's freed-man, *Mohammed* said, "The *Khalifat* shall continue after me thirty years, and then shall commence a kingdom." From whence he inferred, that, as *Mohammed's* death preceded *Hasan's* abdication just thirty years, their apostle was a true prophet, and *Hasan* his rightful successor. *Al Bokhari* also relates, that *Mohammed* one day looking earnestly on little *Hasan*, then with him in the pulpit, broke out into the following prophetic exclamation:

† HAFEDH ARRU, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 434. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. EBN AL ATHIR, OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 97—101.

" O people! by means of this son of mine, the LORD GOD shall unite two great contending parties of the *Moslems*." No wonder then that *Hasan* should still be reckoned, even by a vast number of the *Sonmites* themselves, so illustrious an *Imâm*. He had in all twenty children; fifteen of whom were sons, and five daughters. The *Persians* maintain, that the succession of *Imâms* passed from *Hasan* to his younger brother *Hosein*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that *Hosein*, one of the descendants of *Hasan*, revolted in the *Khalifat* of *Al Hadi Ebn Al Mobdi*, according to M. D'Herbelot, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalif* at *Medina*, in the year of the *Hejra* 169. But of this our readers may expect a full and particular account in its proper place.

ANS. EBN MALEC reports, that a woman having once *Hasan's* made him a present of a bunch of fine herbs. he asked, whether she was a free-woman, or a slave? To which she replied, a slave; but that nevertheless the herbs she had presented him with were rare and curious. Upon which, he gave her her liberty, and said to those about him, " We have been instructed by GOD himself to give to those that make us presents something more valuable than what they bring us." By which he intimated, that this moral instruction was contained in the *Korân*; which the *Moslems* are taught to receive as the word of GOD. This may be considered as an instance of that generous and munificent disposition for which he has been celebrated by some of the *Arab* historians.

IT has also been related of this *Khalif*, that a slave having once thrown a dish of broth boiling hot, as he sat at table, upon him, and, fearing his resentment, immediately fell on his knees, and repeated these words: " Paradise is for those who bridle their anger." *Hasan* answered, " I am not angry." The slave proceeded; " and for those who forgive men." " I forgive you," said *Hasan*. The slave, however, finished the verse; adding, " for GOD loveth the beneficent." " Since it is so," said *Hasan*, " I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver." A noble instance this of moderation and generosity!

THE following sentence of *Hasan* has been quoted by some of the *Moslems*. " The tears which are let fall through devotion should not be wiped off, nor the water which remains upon the body after legal ablution; because this water makes the face of the faithful shine, when they pre-

* MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 414, 415, 434. KHONDEMIR, AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, &c. * ANS EBN MALEC, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. * Aut. RABI AL AKYAR, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.

"sent themselves before GOD." In fine, the beneficent actions, and moral maxims, of this pious *Imâm* are considered almost in the same light, by a great number of the *Moslems*, as even those of his father *Ali* and the prophet *Mohammed* himself ^u.

He frequently divorced his wives. SOME of the *Shiites*, in opposition to the body of the *Persian* nation, deduce the line, or descent, of the *Imâns* from *Abd'allah*, one of *Hasan's* sons, or rather from his son *Yahya*, and not from the descendents of *Hosein*. The *Hasan's* wives were all extremely fond of him, yet he frequently divorced them, and married new ones. As *Hasan* and *Hosein* were the sons of *Fâtema*, they were looked upon as the children of *Mohammed* himself, who in all respects ever treated them as such ^w.

Where buried. THOUGH *Hasan*, in his will, desired to be buried near his grandfather *Mohammed*, and therein left directions for that purpose; yet, as this was opposed by *Said*, the governor of *Medina*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, and all the grandees of the house of *Ommiyah* then in that place, *Aysha*, in whose house the body of the prophet lay interred, would not suffer his remains to be deposited there. This gave great disgust to all the members of *Ali's* family; so that the animosities between them and the house of *Ommiyah* rose to a greater height than ever. According to some authors, therefore, he was inhumed in the common burying-place, called *Al Baki*, at *Medina*. Others say, his body was placed in his mother *Fâtema's* tomb; and, lastly, others relate, that it was buried at *Yanbo*, a town on the sea *Al Kalzom*, at no very great distance from *Medina*, without handing down to us any account of the circumstances attending that event ^x.

S E C T. VI.

Moâwiyah becomes sole emperor of the Moslems.

BY *Hasan's* resignation of the *Khalifat*, and the cession he made of the territories over which he presided, *Moâwiyah* became sole and supreme emperor of the *Moslems*. *Hosein*, indeed, *Ali's* second son, possessed the hearts of the people; but *Moâwiyah*, who was a man of steady conduct and great abilities, had the army at his devotion. He was the son of *Abu Sossân*, who was one of the principal persons of the tribe of *Koreish*, and commanded the forces of that tribe both at the battles of *Badr* and *Ohod*; in the latter of which he was victorious over the *Moslems*. His courage, riches, and great capacity, rendered him the most conspicuous person of his tribe; so that *Mohammed* met with vast opposition from him in the execution of his designs. After the action of *Ohod*,

^u D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 435.

^w KHANDÉMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 435.

^x EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABU JA'AFAR AL-TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABUL-FED. in' descript. Arab. p. 45. Oxon. 1712.

as one of the commentators on the *Korân* pretends, the *Mecans* were afflicted, at the prayer of the prophet, with so terrible a famine, that they were obliged to feed upon dogs, carrion, burnt bones, and a sort of miserable food made of blood and camel's hair, called *ilbiz*, which the *Arabs* never used to eat but in times of extreme scarcity. At this sorrowful juncture, *Abu Sefiân* expostulated with *Mohammed* in the following terms: "Tell me, I adjure thee by God and the relation that is between us, dost thou think thou art sent as a mercy unto all creatures; since thou hast slain the fathers with the sword, and the children with hunger." This discovered a fixed and settled aversion at that time in this noble *Arab* to *Mohammed* and his followers; notwithstanding which, he found himself obliged to submit to that impostor, and embrace *Islamism*, in order to save himself and his family from immediate destruction, after the reduction of *Mecca*. *Moâwiyah* and his wife declared their assent to the two fundamental articles of the *Moslem* creed, the same day that their father *Abu Sefiân* made profession of the *Mohammedan* faith. *Abu Sefiân*, after his conversion, begged three things of *Mohammed*; that he would appoint him commander in chief of all his forces that were to act against the infidels; that he would make his son *Moâwiyah* his secretary, and marry his second daughter *Gazah*. The two first of which petitions he readily granted, but refused to comply with the third. Our curious readers will not be displeased to find here the substance of the prophet's prayer mentioned above, which was conceived in the following terms: "O God, set thy foot strongly upon *Modâr*," an ancestor of the *Koreish*, "and give them years like the years of *Joseph*." Whereupon, as the commentator here referred to intimates, the aforesaid dreadful famine immediately ensued.

SOON after *Moâwiyah* had assumed the government, the *The Khâ-Khârejites* took the field against him with a considerable army. The *Khalif* first made application to *Hafan*, to march against them with a body of *Arabs*; but that prince refusing to undertake such an expedition, he sent the *Syrian* troops to reduce the rebels to his obedience. These soon brought the *Khârejites* to a general action; but they were defeated with considerable loss, and the rebels remained masters of the field of battle. The *Cûfans*, however, who were much better troops than the *Syrians*, being prevailed upon to take up arms, soon extinguished the rebellion, and settled *Moâwiyah* more

7 MS. Hunt. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxvii. p. 56—61. c. xxxi. p. 64—66. et c. li. p. 102—108. AL BRIDAWI.

firmly than ever upon the *Moslem* throne. We find this pernicious sect of the *Khârejites* called *Charurgitas* by *Theophanes*, who just touches upon the rebellion mentioned here. He also denominates the *Hâshemites*, or family of *Hâshem*, *Isamites*, and the people of *Irâk*, *Heracites*, or *Herakites*; but has handed down to us very few particulars relating to them. This *Khalif* had been an officer twenty years under *Omar* and *Othmân*, and had greatly distinguished himself in several expeditions. He was inaugurated in the month of the former *Rabi*, and the forty-first year of the *Hejra*. Soon after *Hasan's* abdication, he constituted *Al Mogheirab Ebn Shaaba* governor of *Cûfa*, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* of *Basra* and *Kherasân*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* of *Medina*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Hazem* of *Damascus*, where, immediately after his departure from *Cûfa*, he fixed his residence. He also appointed again this year, that is, the 41st year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makin*, *Amru Ebn Al As*, who had adhered to him with so much fidelity, lieutenant, or viceroy, of *Egypt* ².

Moâwi-
yah se-
cures Zi-
yâd in his
interest.

But notwithstanding the success *Moâwiyah* had hitherto met with, *Ziyâd*, his brother by the father's side, tho' a bastard, refused a recognition of his authority. *Ziyâd* was made governor of *Persia* in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, as has been already observed; and discharged his duty in that post with great reputation to himself, and advantage to the people. He was magnanimous and brave, and of an exceeding good capacity; tho' *Abu Sofân* durst not own him for fear of *Omar*. He was born in the very year of the *Hejra*, and, by his eloquence and great abilities, so distinguished himself, that, at a meeting of the COMPANIONS in *Omar's* reign, *Amru Ebn Al As* publicly declared, that, had he been of the tribe of *Koreish*, he would have driven all the *Arabs* before him with his walking-stick. In *Omar's* time, he had been made a *Kâdi*, or judge; and *Al Mogheirab*, for incontinency, had been brought before him; but either out of favour, or because the witnesses failed in point of proof, he dismissed the person accused, and ordered the witnesses to be scourged severely. This could not but greatly incline him to *Al Mogheirab*, who, from that moment, contracted a most intimate acquaintance and cordial friendship with him. When *Hasan* resigned the *Khalifat* to *Moâwiyah*, *Ziyâd* was lieutenant of *Persia*, and resided in that quality at *Istakhra*, or *Esfakhr*. Here he had erected a very strong citadel, for his farther security, which he made the place of his habitation.

² EBN AL ATHIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 193. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 46. ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 289. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 344, 345.

Moâwiyah fearing lest he should join the house of *Hâshem*; and by that junction give him no small disturbance, owned him publicly for his brother; thinking this might be a means of bringing him over to his interest. In order likewise to facilitate the execution of his scheme, he procured the assistance of *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, his governor of *Cûfa*; who made to good use of his friendship with *Ziyâd*, that at last he prevailed upon him to take the oath of allegiance to *Moâwiyah*. The *Khalif*, in return, by the testimony of the *Greek* slave, still living, on whose wife *Abu Sofân*, being heated with wine, before the publication of the *Korân*, had begotten *Ziyâd*, proved his bastard brother to be the real son of *Abu Sofân*, and consequently a member of the tribe of *Koreish*. This testimony was so decisive, that it amounted to a full eviction of the point to be proved, and of course demonstrated, that *Ziyâd* was most nearly related to the *Khalif*. However, this was the first time that the *Korân* was openly violated in a judicial way of proceeding. For, by the decision of that book, the child belonged to the *Greek*, as its legal father, who had married its mother; since, according to this decision, which had been left by *Mohammed* as a direction in all such cases, *the child was adjudged to the blankets; and the whore to the stone*; that is, the child was to be brought up, and the whore to be stoned. This conduct, therefore, of the *Khalif* gave great disgust to his family, as a bastard had been thereby introduced into it, and his father's memory severely reflected upon. But this gave no manner of uneasiness to *Moâwiyah*; as, by bringing his scheme to bear, he had secured intirely in his interest the greatest man of the age. This important affair was thus happily terminated in the 42d year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makin*, and not the 44th, as we find asserted by *Mr. Ockley*; who does not only oppose the aforefaid author, but is likewise inconsistent with himself in what he has advanced on this occasion ^a.

THE 43d year of the *Hejra* was remarkable for the death *Amru* of the famous *Amru Ebn Al As*, of whom *Mohammed* is reported to have said, *There is no truer a Moslem, nor any one and Abmore steadfast in the faith, than Amru*. He was justly esteemed one of the greatest men amongst the *Arabs* of the age in which he lived, as standing distinguished from almost all his countrymen by his quick apprehension, his solid judgment, his undaunted courage, his singular resolution, as well as his

^a *ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI* et *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. *ISM. ABULFED.* hist. univ. vol. i. *MS. Pocock.* in *Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.* *GOLII* not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 113; *OCKLEY's* hist. of the *Sasac.* vol. ii. p. 112—116.

most profound sagacity and penetration. He was always excellent in his advice, sure and fixed in his resolves, and speedy in their execution. He was made lieutenant of *Egypt*, which he conquered in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, and was continued by *Othmân* four years in that post. Being afterwards dismissed by the last *Khalif* from that high office, he retired into *Palestine*, where he lived a private life. After *Othmân's* death, at *Moâwiyah's* invitation, he entered into his service, and was, indeed, his principal support. That *Khalif* sent him once more into *Egypt*, in the quality of lieutenant of that rich and fertile country; the whole revenue of which he allowed him, upon condition that he kept on foot a body of troops sufficient for its defence. We are told by an oriental author, that, before he embraced *Islamism*, he wrote some satirical pieces upon *Mohammed*; and that some of his proverbs and poetry are still extant. The dying speech he made to his children is said to be masculine and pathetic. In it he laments that he ever exercised his wit in exposing the prophet. This year likewise died *Abd'allah Ebn Salâm*, a Jew, very intimate with *Mohammed*, and an early convert to his religion. One of the *Koreish* lent him once 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually paid at the time appointed; and to this honest action a passage of the *Korân* is supposed to allude. He was believed by some to have assisted *Mohammed* in the compiling his pretended revelations; which if we admit, 'tis no wonder he should be so commended for his knowledge and faith in the *Korân*. After the death of *Amru*, *Moâwiyah* made his brother, *Atba Ebn Aba Sofiân*, governor of *Egypt*, who died the following year. *Okba Ebn Amer* succeeded him, and was removed from his post in the year of the *Hejra* 45. After him came *Moseilama Ebn Mokballed* of *Medina*, who exercised the function of lieutenant of *Egypt* till the death of *Moâwiyah*. *Amru* died on the festival of *Al Fatar*, and his son *Abd'allah* prayed over him at the place of his interment. About this time, *Moâwiyah* proscribed and exercised great cruelties upon the followers of *Ali*, as we learn from *Abu'l-Faraj*^b.

The Khalif makes MOAWIYAH being informed, that the territory of *Basra* was infested with robbers to such a degree, that the people *Ziyâd goes* there could not follow their lawful occupations; and that this

^b ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. MS. HUNT. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RICARDI confutat. legis Saracenicae, c. 13. JON. ANDREAS, de confus. sectæ Mohametanae, c. 2. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 33, 34. AL KOR. MOHAM. s. iii, iv, xvi. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 110—112.

was chiefly occasioned by *Abd'allab's* ill-judged lenity, who ^{governor of} would bring none of them to condign punishment; he sent *Basra*, ^{sa, Sijis-} *Al Hâreth* to preside over the *Basrans* in *Abd'allab's* room, and commanded him positively to put an end to all those disorders. ^{tân, India;} But this *Hareth* not being able to effect, *Ziyâd* was dispatched ^{Bahrein, and Am-} to *Basra*, to extirpate the gang of banditti that so harassed the inhabitants of that place and the neighbouring district. When *Ziyâd* first came thither, he found such violences, and even murders, committed in the night-time there, that it was not safe to walk in the streets after sun-set. Having, therefore, convened the principal citizens, he expressed his abhorrence of those disorders that so disturbed the public repose in very severe terms; declaring, at the same time, his firm resolution to put an end to them. As he was the best orator of the age, except *Ali*, and the more he spoke the more he excelled, his speech made a deep impression upon the minds of all that heard it; and, to enforce what he there advanced with the greater spirit, he published an order, forbidding any person of what quality soever to appear in the streets, or in any public place, after the hour of evening-prayer, upon pain of death. To have this order punctually executed, he appointed parties of soldiers to patrol, and commanded them to put to the sword all that they should meet with out of their houses after that hour. This regulation produced an exceeding good effect. For, tho' the first night 200 persons were killed, the second night only five were slain, and the third none at all. In fine, by the prudent, as well as vigorous, measures taken on this occasion, the public tranquillity was restored; which so pleased *Moâwiyah*, that he annexed the lieutenancy of *Khorasân*, *Sijistân*, *India*, *Bahrein*, and *Ammân*, to *Ziyâd's* government. The very name of *Ziyâd* made all the villains within his jurisdiction tremble; tho' he was by no means of a cruel or barbarous disposition. However, as he ruled with the strictest justice, and obliged all men to pay a proper regard to his authority, the profligate part of the *Khalif's* subjects in those parts stood in great awe of him. He was sent to *Basra*, according to *Al Makin*, in the 43d year of the *Hejra*; which renders it probable that he was constituted governor of *Khorasân*, *Sejstân*, *Sejstân*, or *Sijistân*, *India*, *Bahrein*, and *Ammân*, the following year. Nor can it well be doubted but that peace and harmony reigned in all those countries at least the remaining part of that year ^c.

^c ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ziyâd*. KHONDAMIR, MS. Hunt. ubi sup. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 110, 111, et alib.

Hakem IN the 45th year of the *Hejra*, *Ziyâd* sent *Hakem Ebn Ebn Amer* *Amer* with a body of troops to possess himself of a fortress and *Zeid* situated on mount *Asbal*. *Hakem* executed his orders with such success, that he killed a great number of the enemy, seized the place, and brought off with him all the riches he found in it. *Ziyâd* receiving advice of this, dispatched a courier to him, to demand the *white* and the *yellow*, that is, the *silver* and the *gold*, which had fallen into his hands, by virtue of a letter he had received from the *Khalif*; commanding him to send this, in order to have it deposited in the treasury for public use. But *Hakem* refused to comply with this demand; intimating to *Ziyâd*, at the same time, that an injunction of the *Korân*, which had settled the distribution of the spoil in such a manner as rendered his compliance unlawful, was superior in point of authority to any of the *Khalif*'s letters. He, therefore, took out the fifth part of the spoil, declared by the *Korân* to belong to GOD, to the apostle, his kindred, the orphans, the poor, and the traveller, and divided the rest amongst the captors. After which, as he expected to fall a sacrifice to the *Khalif*'s resentment, for adhering so closely to the text of the *Korân*, he said, "O GOD! if I be in thy favour, take me." Which request, says a *Moslem* writer, was granted, and he soon after died. This year was likewise fatal to *Zeid Ebn Thabet*, one of *Mohammed*'s secretaries, when he dictated the *Korân*, who departed this life in it. He wrote the copy which was used by the *Khalifs*, or *Imâms*, at the command of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, that remained many ages after, and was written in an exceeding fair hand. *Zeid* was a man of surprising parts. He learned *Hebrew* so well in fifteen days, as to be able to read the books of the *Jews* with great facility. *Persic* he also learned of one of *Khosrû*'s ambassadors, in eighteen days; as likewise *Ethiopic*, *Greek*, and *Coptic*, of one of *Mohammed*'s slaves, in a very short time. He was extremely pleasant and facetious at home, but very reserved abroad. We are told by an *Arab* author, that, at the battle of the ditch, he was fifteen years old. One of his remarkable sentences was, *He that pays not a proper regard to men will not reverence GOD*. In the year we are now upon, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, the governor of *Medina*, performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to Mr. *Ockley*'s writers, *Ziyâd* was appointed lieutenant of *Basra* by *Moâwiyah*, in the 45th year of the *Hejra*; nor that this is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* ^a.

^a MS. HUNT. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. viii. SALE's pre-lim. disc. p. 144, 145. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 116. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

THE following year, *Moâwiyah* bribed a *Christian* slave to *re-*
 poison *Abd'alrahmân*, the son of the famous *Khâled Ebn Almarkable*
Wâlid, who was become extremely popular amongst the sol-^{events}
 diers, both on his father's account and his own, being him-^{that hap-}
 self a person of distinguished merit; which not a little ex-^{pired in}
 cited the jealousy of the *Khalîf*. *Abd'alrahmân* had just be-^{the 46th}
 fore made an incursion into the imperial territories, where, ^{year of}
 notwithstanding the *Greek* garisons left to defend them, he
 committed dreadful depredations; laying waste almost whole
 provinces, without opposition. The slave was prevailed up-
 on to perpetrate this villainy, by a promise *Moâwiyah* made
 him, not only to remit his tribute, but likewise to confer up-
 on him the government of *Hems*. However, he did not long
 enjoy the fruits of his wickedness, having been soon cut off
 by *Abd'alrahmân's* son, *Khâled*; who was imprisoned for this
 by the *Khalîf*, but afterwards released on paying the money
 for expiation demanded in all such cases. This year was also
 remarkable for the execution of *Hejer*, a person of singular
 piety and austerity of life, but a great friend to *Ali*, and con-
 sequently an avowed enemy to the house of *Ommiyah*. He
 was not afraid several times to affront *Ziyâd*, nor even to curse
 him to his face; which induced that governor, who resided six
 months of the year at *Cûsa*, where *Hejer* had his habitation,
 and the other six at *Basra*, to press the *Khalîf* to put him to
 death, lest, during the time of his absence, he should raise at
Cûsa some commotions. *Moâwiyah*, therefore, especially as
 he had not scrupled likewise to speak reproachfully of him, sent
 an order for his execution; which was performed at *Gadrah*,
 or *Gadarab*, a village near *Damascus*, where *Hejer* behaved
 with surprizing intrepidity and resolution. After his head was
 struck off, his body was washed, and buried in the chains
 that had been fastened upon it before his death, in pursuance
 of the directions he had given. Several of his accomplices
 also suffered with him. These executions not a little dis-
 pleased *Aysha*, who had interceded for *Hejer* and his compa-
 nions in vain, and who did not fail to upbraid *Moâwiyah* with
 the cruelty he discovered on this occasion, the next time she
 saw him at *Medina*. In the mean time, according to *Abu'l-*
Faraj, one *Sapor*, who had seized *Armenia*, sent an ambassador
 to *Moâwiyah*, named *Serji*, or *Sergius*, to desire his assistance
 against the *Greeks*. Another ambassador likewise came at
 the same time from the *Greek* emperor, called *Andrew*, who
 was a eunuch, and one of that prince's particular favourites,
 in order to hinder *Moâwiyah* from sending any succours to
 the rebel *Sapor*. *Moâwiyah* did not seem strongly disposed to
 listen to either of them; but only in general told them, that,
 as both their masters were enemies to him, he would grant his

protection to that prince who would pay him the most for it. Upon which, *Andrew* retired, and had the next day another audience of the *Khalif*, whom he found in conference with *Sergius*, his antagonist. As the latter did not rise from his seat, when *Andrew* made his appearance, the *Greek* ambassador took great offence at his conduct, and gave him some very opprobrious language for it; which the other returned, by reproaching him with the loss of his virility. This so incensed *Andrew*, that he threatened him with the infliction of a certain punishment that should occasion a similar defect in him. After which, begging the *Khalif* again not to assist *Sapor*, that prince answered him in the following terms: "Give us the whole revenue of your dominions, and we will permit you to be called the lords of them; which if you refuse, we will drive you out of them." "Then," replied *Andrew*, "you look upon the *Arabs* as the substance, and the *Greeks* as the shadow only; we must, therefore, implore the assistance of the Lord of heaven and earth." Then, after having obtained an audience of leave, he returned home, by the way of *Malatia*, the *Melitene* of *Ptolemy*, which some place in *Cappadocia*, and others in *Armenia*; acquainting the imperial governors, or prefects, posted on the frontiers, with the affront he had received from *Sergius*, whom he begged them to intercept in his passage through the emperor's territories. This they did, carried him to *Malatia*, castrated him there, and then dismissed him with his testicles hung about his neck. *Modwiyah Ebn Amer* and *Basbar Ebn Artab* greatly extended the *Moslem* conquests in *Africa* this present year, penetrating to the very heart of *Africa Propria*, or the territory of *Carthage*, and the spot on which the city of *Kairwân* stood. The forces commanded by those generals in this expedition, consisting of about 10,000 men, reduced *Karan*, or *Karana*, *Cafsa*, and several other towns. When they came to the spot above-mentioned, they found that a town had been erected there by *Modwiyah Ebn Khoubaj*, which, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Al Makin*, by no means pleased them. We are told by a very learned author, that the city of *Kairwân* was either built, repaired, or enlarged, by *Okba Ebn Nafî*, who formed a settlement upon this spot immediately after *Amru Ebn Al As* had conquered *Barka*. The same author also relates, that the *Khalif Modwiyah* ordered a proper garison to be left at *Kairwân*, which stood about 33 parasangs of *Carthage*, and 12 of the sea, in order to secure the country from the insults of the *Roman* and *Sicilian* fleets, to keep the perfidious *Africans* in awe, and to have a place of safety in which he might deposite the prodigious treasures he had amassed. Some of the writers fol-

lowed

lowed by *Golius* affirm, that the *Moslems* carried their arms as far as the borders of *Nigritia* this campaign; which may not be very remote from truth: but that the conquests here mentioned were made in the 40th year of the *Hejra*, as *Golius* seems to believe, or rather positively asserts, we must not admit; since certain *Arab* historians of good repute, who place this expedition in the 46th year of that æra, will not permit us to give our assent to such an opinion *.

THE next year, being the 47th year of the *Hejra*, we meet with scarce any thing remarkable performed by the *Khalif Moâwiyah*; except we will allow, that he first harangued the people this year from the pulpit in a sitting posture, to which he was obliged by the prominence of his belly, and the great quantity of fat he carried about with him; and that he began this year to preach before he said prayers, fearing that the people would otherwise retire out of the mosque before he had delivered all that he had to say to them. As the introduction of these two customs may be considered as a variation from the practice of all his predecessors, it has been looked upon as a remarkable event, and seems to have been placed in the 47th year of the *Hejra* by *Abu'l-Faraj*. About this time also *Bosbar*, one of *Moâwiyah's* commanders, as we learn from *Theophanes*, made several dreadful incursions into the *Christian* territories, plundering and laying waste all the country through which he moved †.

ABOUT the latter end of the following year, *Moâwiyah* sent his son *Yezid* with a powerful army to besiege *Constantinople*. The *Arab* authors have transmitted down to us no account of the particulars of that siege; but only mention three or four of the most eminent of the *COMPANIONS*, whose zeal, notwithstanding their great age, prompted them to attend the army on this occasion, and to sustain incredible fatigues. The *Moslem* forces suffered extremely in their march; but they were animated to surmount all difficulties, by a famous tradition; according to which, the prophet, in his life-time, declared, that "the sins of the first army which should take the city of *Cæsar* were forgiven." According to *Theophanes*, this army, when on its march, was joined by a body of *Arab* troops, under the command of one *Fadâl*, or *Fadl*, an *Arab* general, sent by *Moâwiyah* to the assistance of *Sapor*, who came to an untimely death. After which

* MS. HUNT. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 193, 194. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164, 264—269, et alib. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moslem*, p. 587. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 289. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 194. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 289, 290.

event, *Fadl* had been reduced to great straits, out of which he was happily delivered by the forces under the conduct of *Yezid*. After this junction, *Yezid* marched to *Chalcedon*, where for some time he remained, and consequently kept *Constantinople* in a manner blocked up; tho' it does not appear from *Theophanes*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by the *Moslem* historians, that he ever formed the siege of that city. After a short stay in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, the *Moslem* army decamped, and took its rout through *Phrygia*, on its return home, with a considerable number of prisoners. In their passage, the *Arabs* possessed themselves of *Amorium*, a city of *Phrygia*, in which they left a garison of 5000 men. In this expedition, the famous *Abu Ayub*, who had been with *Mohammed* at the battles of *Bedr* and *Ohod*, lost his life. His tomb is held in such veneration amongst the *Moslems*, that the *Soltáns* of the *Othmán* family gird their swords on at it, upon their accession to the throne. A detachment of the imperial forces retook *Amorium* the following winter, when all the neighbouring tract was covered with snow, by surprize, and put all the *Arab* garison they found therein to the sword ^g.

The death
of *Hasan*.

THE 49th year of the *Hejra* produced no remarkable event, an account of which has been handed down to us by the *Moslem* historians, except the death of *Hasan*, the last *Khalif*, who was poisoned in the manner already related. *Moâwiyah* is said to have insulted his ashes in an indecent manner; which occasioned some verses to be written upon him by one, who seems not to have been a friend of the house of *Ommiyah*. These verses, or rather some few of them, have been preserved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* ^h.

Yezid de-
clared
Moâwi-
yah's suc-
cessor.

THE next year *Al Mogbeirah* died of the plague, which made great havock there, at *Cúfa*. He was the governor of that city at the time of his death, a very active man, of quick parts, and had lost one of his eyes at the battle of *Yermouk*; tho' some pretend, that this loss was occasioned by viewing an eclipse. According to *Abulfeda*, the new city of *Kair-wán*, was pretty near finished this year, though the last hand was not put to it till the 55th year of the *Hejra*. Some authors affirm, that the *Arabs* considered it as the capital of *Africa Propria*, or the territory of *Carthage*; and that it stood upon the spot which had been formerly occupied by

^g EBN AL ATHIR, MS. HUNT. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah*, p. 587. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 291, 292. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 436. ^h ABU JAAFAR. AL TABAR. apud Al Makín, ubi sup. p. 47, 48. ut et ipse AL MAKÍN, ibid.

the antient *Cyrene*. We have a confused and indistinct account of this city given us by Mr. *Ockley*, that does not sufficiently correspond with what has been related of it by the authors to whom he refers his readers. *Kairwân* afterwards became very eminent, not only for its stately buildings and immense wealth, but likewise for the study of the sciences and polite literature, which flourished there. This year also *Moâwiyah* prevailed upon many of the *Moslems* to take the oath of allegiance to his son *Yezid*, as his partner, or colleague, in the *Khalifat*; but neither *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, *Hossein Ebn Ali*, *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, nor *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, would concur with the other principal *Arabs* in this particular. About this time died *Rabîya*, one of the earliest converts to *Islamism*, who, according to *Mohammed*, resembled more than any of his countrymen the angel *Gabriel*.

THE following year, being the 51st year of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah Saad Ebn Zend*, the last of those who had a positive promise of paradise from *Mohammed*, departed this life. About the same time, *Moâwiyah*, who then resided at *Damascus*, not thinking it proper, that the pulpit and walking-stick of the prophet should remain in the hands of the murderers of *Orthomân*, gave orders to have them both carried from *Medina*. But the moment some of the *Arabs*, in obedience to the *Khalif's* commands, were upon the point of removing them, to their great astonishment and surprize, there happened such an eclipse of the sun, that the stars themselves very clearly appeared. This threw them into the utmost consternation, as it seemed to them a manifest indication of the divine displeasure, for their presuming to lay hands upon the apostle's pulpit, in order to remove it from the place where he himself had ordered it to be fixed. Being, therefore, extremely frighten'd at so unusual, and, as they apprehended, so supernatural, an event, they immediately desisted from carrying the *Khalif's* design into execution. Nay, it made so deep an impression upon their minds, that it was not forgotten some years afterwards, when the *Khalif Abd'almalec* had the same design in view. One of the citizens of *Medina*, in order to divert him from it, then represented to him, that a prodigy had happened on a similar occasion in the reign of *Moâwiyah*; and that a tradition, derived from *Mohammed* himself, pronounced such an attempt highly criminal: upon which, that prince laid aside all thoughts of executing any part of the

¹ MS. Hunt. Ism. ABULFED. in hist. univ. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162, 163, 164. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JA'AFAR AL TABARI. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48.

scheme he had formed. After him, *Al Walid*, in his pilgrimage, meditated the removal of the prophet's pulpit from *Medina*; but the people of that city discovering a great reluctance to put it into the hands of the messenger he sent for it; telling him, that "his master, by removing it, would expose himself to the divine displeasure;" he permitted it to remain in its former situation. *Amru Ebn Abd'alaziz* afterwards proposed the attempt *Mo'awiyah*, *Abd'almalec*, and *Al Walid*, intended to have made, to *Soliman Ebn Abd'almalec*, when he came in pilgrimage that way; but neither would he give his consent that the pulpit should be taken from the spot on which it had been first erected. *Mo'awiyah's* intention in the point above-mentioned, or rather his discovery of that intention, has been placed by *Ebn Al Athir* some-where near the 51st, or the 52d, year of the *Hejra*; but as a remarkable solar eclipse is said to have happened in the 54th year of this æra, it may perhaps, with greater propriety, be ranked amongst the principal events of that year ^k.

When the expedition to Constantinople was undertaken.

THO' the authors followed by Mr. *Ockley* place *Yezid's* expedition to *Constantinople*, or rather *Chalcedon*, in the 48th year of the *Hejra*, as has been already observed; yet it was not in reality undertaken till four years after, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. According to that historian, *Abu Syuh*, who either was killed, or died a natural death, whilst the *Moslem* army remained in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, was buried at the foot of the wall of that city. He had distinguished himself in *Mohammed's* life-time against those who endeavoured to obstruct the progress of *Islamism*, and was one of the most celebrated of the COMPANIONS ^l.

Ziyad dies,

In the 53d year of the *Hejra*, the famous *Ziyad*, who makes so considerable a figure in the *Arab* history, departed this life; being at his death about fifty-three years of age. He died of the plague on the third day of the month of *Ramadan*. A little before he was seized by the fatal distemper that put a period to his days, he informed the *Khalif*, that he had intirely reduced *Irak* to a state of subjection to him, and begged that he might have the lieutenancy of *Arabia Petrea* conferred upon him; which was immediately granted. The *Arabs* of that country, being apprized of this, were struck with great terror and consternation, as knowing with what rigour and severity he had governed the people of *Irak*. Upon the first news of it, *Ebn Amer*, attended by a vast number of the people, went to the temple of *Mecca*, and, with great fer-

^k ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 130—132.

^l ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup p. 48.

veney and devotion, begged, that God would never permit him to come amongst them. In the mean time, *Ziyád* being seized with the plague, felt such an intolerable pain in one of his hands, that he consulted a *Kádi*, as a spiritual director, whether he might not cut it off, without being guilty of any crime; but received for answer from him, that such an action was absolutely unlawful. However, notwithstanding this decision, the pain increasing to such a degree as rendered it insupportable, he came to a resolution to submit to amputation; tho', at the sight of the fire and the cauterizing irons, that were to be made use of in the operation, his heart immediately failed him. We are told by a *Moslem* author of good repute, that, at this time, *Ziyád* had an hundred and fifty physicians about him; three of whom had formerly belonged to *Khefrá*, the son of *Hormuz*, king of *Persia*; but as the time of his death was coming on, or, to make use of our author's words, *the decree was sealed, and the thing determined*, they found it impossible to save him. He was buried near *Cúsa*, by which place he passed in his journey to *Arabia*, whither he was going, in order to take possession of his new government there. When *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* heard of his death, he is reported to have said, "Go thy way, thou son of *Samyab*; this world did not stay with thee, neither hast thou attained to the other." In order to understand which sentence more perfectly, it will be proper to observe, that *Samyab* was the name of the *Greek* slave's wife, on whose body *Abu Sefián* was supposed to have begotten *Ziyád*; and that *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* was the person *Ziyád* succeeded in the government of *Basra* m.

UPON *Ziyád's* first arrival at *Cúsa*, the lieutenantcy of which *Some* *ac-* place was annexed in his favour to that of *Basra*, as has been count of already observed, he told the *Cúsans*, that at first he proposed him. to have brought with him a body of 2000 men, as his guards; but that afterwards considering that they were honest men, he had taken care only to be attended by his own family. This did not hinder them from throwing dust, or rather gravel, at him. Upon which, he ordered his domestics to secure the doors of the mosque where the people of the city were assembled, and commanded every man there to seize his neighbour. Then he had the persons seized brought before him, and as many of them as would purge themselves by oath of the late insult that had been offered him, he immediately dismissed; but ordered the hands of all the others, who amounted to about eighty, to be cut off upon the spot. Soon after which,

* MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon num. 495. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 46.

he issued an order, injoining all the citizens of *Cúfa* to leave their doors open all night; engaging himself to indemnify every particular person for any loss he should sustain by complying with it. No theft, or robbery, was committed after the introduction of this custom; but some cattle one night finding their way into a shop, did considerable damage there. Of which when *Ziyád* was informed, he permitted every one of the inhabitants to leave a hurdle, or rake, at his door; which practice prevailed ever after at *Basra*, and many other towns of *Irák*. As no one durst appear out of his house after the hour of evening-prayer, 'tis no wonder the *Cúfans* should have been so secure in the possession of their properties and effects; nor can it be any matter of surprize, that the order injoining this should have been so punctually observed, when it is known, that the least contravention of that order was punished with immediate death. Of this the following instance may serve as an evident proof: A shepherd coming one night through the town with his flock, was seized by one of *Ziyád's* patrols, and instantly brought before him. The poor man, in defence of himself, when he was accused of having contemned the governor's late edict, said, that he was intirely ignorant of it. *Ziyád* replied, "I am willing to believe, that what thou tellest me is true; but as the safety of all the *Cúfans* depends upon thy death, it is necessary that thou shouldst die." This sentence was no sooner pronounced than his head was struck off, to the inexpressible terror of all those who were present at the execution. But tho' *Ziyád's* wholesome severities fell heavy upon certain individuals, and in some other countries might seem to have favoured of cruelty, yet they kept the inhabitants of *Irák*, a very faithless and treacherous people, in awe of him; insomuch that, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, the citizens of *Basra*, as well as those of *Cúfa*, never feared any one more than *Ziyád*, tho' they enjoyed an uninterrupted repose under his just and impartial administration ^a.

BUT whatever may have been advanced to the contrary by the last-mentioned author, the following remarkable story of him is an evident proof that he had something cruel and savage in his disposition. One *Abu'l Mogheirah* having been once brought before him, by his command, as the most religious man in *Cúfa*, he offered to give him as much money as he should desire, if he would confine himself to his apartment, and not go to the mosque to perform his devotions. *Abu'l Mogheirah* replied, that he would not omit saying his prayers

^a Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ziad*, p. 933. KHONDEMIR, &c.

publicly on the *congregation-day*, or *Friday*, for the empire of the world. "Then," said *Ziyád*, "go to the congregation, but do not talk in the mosque when you are there." "I must," answered the religious, "encourage that which is good, and reprove that which is bad." For which answer, tho' it be a precept pretty frequently mentioned in the *Korán*, *Ziyád* commanded him to be immediately beheaded. Nay, as a farther instance of something that at least resembled cruelty in him, it may be observed, that he assembled the people a little before his death, in order to impose upon them a sort of abjuration, or renunciation by oath of every kind of connexion with the friends of the house of *Háshem* threatening with death all who would not submit to such a renunciation. But at the appointed time, when this affair should have been brought to a conclusion, the people being assembled for that purpose, he was seized with the plague, and never afterwards made his appearance amongst them; which they all, and especially those who retained any veneration for the memory of *Ali*, considered as a very providential deliverance. To what has been said of this famous *Moslem*, we may add, from *Kbondemir*, the *Persian* historian, that the last letter he wrote to *Motawiyah* was couched in the following terms: "My left-hand is here employed in governing the people of *Irák*; but my right-hand is idle; put *Arabia* in- to it, to be governed, and it will give you a good account of it." Which request being granted, and the inhabitants of *Medina* thereby greatly alarmed, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, one of them, in his public prayers, offered up to God this petition: "O God! satisfy this right hand, which is idle and superfluous to *Ziyád*." Which words, as has been justly remarked by *Mr. Ockley*, contain a very beautiful allusion to the name of *Ziyád*; signifying, in *Arabic*, *abundant*, or *superfluous*; and are perfectly consonant to the spirit and genius of that expressive and harmonious language. Soon after this prayer, according to an *Arab* author, a pestilential ulcer seized one of the fingers of his right-hand, of which he lay ill a few days, and then expired in exquisite torture. Some of his descendants formed a dynasty in *Yaman*, where they reigned under the name of the *Banu Ziyád*. The *Khárejites*, as well as the partisans of *Ali*, made some attempts to disturb his administration; but, by his severe and rigorous conduct, he proved superior to them, and in a short time extinguished all their commotions. In fine, by the sword which he drew, to make use of *Abu Jaasar's* expression, he smoothed the *Khalif's* government in *Irák*, and so effectually silenced all murmurings and complaints there, that not one of

the

Samrah's
cruelty.

the *Isákians*, how powerful soever he might be, durst open his mouth against him °.

BUT *Ziyád's* administration, rigorous and severe as it was, must have been deemed gentle and mild in respect of that of *Samrah*, his lieutenant at *Basra*, who was abhorred by all men for his cruelty. During *Ziyád's* six months absence from *Basra*, he residing one half of the year at *Cúfa*, *Samrah* had put to death no less than 8000 persons there; which greatly shocked *Ziyád*; who asked him, whether he was not afraid, lest, in such a number, he might have murdered one innocent *Moslem*? *Samrah* replied, that, if he had destroyed double that number of *Basrans*, it would not have given him the least uneasiness or concern. According to *Abu Sawár*, he killed forty-seven *Moslems* one morning; every one of which had got the *Korán* by heart. A party of his horse marching out of the city on a certain occasion, and meeting a peasant at a little distance from it, one of them struck him through with his lance. *Samrah*, soon after coming up, found the poor wretch wallowing in his own blood; and, upon inquiry, was told, that one of his men had accidentally killed him. To which he made no other reply than, "When you hear "we are mounted, beware of our lances." This year, being the fifty-third of the *Hejra*, *Jabalab Ebn Al Ayham*, the last king of *Gbasán*, a large account of whom our readers will find in a preceding part of the history we are now upon, departed this life; but what country, city, or town, was the scene of this event, we are not certainly informed. If *Yezid* did not penetrate through *Armenia* and *Natolia*, and advance as far as the suburbs of *Constantinople* with his army, before the 52d year of the *Hejra*, as we find asserted by *M. D'Herbelot*, he could not well have finished his expedition, and arrived at *Damascus*, before the commencement of the following year; especially if we will admit, with the last-mentioned author, that he sowed and reaped whilst his forces remained in the neighbourhood of that capital. Be that as it will, the *Turks*, even at this day, visit the tomb of *Abu Ayub* above-mentioned with great devotion, and call the spot where his body lies interred *Eyub*. Some of the writers followed by *D'Herbelot* seem to intimate, that, soon after the foregoing expedition, *Muáwiyah* sent his son *Yezid* with an army to reduce the rebels of *Abwáz*, who refused a recognition of his authority. *Yezid*, in pursuance of his orders, according to these writers, marched with great celerity to the plain of *Dowláb*, on the con-

° *ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Hunt. num. 495. D'HERBEL: ubi sup. KHONDÉMIR. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 139, 140.*

finas of Syria and Arabia, where the rebels had assembled a considerable body of troops. These he attacked with so much bravery, that, after a sharp engagement, he intirely defeated them, and thereby restored peace to that part of the *Khalif's* dominions. The authors, who mention this action, call the people out of whom the rebel army was formed, and who exerted themselves the most on this occasion, in favour of the house of *Hâshem, Azrakheens* &c.

In the 54th year of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* dismissed *Saad* The Arabs from the government of *Medina*, and restored *Merwân Ibn Al-mak* *ab Hâshem* to that honourable post. After this, he dispatched an *incursion* order to *Merwân*, to demolish *Saad's* house, and seize all his *into Bak-* effects in *Hejâz*. Upon *Merwân's* appearance at *Medina*, *haria.* with a mule to carry off every thing valuable that belonged to *Saad*, the latter was extremely surprized, and begged *Merwân* not to strip him in so unmerciful a manner. But the new governor told him, that the *Khalif* must be obeyed; and that if he had received an order, during his government, to have pulled down his, *Merwân's*, house, he would not have failed executing it. Upon this, *Saad* produced a letter, formerly sent him by *Moâwiyah*, commanding him to demolish *Merwân's* house; which, out of friendship, he had ventured to disobey, and thereby incurred the *Khalif's* displeasure. This generous action of *Saad* so struck *Merwân*, that he never ceased interceding with *Moâwiyah* for his friend, till he had prevailed upon him to revoke the late unjust command. Both the governors now clearly perceived, that the *Khalif's* view in issuing the foregoing orders, was to set them at variance; but the discovery of this wicked design served only the more effectually to strengthen the ties of friendship between them. About the same time, *Moâwiyah* deposed *Samrah*, *Ziyâd's* deputy at *Basra*, whose enormous cruelty had rendered him justly odious to all the inhabitants of that city. As soon as *Samrah* heard this news, he is reported to have said, "God curse *Moâwiyah*. If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would not have damned me to all eternity." A saying this, which sufficiently discovered the internal deformity of his soul, and the desperation to which he had been driven by a consciousness of his crimes. Within the course of this year, the *Khalif* likewise appointed *Obri-Allah*, the son of *Ziyâd*, who gave him a very satisfactory account of the conduct of all his father's deputies, in their respective provinces, lieutenant of *Khorasân*. Soon after he

† EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. ABU SAWAR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiyah*, p. 587.

had

had taken possession of his new government, *Obeid'allah*, tho' not then above twenty-five years of age, advanced at the head of a body of troops as far as the mountains of *Bukhāria*, and defeated a *Turkish* army that pretended to oppose him. The *Turks* lost a very considerable number of men in the action, and the queen, who commanded them, with great difficulty made her escape. She had only time to put on one of her buskins; so that she was obliged to leave the other behind her. This, therefore, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*, who valued it at no less than 2000 *dinārs* ⁹.

An inference drawn by Mr. Ockley from some observations not altogether to be depended upon. IT has been remarked by Mr. *Ockley*, that there was a pretty extraordinary eclipse, and such a one as happened at *Medina*, when *Moāwiyah* ordered *Mohammed's* pulpit to be removed from that place, in the 54th year of the *Hejra*; from whence he seems to infer, that the command relative to this affair was given in that year, tho' he actually places it two or three years earlier. But perhaps this inference is not altogether to be depended upon, as he has produced no authority in support of the observations from whence it is drawn, and as *Eutychius* asserts that a solar eclipse, equally remarkable, happened in the 50th year of that æra. For, from thence we may with at least equal justice infer, that the aforesaid attempt was made in the 50th year of the *Hejra* ¹.

The Khalif sends new governors to Basra and Khora-sân. ABD'ALLAH, the son of *Amru*, having commanded a *Moslem's* hand to be cut off, for throwing dust, or gravel, at him whilst he was preaching to the people of *Basra*, of which place he then was governor; some of the principal men of the city complained of his conduct to *Moāwiyah*, who removed him from his post, and substituted *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyād* in his room. The lieutenancy, therefore, of *Khora-sân* becoming vacant by this removal, the *Khalif* conferred it upon one *Aslam*, who had not the least merit to recommend him to his master's favour; so that nothing worthy the attention of an historian happened in that province during the short term he presided over the people there. Nor did the year we are now upon, that is, the 55th of the *Hejra*, produce any other remarkable occurrences, at least such as have been taken notice of by the *Moslem* historians ².

Several remarkable occurrences about this time. BUT notwithstanding the taciturnity of the *Moslem* historians, the *Christian* writers have mentioned several remarkable events, as happening about the present time, that are not to be passed over altogether in silence. *Baspar*, or as he

⁹ EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495.

¹ OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 130. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. anal. tom. ii. p. 360, 361.

² MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495.

is called by *Theophanes*, *Hufur*, continued his incursions into the *Christian* territories, which he ravaged without opposition, and conducted from thence a vast number of captives into the *Khalif's* dominions. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah* and *Kais*, two *Moslem* commanders, appeared at the head of a considerable squadron of ships on the coast of *Cilicia*, with a body of land-forces on board; the first of whom took up his winter-quarters at *Smyrna*, and the other in *Lycia* and *Cilicia*. The *Khalif* also fitted out another fleet, the command of which he gave to one *Khâled*, called by *Theophanes* *Chale*, with orders to sustain that sent to cruize on the coast of *Cilicia*, in case of need. The following spring the combined *Moslem* fleet presented itself to the view of the *Christians* on the coast of *Thrace*, stretching along from the western promontory, known by the name of *Magnaúra*, to the eastern one, called *Cyclobium*. Frequent conflicts happened between it and that of the *Christians*; the particulars of which have not been handed down to us. However, it should seem as if the *Arabs* were superior in those engagements; since we have been told by some writers, that they besieged *Constantinople* the whole summer and spring for several years after the 53d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 672; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, that they thought it adviseable to withdraw always in the month of *September* to *Cyzicus*. In this long siege, or rather repeated sieges, the *Arabs* lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire, as it was called, because it burnt under water; being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. The *Arabs* at length, despairing of success, abandoned the enterprize; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllæan* promontory. About the same time, three of the emperor's lieutenants, *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, gained a signal victory in *Syria* over *Sofian Ebn Auf*, who commanded there a numerous body of *Arabs*; but lost in the engagement 30,000 of his men. These misfortunes encouraged the *Mardaites*, or *Maronites*, to seize on mount *Libanus*, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of *Christian* captives, slaves, and others, flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount *Taurus*, written corruptly *Maurus* in the present copies of *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, and *Jerusalem*, made frequent incursions into *Syria*, and so harassed and terrified the *Arabs*, who thought that God himself at this juncture interposed, in favour of the *Christians*, that *Moâwiyab* not imagining himself able to contend with them and the *Romans* at the same time, sent ambassadors to treat of peace with *Constantine*, who met with a gracious reception at the imperial court.

The

The emperor, in order to facilitate an accommodation, which *Moâwiyah* seemed so ardently to desire, sent with the *Arab* ambassadors, on their return home, *Jahn Pittigaudes*, a person of great age and experience, to *Syria*; where, after several conferences, a peace was concluded on the following terms. 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years. 2. That the *Arabs* should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors 3000 pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. It may not be improper to observe here, that, according to the *Chriftian* historians referred to, in the 53d year of the *Hejra*, there was a dreadful mortality in *Egypt*; in the 54th, *Sofian Ebn Auf* was defeated by *Florus, Paternus*, and *Cyprianus*, in *Syria*; in the 55th, the year we are now upon, *Abdallah Ebn Kais* and *Fadi*, two *Arab* generals, made a descent on *Crete*, with a body of *Moslem* troops, and passed the ensuing winter there; and, in the 58th, a treaty was signed between *Constantine* and *Moâwiyah*. The articles of the treaty here mentioned not having been extremely honourable to the *Arabs*, 'tis not so much to be wondered at, that both they, and the military operations that preceded them, should have been denied a place in the writings of the *Moslem* historians.

Saad takes THE next year, *Moâwiyah* conferred upon *Saad*, *Othman's*
Samar- grandson, the government of *Khorasan*; having removed his
kand, and predecessor, *Aslam*, as utterly unqualified for that post. *Saad*,
defeats the soon after his promotion to that dignity, passed the *Jihân*, or
Uzbeks. *Amu*, the *Oxus* of the antients, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, and advanced to *Samarkand*, which open'd its gates to him at his approach. Having soon after overthrown an army of the idolatrous *Uzbeks*, he marched directly to *Tarmud*, or *Tirmid*, which immediately surrendered to him. Nor is it said that he lost any considerable number of men in this successful expedition.

Four of the IT has been already observed, from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*,
principal that, in the 50th year of the *Hejrah*, *Moâwiyah* prevailed upon
of the Ko- on many of the *Moslems* to take the oath of fidelity to his son
reish re- *Yezid*, as his partner, or colleague, in the *Khalifat*; but that
fuse to ac- *Abd' alrahmân Ebn Abu Beer*, *Hosain Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*,
knowledge *Abdallah Ebn Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, and *Abdallah Ebn Zo-*
Yezid *beir Ebn Al Awâm*, would not comply with the *Khalif's* re-
Moâwi- quest in that particular. This memorable event, however,
yah's suc-
cessor.

* THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 293—296. GEORG. CADEN. historiar. compend. p. 437. * ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182, et alib.

has not been set in a full light by that author ; so that we shall find ourselves obliged to have recourse to another *Arab* writer, who places it in the 56th year of the *Moslem* æra, in order to give our readers a more perfect and satisfactory account of it. *Moâwiyah* intending to secure the succession in his family, formed a design to render the government, that had been hitherto, elective, hereditary ; and, for this purpose, used all means imaginable to oblige the people to declare *Yezid* his heir and successor. In order to carry which design effectually into execution, he imagined nothing farther would be requisite than to engage them to take an oath of fidelity to *Yezid*, as his colleague, and partner in the empire. This had been first suggested to *Moâwiyah* by *Al Mogheirah*, the late governor of *Cûfa* ; but was disapproved of by *Ziyâd*, whom the *Khalif* had consulted upon the affair, because he knew *Yezid* to be a profligate young fellow, addicted to gaming and drinking, and by no means qualified to govern the *Arabs*. He, therefore, persuaded both *Yezid* and *Moâwiyah*, at least for the present, to lay all thoughts of it aside. But, after *Ziyâd*'s death, *Moâwiyah*, who was always fond of the project, in the 56th year of the *Hejra*, revived it, and wrote circular letters to the principal men in all the provinces about it. The *Syrians*, and people of *Irâk*, came readily into the scheme ; as did also *Malec*, the commandant of *Medina*, who advised the *Khalif* to cause *Yezid* to be proclaimed his heir apparent, or rather, as we should imagine, such a notion being countenanced by *Abu Jaafar*, *Al Makin*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, his partner and colleague, in that city. But *Hosein Ebn Ali*, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, the brother of *Ayesha*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, refusing to give their consent to it, the people could by no means be induced to concur with such a measure ; tho' *Moâwiyah* did his utmost to prevail upon those chiefs to oblige him in this particular. He came in person to *Medina*, at the head of 1000 horse. He had a conference there with *Ayesha* about the affair ; the result of which was, that the *Arabs* in general of the province of *Hejâz* took the oath of allegiance to *Yezid*. He even threatened those that opposed him in this favourite point with his resentment. But all his efforts, with regard to the above-mentioned chiefs, proved ineffectual. They were too powerful to be brought into any of his measures by compulsion. However, as *Hosein* was a man of merit, a near relation, and had the people of *Irâk* at his devotion, he advised *Yezid* never to offer him any violence, if he ever came into his power. *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, being wholly given up to devotion, would, as he told him, declare in his favour, when nobody else opposed him ; and therefore would be a proper object of his mercy, if he should ever

prove

prove superior to all his enemies. With regard to *Abd'atrah-mân Ebn Abu Becr*, his attention being solely fixed on women and play, and he being altogether influenced by the example of others, continued *Moâwiyah* to his son *Yezid*, if ever he comes in, he is to be treated with lenity and moderation. But as for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, he has the subtilty of the fox; as well as the strength of the lion, said the *Khalif*; and therefore, if ever he can be seized, he must be cut to pieces. These *Arab* leaders persisting in their refusal to acknowledge *Yezid* either his father's colleague or heir apparent, *Moâwiyah* found himself obliged to acquiesce in the measures that had already been taken, and durst not proceed to any acts of violence against them. However, he so far carried his point, that the *Syrians*, the people of *Irâk*, and the bulk of the *Arab* nation, took the oath of fidelity to *Yezid*; to which they were bribed by large sums of money, according to *Al Tabari*; tho', if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, this oath was extorted by force from the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina*. Be this as it will, it was certainly a great action, at this juncture, to change an elective monarchy into an hereditary one, when the family of *Hâshem* had so powerful a party amongst the *Arabs* and the people of *Irâk*, that would infallibly in all points oppose *Moâwiyah*, whom they considered as their mortal enemy; when there were still living several of the COMPANIONS, who themselves aspired to the *Khalifat*, and who consequently with great impatience expected *Moâwiyah*'s dissolution; and when, lastly, *Yezid* was so abandon'd a youth, that his uncle *Ziyâd*, a man of great experience and capacity, thought that nothing could be more disagreeable than the preceding scheme to all the provinces. To which we may add, that the attempt itself was an innovation, and might therefore have been attended with fatal consequences in an empire that had not long been formed, and that had been lately very much weakened by civil dissensions. This affair, which had been for some time in agitation, being thus brought to a happy conclusion, *Yezid* gave audience to several ambassadors, who came to congratulate him on the occasion, as well as to several of the *Arabs*, who had undertaken a journey to *Damascus*, then the seat of the *Moslem* emperor, to offer him their allegiance. Amongst the latter, *Al Ahnaf*, *Yezid*'s uncle, made his appearance; and, at his father's request, took an opportunity of conversing with him: after which, being asked by *Moâwiyah* what he thought of his nephew's capacity, he scrupled not to answer him in the following terms: "The fear
" of GOD will not permit us to lie, and that of you not to
" speak truth. You know best both his night and his day;
" his outside and his inside; his going out and his coming
" in.

“ in. You also know best what you design to do. It is our
 “ business to hear and obey; yours to give counsel to the
 “ people.” The *Damascenes* seem to have been some of *Yezid*’s most zealous adherents, and to have distinguished themselves in a particular manner on this occasion *.

As *Yezid* was now destined to be his father’s successor, the *Moâwi-old Khalif* grew extremely fond of him; imagining him to have something grand and majestic in his deportment, and *tremely* that he was every way qualified to sit at the helm of a puissant empire. Nay, *Moâwiyah*, tho’ in other respects a person of great discernment and penetration, could not forbear frequently expressing in conversation the high opinion he entertained of his son’s superior abilities. It is said, that, in one of his harangues to the people, he offered up to GOD the following remarkable prayer: “ O GOD! if thou knowest
 “ that I have settled the government upon *Yezid*, because,
 “ according to the best of my judgment, I think him qualified for it, confirm it to him; but if I have done it out of
 “ affection, confirm it not.” It seems to be insinuated by an *Arab* author, that the road from *Medina* to *Mecca* was about this time infested by robbers, and that great disorders were committed upon it; since, according to him, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, the commandant of *Medina*, was obliged himself to conduct the *Hadji*’s, or pilgrims, to *Mecca*, the preceding year *.

THE 57th year of the *Hejra* scarce produced a single event Great that has merited the attention of any historian. *Theophanes* *murmur-* only observes, that vast swarms of locusts appeared in *Syria* *ings* and *Mesopotamia*, and consequently did incredible damage *discontents* there, this year. There were likewise at this juncture in *Arabia*. *Arabia* great murmurings and discontents, occasioned by the transaction of the preceding year, of which we have just given our readers a full and ample relation. However, such care was taken by the *Khalif*, and the officers he employed, that no open attempt was made against the government †.

THE following year, *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abu Becr*, *Ayesha* and *Mohammed*’s best-beloved wife, departed this life at *Me-* and *Ab-* *dina*. Her father derived from her his name of *Abu Becr*, or d’*alrah-* the father of the girl; she being very young when the prophet *mân Ebn* married her. She was ever treated by all the *Khalifs* with the *Abu Becr* utmost respect, except when she exposed herself in the *expe-* *die;* dition undertaken at her impulse against *Ali*. The *Moslems*

* ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48.
 GREG. ABU’L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 195. MS. Hunt. in Bibl.
 Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. D’HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid*.

† MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. † THEOPHAN.
 chronograph. p. 295. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ubi sup.

sometimes called her the *prophetess*; and, when they addressed themselves to her, generally gave her the title of the *mother of the faithful*. She made her exit on the seventh day of the month of *Ramadân*. Her brother *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Bêr*, of whom we have spoken above, died a little before her. Soon after the conclusion of the late treaty of peace between the *Christians* and the *Arabs*, the ratifications were exchanged, and *John Pitzigaudes*, the imperial minister, who had been amply rewarded by *Moâwiyah*, for the part he acted in that important affair, returned home to *Constantinople* this same year ².

as also
Abu Ho-
reira.

THE next year, being the 59th of the *Hejra*, died *Abu Horeira*, or the father of the cat, so called by *Mohammed*, because of his fondness of a cat, which he always carried about with him. He so constantly went under this appellation, that neither his true name, nor his pedigree, is certainly known. He was one of the prophet's intimate companions, and had so many traditions father'd upon him, that the very number of them renders them suspected to some people; tho' others receive them all as of undoubted authority, without the least hesitation. He is looked upon by many of the *Moslems* as one of the six authors of the *authentic traditions*. His true name, according to the common opinion, was *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Sakbar*; and his conversion to *Islamism* is said to have been effected in the seventh year of the *Hejra*. This year there was a great earthquake in *Mesopotamia*, which did considerable damage to the church of the *Christians* at *Edessa*; but it has not been observed either by the *Christian* or *Moslem* historians, that the edifices in other parts of that country suffered in the least by any of its concussions ².

Moâwi-
yah dies.

THE 60th year of the *Hejra* was rendered remarkable by the death of *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofân*, who died at *Damascus* about the beginning, or, as others will have it, the middle of the month of *Rajeb*. His last public speech, which he made when he found himself in a declining condition, was to the following effect. "I am like corn that is to be reaped, and have governed you till we are weary of one another. I am superior to all my successors, as my predecessors were superior to me. GOD desires to approach all who are desirous of approaching him. O God! I love to meet thee, do thou love to meet me!" When he perceived himself at the point of death, he ordered a captain of the guards,

² ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 296.

² ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. et de vit. Moham. p. 158. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 45. THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

and another faithful servant, to impart from him the following advice to *Yezid*. "Consider the *Arabs* as the root and foundation of your empire; and therefore always treat their embassadors with kindness and respect. The *Syrians* are your natural friends, and will defend you from the insults of your enemies; and therefore shew yourself a father to them: but never keep them long out of their own country; for they degenerate abroad. Oblige the people of *Irak* to the utmost of your power, even tho' they should demand of you a new deputy every day: you had better abandon the dearest friend you have in the world, than have 100,000 swords drawn upon you. There are only three of the *Koreish* that will attempt to disturb your government; *Hosein*, *Ebn Amer*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. If the last of these appears in arms against you, oppose him; if he offers you peace, accept of it; and spare the blood of your people as much as possible." In his *Khalifat*, *Moslemab Ebn Mokhalled Al Ansâri* added a new tower to the temple, or mosque, erected by *Amru Ebn Al As* at *Al Fostat*, which afterwards went by his name. We must not forget to observe here, that *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, as well as *Eutychius*, asserts, that, in the 50th year of the *Hejra*, there happened so remarkable a solar eclipse, that the stars in the day-time very clearly appeared; which will farther evince the truth of the inference we have already drawn from that assertion ^b.

MOAWIYAH reigned, if we compute from *Hasan's* resignation, nineteen years, three months, and five days, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*. He presided over *Syria*, either as governor or *Khalif*, about forty years, viz. four, as lieutenant, in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; twelve in that of *Othman*, who continued him in his former post through the whole course of his reign; five in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, during which term he supported himself by force; and nineteen after *Hasan's* renunciation, when he governed the *Moslem* empire without a competitor. *Abulfeda* differs a little from *Al Tabari* in the length he assigns *Moawiyah's* reign. With regard to his age, authors are not perfectly agreed; some making him 70, others 73, others 75, others 78, others 80, and, lastly, others 85 years old, at the time of his death. Be that as it will, as soon as he was dead, *Dehak Ebn Kais* went into the mosque, and ascended the pulpit with *Moawiyah's* winding-sheet in his hand; where, having made an enco-

^b *ABU JAASAR AL TABAR.* et *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 50. *EBN AL ATHIR*, MS. HUNT. num. 495. *ISM. ABULFED.* in hist. univ. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. p. 195. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 360, 361. *THEOPHAN.* chronograph. p. 296.

mium on the deceased, and satisfied the people of his death, he said the funeral service, or the prayers usual on such occasions, over him. *Yezid* was then at a town called *Hawarin*, in the territory of *Hems*, and did not arrive at *Damascus* till after his father had been interred; but, upon his arrival there, he went and prayed at his tomb. For what has been observed here, we are obliged to *Abulfeda*; tho' *Yezid* himself said the funeral prayers over *Moâwiyah*, at his interment, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* ^c.

Descrip- WITH regard to his person, Moâwiyah was tall, according
tion of his to Al Tabari, though this is contradicted by Eutychius, ex-
person and tremely fat, and of a fair complexion. His eyes projected
character. out of his head; he had a loud voice, a large breast, and a
 long beard, which he tinged with *Al Henna* and *Al Catam*, after the example of his predecessors. As for his disposition, he was merciful, of an exceeding quick apprehension, courageous, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. His good-nature got the ascendant over his resentment, and the sweetness exceeded the ferocity of his temper. He was affable, easy of access, and of a winning behaviour; tho', by his disputing the *Khalifat* with *Ali* and *Hasan*, he had justly incurred the displeasure of the house of *Hâshem*. *Hasan of Basra*, a man of great authority with the *Sunnites*, objected four things to his conduct; every one of which, he said, merited destruction. 1. He took upon himself the *Khalifat* by force, without either consulting the people, the persons of distinction, or the surviving COMPANIONS. 2. He rendered the *Khalifat* hereditary in his family, and appointed *Yezid* his successor, tho' he was a person of a very bad character, a drunkard, a lover of music, and one that wore silk. 3. He owned *Ziyâd* for his brother, tho' in opposition to one of the express decisions of *Mohammed* and the *Korân*. 4. He treated with the utmost cruelty *Hejer*, a man of uncommon piety, and his companions. According to *Al Shâfeî*, he put *Abu Rebiyah* in chains, because he objected to the testimony of four of the COMPANIONS, viz. *Moâwiyah*, *Amru*, *Al Magbeirah*, and *Ziyâd*. It has been remarked by *Al Tabari*, that, when he laughed, his upper lip was inverted; and that *Saturday* was the first, and *Friday* the last, day of his reign ^d.

Some farther account of him. As the *Arabs* in general, and the *Khalif* in particular, at this time, were much delighted with poetical performances, a young man once repeated to *Moâwiyah* a copy of verses,

^c ISM. ABULFED. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, EUTYCH. et THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

^d ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. EUTYCH. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL SHAFÊI, &c.

wherein

wherein he gave a full and explicit account of his present miserable situation. He had, it seems, married a fair *Arabian* girl purely for love; and, out of mere fondness, had spent all his substance upon her. The governor of *Cûsa*, casting his eyes upon her, and perceiving her to be a charming creature, had ravished her from her husband's bosom. The poor man, to whom the loss of his substance was nothing in respect to that of his wife, being pierced to the very heart, and ready to die with sorrow for this misfortune, addressed the *Khalif* in verse, in these calamitous circumstances. *Moâwiyah*, being very well pleased with the verses, resolved to do him justice; and therefore sent an express to the governor, with orders instantly to resign the woman. He being a person of not the most unrefined taste, told the express, that, if the *Khalif* would permit him to enjoy her one year, he would be contented to have his head struck off at the end of it. But the *Khalif* having absolutely insisted upon her dismissal, she was brought before him. He was extremely surprized at her beauty, but much more at the politeness and elegance of her expression. Tho' he had received many embassies, and frequently conversed with the greatest men of his country, he had never before heard such a torrent of eloquence as that which flowed from the mouth of this charming *Arabian*. The *Khalif* asked her jocosely, whether she would chuse him, the governor, or her husband, for a constant companion? She, with a modesty peculiar to her sex, answered in verse, that tho' a person in his exalted station could do infinitely more for her than either she expected or deserved, yet that this would by no means be a balance against eternal damnation. She begged of him, therefore, if he intended her any favour, to restore her to her dear husband. Which he not only did, but presented her likewise with a splendid equipage, as well as plenty of gold, in order to restore the shattered circumstances of her husband, who had spent a good fortune upon her. This story perfectly agrees with what we find related of this *Khalif* by other authors, and with the character given of him even by *Kbondemir*, the *Persian* historian. For we are told by an oriental author, already cited in this work, that an *Arab* robber having been condemned to have one of his hands cut off, in conformity to what is enjoined by the *Korân* in cases of this nature, the criminal immediately composed and repeated four elegant and ingenious *Arab* verses upon the spot; which so mollified the *Khalif*, that he instantly pardoned him. However, it has been remarked, that this was the first sentence pronounced amongst the *Moslems* that was not put in execution; none of his predecessors having taken the liberty of shewing favour to those whom the ordinary judges had

condemned. And with regard to *Khondemir*, we are informed by that historian, that *Moâwiyah* used to say, "The *Hâshemites* are famous for their valour, and the descendents of " *Zobeir* for their generosity; but I only desire to pass amongst " the *Moslems* for a prince of clemency and humanity." But how laudable soever this might seem, if we will believe *Ali*, it was not spoken by *Moâwiyah* absolutely without artifice and design ^e.

His munificence.

His munificence was equal to his clemency, if we will believe the *Moslem* authors. He made a present to *Ayesha* of a bracelet worth 100,000 *dinârs*. He presented *Hasan* at one time with 300,000 *dinârs*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* with 100,000. He frequently bad those who came to pay their duty to him to take away any thing in his palace that pleased them. He gave 100,000 *dinârs* at once to *Hosein*, 100,000 to *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, 100,000 to *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, and 4,000,000 at another time to *Hasan*. However, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that ambition, and an insatiable thirst after empire, almost wholly occupied his mind; as very clearly appeared from the tenor of his conduct, during the *Khalifat* both of *Ali* and *Hasan*, and even his own ^f.

His patience and clemency.

THE following remarkable instance of his patience and clemency has been transmitted down to us by *Abulfedâ*. *Arwah*, the daughter of *Hâreth*, the son of *Abd'almotalleb*, the son of *Hâshem*, a very old woman, and his aunt, of *Ali's* branch of the family, made him once a visit. As soon as *Moâwiyah* had saluted her, she began to reproach him in the following terms. "O nephew," said she, "you have been " very injurious and ungrateful to your cousin, who was one " of the COMPANIONS. You also called yourself by a name " that was none of your own; and took possession of what " you had no right to. Our family exceeded all men in " sufferings for this religion, till GOD thought proper to take " his prophet, in order to reward his labours, and advance " him to a more exalted station. Then you insulted us, and " we were amongst you like the children of *Israel* in the family of *Pharaoh*; tho' *Ali* bore the same relation to the " prophet that *Aaron* did to *Moses*." *Amru* being then present, said, "Hold your tongue, old woman, and don't talk " like one out of his wits." "What," replied she, "do " you prate, you son of a whore! Your mother was known " to be the cheapest and most notorious strumpet in all

^e MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. Aut. RABÍ AL AK-YAR, apud D'Herbel. Bibl. orient. in art. *Moawiah*, p. 587. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. v. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 140. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 85, 86.

^f MS. Hunt. num. 495. ubi sup.

"Mecca; who, when she was examined about her commerce with five of the *Koreish*, confessed that she had lain with them all, and declared, that he must be deemed your father whom you resembled most. As, therefore, you were most like old *Al As*, he was obliged to acknowledge himself your father." This unparalleled scurrility, however, did not ruffle nor discompose *Moâwiyah*, who only said to her, "God forgive what is past; what would you have?" She answered, "Two thousand *dinârs*, to purchase an estate for the poor of our family; two thousand and more, to marry our poor relations; and two thousand more for myself, to support me in time of extremity." All which, by the *Khalif*'s command, was paid down to her immediately. Several other instances of this kind might be produced, had we room here to insert what has been related of *Moâwiyah* by the oriental authors, especially those of the *Sonnite*, or *Traditionist*, persuasion *.

To what has been said of this *Khalif*, we must beg leave to add, that he was the first who introduced the *Meksfourah* into the mosque. The *Meksfourah* was a sort of elevated place, separated from all the rest, where the *Khalif*, who was the supreme pontiff in religious as well as the sovereign in civil affairs, read, or chanted, the prayers that form the liturgy or public office of the *Moslems*. From the same place he also made the *Cotbab*, which is a sort of homily or predication, to the people. This, before his time, followed the prayers; but he began with it, for the reason already assigned. He also introduced the practice of laying post-horses upon the roads, and was the first of the *Khalifs* who spoke to the people in a sitting posture. According to *Theophanes*, *Moâwiyah* reigned four-and-twenty years; from whence we may infer, that he makes his *Khalifat* to have commenced at the death of *Othmân*. It has been already observed, that *Dionysius Tilmarenſis* calls *Ali Abbâs*, and relates, that *Moâwiyah* reigned alone, or after the death of *Abbâs*, or *Ali*, only sixteen years; tho' *Ebn Arrabe* and *Abu'l Walid*, in agreement with the other eastern writers, affirm, that he sat on the *Moslem* throne, without any colleague, except his son, or competitor, nineteen years and three months, and died in the 60th year of the *Hęra*, or of CHRIST 679. As *Dionysius* wrote in *Syria*, and the *Syrians* adhered to *Moâwiyah*, 'tis no wonder that he, in common with his countrymen, should have had the memory of *Ali* and his sons in such abhorrence, as to leave their names out of the list or series of *Khalifs*. It may be farther observed, that he called *Ali Abbâs*, because the latter was the name applied to that *Khalif*'s whole family by the *Syrians*;

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

as also because *Ali* had a son, destroyed by *Yezid*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu'l Walid*, who went under that appellation ^b.

Where
buried.

MOAWIYAH was interred at *Damascus*, which he made the residence of the *Khalifs*; and this prerogative that city enjoyed, as long as his descendents, or the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, kept possession of the *Moslem* throne. But those of the family of *Abbās* transferred the imperial seat to *Anbār*, *Hasbemiya*, and *Baghdād*, as will be seen in the sequel of this history. The inscription upon *Moāwiyah's* seal was, *Every work hath its reward*; or, as others say, *There is no strength but in GOD*. His secretary was *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*; his principal *Kādi*, or judge, *Fādala Ebn Abd'allah*, of *Medina*; his chamberlain *Yezid* his servant, and afterwards his servant *Safwān*; the captain of his guards *Yezid Ebn Al Horra Al Abasi*, *Kais Ebn Hamzah*, and *Dabak Ebn Kais Al Fabri*. *Eutychius* makes *Riyah*, one of his servants, to have been his chamberlain. For the story of *Obeid Ebn Sariba*, the *Nestor* of the *Arabs*, who is said by the *Moslems* to have arrived at the age of 300 years, and lived in the *Khalifat* of *Moāwiyah*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Al Makin*, or rather *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* i.

S E C T. VII.

Yezid
procl. imed
Khalif.

YEZID, according to *Abu Jaafar*, was proclaimed *Khalif*, in consequence of his nomination to the succession, the same day his father died. His inauguration was performed on the new moon of the month of *Rajeb*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, coincident with the 7th day of *April*, in the year of our LORD 680. He was born in the 26th year of the former æra, and consequently thirty-four lunar years old, when he ascended the *Moslem* throne. Immediately after his inauguration, he wrote to *Al Walid Ebn Otba Ebn Abu Sofian*, his governor of *Medina*, to seize *Hosein Ebn Ali* and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, if they refused to acknowledge his right to the *Khalifat*. The letter was conceived in the following terms: "In the name of the most merciful GOD. From *Yezid*, emperor of the faithful, to *Al Walid Ebn Otba*. *Moāwiyāh* was one of the servants of GOD, who honoured

^b Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. in art. *Moawiah*. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 194. DIONYS. TELMARENS. EBN ARRAHEB, et ABU'L WALID, apud Joseph. Simon. Assen. in Biblioth. orient. tom. ii. p. 103, 104. ut et ipse JOSEPH. SIMON. AS-EMAN. ibid. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, &c. ¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48, 49. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 360, 361. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. pass.

"him,

" him, made him *Khalif*, extended his dominions, and estab-
 " lished him. He lived his appointed time, and GOD took
 " him to his mercy. He lived beloved, and died pure and
 " innocent. Farewell. Take care not to suffer *Hosein*,
 " *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, to deviate in
 " the least from the inauguration." Upon the arrival of this
 letter, *Al Walid* consulted *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* about the
 contents of it, which he immediately communicated to him.
Merwân advised him to tender the persons therein mentioned
 the oath of fidelity to *Yezid*, before they were apprized of the
Khalif's death; and, upon their refusal to take it, to order
 their heads to be cut off. *Al Walid*, therefore, according to
Abulfeda, sent for *Hosein* to his house, informed him of *Moâ-
 wiyab's* death, and invited him to recognize the authority of
 the new *Khalif*. *Hosein* answered, that men of his distinc-
 tion did not usually do things of that nature in private; that
 he did not expect to have had such a thing proposed to him;
 and that he thought such a declaration as was required of him
 ought to be made in the most public manner. *Merwân*, who
 was present, plainly saw that the answer was evasive; nor
 was the governor ignorant of this; and therefore gave it as
 his opinion, that *Al Walid* either ought to oblige *Hosein* to be
 explicit on this occasion, or to strike his head off upon the
 spot. This *Al Walid* refusing to do, *Hosein*, after he had re-
 proached *Merwân* for his advice, by the assistance of some
 friends and domestics he had posted at the governor's door,
 escaped to his own house. *Merwân* then censuring *Al Walid*
 for permitting *Hosein* to retire, the governor told him, that
 he was very easy in his present situation; and that he thought
 it would be a very criminal action to spill the blood of *Hosein*.
 After this, *Al Walid* sent for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, in
 order to make the same proposal to him that he had before
 done to *Hosein*. But *Abd'allah* deferred, under various pre-
 tences, waiting upon him for the space of twenty-four hours;
 at the end of which, with his family, and his brother *Jaa-
 far*, he made his escape to *Mecca*. *Al Walid* sent a party of
 horse in pursuit of him, but without effect. In the mean
 time, *Hosein*, by the advice of his brother *Mohammed Hani-
 fiyab*, made secret preparations to follow him, with his family;
 which he at last found means to do. However, *Egypt*, *Syria*,
Mesopotamia, *Persia*, and, in fine, all the *Moslem* dominions,
 except the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*, and part of *Irâk*, de-
 clared in favour of *Yezid*. Notwithstanding which, the people
 of *Cûsa*, receiving advice of *Hosein* and *Abd'allah's* escape to
Mecca, invited the former to *Cûsa*, and promised to support
 him in any war he should undertake against *Yezid*. He,
 therefore, dispatched to them his cousin *Moslem Ebn Okail*, to
 whom,

whom, as *Hosein's* representative, they took the oath of allegiance. *Yezid's* mother, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was *Kaifun Bint Babdal*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, *Misua Bint Yabdak*, of the tribe of *Calb* ^k.

The people
of Cûfa
declare for
Hosein.

THE new *Khalif* being informed by *Merwân* of *Al Walid's* indolent, not to say treacherous, conduct, dismissed him from the government of *Medina*, and substituted *Amru Ebn Saad*, then commandant of *Mecca*, in his room. *Amru*, who was a very proud man, soon after he had taken possession of his post, detached *Amer Ebn Zobeir* with a body of troops against his brother *Abd'allah*, whom he mortally hated. *Abd'allah* engaged *Amer* in the field, routed him, and put him in prison, where he kept him confined till his death. This victory procured *Abd'allah* no small respect from the people of *Medina*, who seemed now greatly prejudiced in his favour. However, *Hosein's* superior interest amongst them rendered him incapable of aspiring, by their assistance, to the *Khalifat* himself. Besides, *Hosein* was supported by the forces of *Irâk*, who still retained a vast veneration for the memory of his father *Ali*, and considered the government of *Mu'awiyah* as a downright usurpation. The citizens of *Cûfa* had actually declared for him, as has been already observed; and were at this very juncture pressing him to honour them with his presence. *Moslem* had, with great difficulty, traversed part of the deserts of *Irâk*, in order to come at them; but, upon his arrival at their city, the reception they gave him made him ample amends for the hardships he had sustained. They not only came to a resolution to spend all their blood and treasure in support of *Hosein's* just pretensions, but determined likewise to enter immediately upon action with an army of 18000 men. And what crowned all was, that the affairs concerted between them and *Moslem* were carried on with so much secrecy, that *Al Nooman*, *Yezid's* lieutenant, himself was a stranger to their deliberations. In the mean time, *Hosein* receiving advice of the happy situation of his affairs at *Cûfa*, made the proper dispositions for his departure from *Mecca*, in order to set out upon his journey for the former city ^l.

*Yezid re-
moves
Al No-
oman from
his go-
vernment
of Cûfa.*

AL NOOMAN being informed at last of the steps that had been taken in favour of *Hosein*, and roused out of his lethargy, made a speech to the people; wherein he exhorted them to avoid all occasion of strife and contention. He told them, that he would take up no man upon suspicion, however strong

^k *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 50. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 360—363. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 195.*

^l *MS. Hunt. ABULFED. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.*

circum-

circumstances might appear against him, nor be the aggressor in any shape whatsoever, unless he should be forced to act contrary to his inclination by some gross insult offered to his person. But he swore by that God, besides whom there is no other, that, if they revolted from their *Imâm*, he would fight as long as he could hold his sword in his hand. Upon which, one of those that stood by told him, that the present conjuncture did not so much require words as action; and that he talked like one of the weak ones. To which he replied, that "he would rather be one of the weak ones in obedience to God, than one of the strong ones in rebelling against him." This inactive conduct not pleasing *Yezid*, he removed *Al Nooman* from his post, and annexed the government of *Cûfa* to that of *Basra*, in favour of *Obeid'allah*, the son of *Ziyâd*, to whom *Yezid* had been reconciled by the interposition of *Sarkhun Ebn Moâwiyah*; he having before conceived a dislike to him, on account of his father *Ziyâd*, who had refused to concur with those who had nominated him to the succession in his father's life-time. *Al Nooman*, or *Al Nôman*, as he is called by *Abu Jaasar*, was the son of *Basbar*, a citizen of *Medina*, and a man of too indolent a temper to sustain the weighty office of commandant of *Cûfa* at this juncture, when most of the citizens in reality were disaffected to *Yezid*; and therefore this was a sufficient reason for removing him from that post. But as he belonged to a city that bore an implacable hatred to the house of *Ommiyah*, 'tis not improbable that the *Khalif* might have had some cause to suspect his integrity; which if we admit, this must have been an additional reason for his dismissal. Be that as it will, the new *Khalif*, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, upon his first accession to the throne, kept all his father's officers and lieutenants in the places that had been assigned them; and had nothing more at heart than an attempt to win over those who had always opposed his interest by gentle means. In consequence of which disposition, he resolved, if the conduct of the house of *Hâshem* did not oblige him to deviate from the plan he had laid down, to have recourse only, for the reuniting the divided members of the *Arab* nation, to methods of lenity and persuasion^m.

OBEID'ALLAH was received by the people of *Cûfa*, at his Moslem first appearance amongst them, with all possible demonstrations and Hail of joy; which was owing to a black turban he had upon his executed head, resembling that which *Hossein* usually wore. As he, therefore, entered the town in the evening, they mistook him

^m. MS. Hunt. et ABULFED. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TAAAR. et AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 50, 51.

for *Hosain*, of whose arrival they were in hourly expectation. But they were extremely mortified, when they discovered this stranger to be the *Emir Obeid'allah*; who went immediately to the apartments fitted up for him in the castle, attended only by an escorte of seventeen horse. The first object of his deliberations was the extinction of the present sedition, but too visible to him, that had been excited in the city by *Moslem*. In order to which, he commanded a trusty servant to disguise himself, and to personate a stranger come out of *Syria* to see the inauguration of *Hosain*; that he might gain admission into *Moslem's* house, by his address insinuate himself into that officer's confidence, and by this means penetrate all his counsils. Which having done, he made a faithful report of what he had learned to his master. In the mean time, *Moslem* lodged at one *Sbarik's* house, to which he had removed from *Hani's*, where he had taken up his quarters at his first coming to town. *Obeid'allah* having been let into all the secrets of the adverse party by his servant, sent a messenger to *Sbarik*, who was one of the grand *Omera's*, to inform him, that he intended him a visit on a certain day, which he named. *Sbarik* being apprized of this, tho' he was then sick, immediately came to a resolution to receive him, and to place *Moslem* in a corner of the room, that he might destroy him, upon a signal given. The visit was accordingly made, and *Moslem* had a proper place assigned him, for the purpose above-mentioned; but his heart failing him, *Obeid'allah* escaped, and *Sbarik* died three days after. As for *Hani*, in whose house *Moslem* at first had lodged, and who attended the new governor in the aforesaid visit, upon searching the registers, he was found to be an old offender, and one that had before opposed *Obeid'allah*; wherefore he was conducted by some of the *Omera's*, at the governor's command, to the castle. Upon his arrival there, *Obeid'allah* asked him where *Moslem* was, and how he came formerly to admit him into his house? *Hani*, after he had in vain endeavoured to deny the fact laid to his charge, answered, that *Moslem* forced himself into his house, and did not come thither by his invitation. *Obeid'allah* then commanded this prevaricator to produce him; who instantly replied, that if he was under his feet, he would not take them off from him. This so exasperated *Obeid'allah*, that he gave him a blow on the face with his mace, which broke his nose; upon which, *Hani* attempted to snatch a sword from one of the guards, but was prevented, and the governor ordered him to be closely confined in a room of the castle that had been prepared for his reception. The news of this event soon reached the ears of *Moslem*, who thereupon mounted his horse, assembled a body of 4000 men, and immediately

mediately invested the castle. This at first surprized *Obeidallah*, tho' he soon recovered himself, and made a speech to the people; wherein he used a great variety of arguments to dissuade them from withdrawing their allegiance from the *Khalif*. This produced the desired effect; insomuch that all *Moslem's* followers, except about thirty, gradually deserted him. He, therefore, found himself obliged to leave the city; which, by the favour of the night, he did, and made his escape to a little cottage, belonging to an old woman, in a field at a little distance from *Cúfa*. However, her son, in hopes of meeting with the reward promised by the governor to the person who should give any intelligence of him, discovered to *Obeidallah* the place of his retreat; who thereupon sent a detachment of eighty horse to seize him. *Moslem* for some time made a gallant defence, and thrice cleared the house of them; but being at last overpowered by numbers, and grievously wounded in several places, both his lips particularly being almost cut to pieces, he was seized, disarmed, and carried bound upon his own mule to *Cúfa*. One of the governor's men perceiving him to shed tears, told him, that it did not become a man embarked in so great an undertaking to weep. *Moslem* replied, that he wept not for himself, but for *Hosein* and his family, who were then, as he apprehended, on the road to *Cúfa*. After which, turning to *Mohammed Ebn Al Asbat*, he desired him to acquaint *Hosein* with his bad success, and intreat him, if upon his journey, to return to *Mecca*. This *Mohammed* not only promised to do, but likewise actually sent an express to *Hosein*, to hinder him from advancing to *Cúfa*; tho' the person employed on this occasion never came near him. When *Moslem* arrived at the castle, he asked for a draught of water; but one of the men there told him, he should have nothing to quench his thirst, till he drank the *Hamim*, or boiling liquor that the *Mohammedans* pretend the damned shall drink in hell. When *Obeidallah* appeared, *Moslem* refused to salute him; saying, he should serve *Yezid* himself in the same manner, if he were present, unless he would promise him a pardon. The governor then upbraided him with coming to *Cúfa*; in order to sow the seeds of dissension amongst a people who were perfectly well satisfied with the present administration. *Moslem* resolutely answered, "That is absolutely false. The people of this province know very well, that your father *Ziyád* inhumanly butchered their principal men, and exercised a tyranny over them more intolerable than that of the worst of the *Khosrú's*, or the *Cæsars*: whereas our intention is to govern them with justice and moderation, and appeal to the determination of the book." *Obeidallah* then called him

him rogue, and reproached him with drinking of wine at *Ad-dima*; which he denied in the strongest terms. Perceiving that he was to fall a sacrifice to the governor's resentment, he left one of his friends 700 *dinârs*, to take care of his body, and to hinder *Hosein* from approaching *Cûfa*. After which, he was beheaded on the top of the castle, as *Hani* was in the street. Both of their heads were sent for a present to *Yezid*, together with a letter containing an account of their crime, and the circumstances attending their execution; which happened on the 8th day of the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*. With regard to the collection of registers, or *book of records*, as 'tis called in Scripture, above-mentioned, we must beg leave to observe, that the ancient *Persians*, to whom the province of *Irâk*, in which *Cûfa* is situated, appertained, preserved the memory of the principal events of their state every year, and even every day, in a sort of annals and journals, which formed that collection, and were recited in order of time as they happened, as may be inferred from sacred and profane authors. In these annals and journals the names of the benefactors to the public, as well as of malefactors, were inserted, both amongst the *Persians* and the *Medes*. This most clearly appears from *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Josephus*, as well as from several passages of Scripture. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that the same custom should prevail in the time of *Yezid* amongst some of the descendants of those ancient nations. The detachment sent by *Abelid'allab* to seize *Moslem* at the old woman's cottage, and conduct him to *Cûfa*, consisted of 1000 horse, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by an *Arab* author here referred to, according to *Abu'l-Feraj*ⁿ.

Hosein THE favourable advice he had received from *Moslem*, together with the earnest and repeated solicitations of the *Cûfans*, who had sent him a list of 140,000 men that were ready to obey his orders, induced *Hosein* to think of setting out directly for *Cûfa*. The wisest of his friends, however, considered this as a desperate enterprize, and therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from it. *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, in particular, told him, that as the *Emir Abelid'allab's* forces had the proper posts assigned them for the defence of the country, and as the *Cûfans* at best only had invited him to a war, in which they would probably desert him, he ought by no means to embark in so perilous an undertaking. *Abd'allah Ebn Zohair* also endeavoured to prevail upon him to lay aside his de-

ⁿ MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Ezr. vi. 1. ESTH. vi. 1. x. 2. HERODOT. lib. viii. c. 85. THUCYDID. lib. i. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xi. c. 6. GRÆG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 195.

sign,

sign, tho' in a more faint and languid manner; he being in reality rather desirous of precipitating him into dangers, than of delivering him from them; since, in case of *Hosein's* death, he thought he might, with the greater ease, aspire to the *Khalifat* himself. But *Hosein* still persisting in his former resolution, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbás*, who had a most sincere and cordial respect for him, represented to him, that if he was fixed in his intention of entering into a war against *Yezid*, he ought to stay till his friends at *Cúfa* had dispatched the new governor imposed upon them by the pretended *Khalif*, and then either join them, or retire to some place of strength in *Hejáx*; that, in the mean time, he should write circular letters to his friends, desiring them to assemble their forces with all possible expedition, and not suffer any part of the scheme he had formed to transpire; and that at least, if nothing could divert him from appearing immediately at the head of the *Cúfans*, he ought not to entertain any thoughts of taking his wives and children along with him, lest he should meet with the fate of *Othmán*, who was murdered in his family's fight. Besides, added he, your departure from *Mecca* at this juncture, especially if you leave him behind you, will give infinite pleasure to *Abd'allah Ebn Zabeir*, who wishes for your death, in order to dispute himself the *Khalifat* with *Yezid*. But *Hosein* still proving inflexible, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbás* left him, and told *Ebn Zabeir*, whom he met soon after, that he had no reason to be sad, since *Hosein*, hurried by his destiny, was obstinately bent upon his own destruction. Nay, tho' the same *Ebn Abbás* sat up with him afterwards a whole night, in order to prevail upon him to remain at *Mecca* a little longer, and at least till his troops were ready to enter upon action, he could make no impression upon him. *Hosein*, therefore, with his family, and some other attendants, set out from *Mecca* either on the 8th of *Dhu'l-hajja*, the very day on which *Moslem* and *Hani* were executed at *Cúfa*, of which *Hosein* had not yet received advice, or the day before, as we learn from an anonymous oriental historian °.

THE Emir *Obeid'allah*, being apprized of *Hosein's* approach, detached *Harro Ebn Yezid*, of the tribe of *Temimah*, who sends with 1000 horse, to meet him on the road, and conduct him, a body of with all the people attending him, to *Cúfa*. *Harro*, who was far from being an enemy to *Hosein*, advanced at the head of his troops to *Ashraf*; and, when *Hosein* came up, imparted to him the orders he had received. *Hosein* at first attempted

° MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 51. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 196.

to engage *Harro* directly in his interest ; but finding this impracticable, he said, he would die rather than suffer those orders to be put in execution ; and commanded his men instantly to continue their march. But this *Harro* opposed ; which provoked *Hosein* to curse him in the following terms, pretty frequently used amongst the *Arabs*, *May your mother be childless of you !* This not a little exasperated *Harro* ; who, nevertheless, only replied, “ If any other person had treated me as you have done, I should not have failed recriminating ; but there is no room to speak of your mother without the highest respect.” Then ordering his men to retreat, he told *Hosein*, that he was not commanded to fight him, but only to conduct him to *Cúfa* ; adding, that if he thought fit either to go to *Medina*, or take any other road that did not lead directly to *Cúfa*, he should meet with no opposition from him. Nay, he ventured farther to assure him, that if he could assemble a body of troops sufficient to enable him to fall upon *Obeidallah’s* forces, and not suffer himself to be attacked first by that commander, he would, in his opinion, be in a fair way of carrying his point. After which, *Hosein* moved towards *Kadesia*, famous for the bloody battle fought there between the *Arabs* and the *Persians*, and was accosted at *Adib* by a small party of four horse ; whose guide *Thirmah* informed him, that the noblesse of *Cúfa* were resolved to oppose him ; and that tho’ the rest of the *Cúfans* were his friends, to-morrow their swords would all be drawn against him. He also assured him, that his messenger *Kais*, who had been sent before to dispose the *Cúfans* to give him a good reception, had been thrown down headlong from the top of the castle, for cursing *Obeidallah*, and his father *Ziyád*, when he was commanded by the former to curse *Ali* and *Hosein*. This news greatly affected *Hosein* ; upon which, *Thirmah* offered to conduct him to mount *Aja*, a place impregnable by its situation, in the province of *Najd*, and even to attempt assembling a body of ten thousand men, of the tribe of *Tay*, to support him. But *Hosein* still persisting in his resolution of advancing towards *Kadesia* and *Nineveh*, *Thirmah* took his leave of him, and, with the four horse he was conducting, continued his rout. The next day *Hosein*, with *Harro*, who still attended him, arrived at *Nineveh*, a town distant from the antient city going under the same name, which stood on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*. Here *Harro* met with an express, who brought him an order from *Obeidallah* to prevent *Hosein* from possessing himself of any fortified town, or place of strength, before the arrival of his forces. This order came to hand on *Friday* the second day of the month *Al Moharram*, in the 61st year of

year of the *Hajra*; and the next day *Amer Ebn Saad*, having received advice of *Hosein's* approach, appeared with a body of 4000 men, who had for some time pitched their tents without the walls of *Cúfa*. Those troops were upon the point of marching to *Deylam*; but as the partisans of the house of *Hâshem* began now to be in motion, *Obeid'allah* commanded *Amer* to lead them against *Hosein*. This, for some time, at the instigation of his nephew and others, *Amer* refused to do; but at last, being intimidated by *Obeid'allah's* menaces, he moved with all his forces to *Kerbela*, where *Hosein* was at that time posted. Here he was joined by *Harro*, with 1000 horse; so that, after this junction, the *Moslem* troops destined to act against *Hosein* amounted to 5000 men. However, before the commencement of hostilities, several messages passed between *Amer* and *Hosein*; when the latter finding his affairs in a desperate situation, and that the *Cúfans* had deserted him, offered to return home, if *Obeid'allah* would permit him. Upon this, *Amer* wrote to the governor, and acquainted him with the overture made by *Hosein*; but received for answer, that no proposal from him would be listened to, till he had acknowledged *Yezid* to be the true and lawful emperor of the faithful. At the same time, *Obeid'allah* commanded *Amer Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Wakkás* to cut off all communication between *Hosein's* camp and the *Euphrates*, or rather those branches of it called by *Abu'l-Faraj* the rivers of *Kerbela*; that by this means he might oblige him to surrender to the *Khalif's* forces, without any effusion of *Moslem* blood. In these calamitous circumstances, *Hosein* and *Amer*, at the request of the former, held a conference between the two armies; each of them being attended by an escorte of twenty horse. In this conference, *Hosein* desired to be permitted either to accommodate matters in person with *Yezid*, or to return into *Arabia*, or, lastly, to command some remote garrison in *Khorasán*, where he might distinguish himself against the *Turks*. But *Obeid'allah*, was dissuaded from accepting of any of these conditions by *Shamer Ebn Dhu'l-jeyowsh*, who scrupled not to accuse *Amer* of carrying on a clandestine negotiation with *Hosein*; though the governor at first discovered no repugnancy to an accommodation. According to a tradition, mentioned by *Mr. Ockley*, tho' he names not the author of it, *Hosein* begged he might either have leave to return to the place from whence he came, or be permitted to sound the people of *Irák*, in order to discover whether they had really any intention of declaring for him. Be that as it will, *Obeid'allah* would grant neither *Hosein*, nor the people attending him, any terms; offering them only this alternative, either to submit

to the *Khalif*, or leave the point in dispute to the decision of the sword P.

The battle
of Ker-
bela.

OBEID'ALLAH being at this time sufficiently apprized of the seditious disposition of the *Cúfans*, was resolved to bring matters to an eclaireissement, before *Hosein* advanced nearer to the gates of their city. He, therefore, sent *Shamer*, upon whom he could intirely depend, with a body of 5000 men, to reinforce the troops under *Amer*; whom he ordered once more to assure *Hosein*, that if he and his men would submit to *Yezid*, no violence should be offered them; but that if they refused such submission, they should all be put to the sword. He likewise ordered *Shamer* to strike off *Amer's* head, if he discovered any reluctance to an engagement with *Hosein*, and to take upon himself the command of all the forces. At the same time, the governor offered his protection to *Abbás*, *Abd'allah*, *Jaafar*, and *Othmán*, four of *Alí's* sons; which they refused to accept; saying, that the security of GOD was better than that of the son of *Somyah*. By which appellation, they intended to stigmatize *Obeid'allah*; intimating thereby, that he was the son of one of *Somyah's* bastards, his father *Ziyád* having been the fruit of an illicit commerce between that strumpet and *Abu Sofián*. *Amer* having received *Obeid'allah's* orders by *Shamer*, together with a letter severely reprimanding him for not attacking *Hosein* sooner, drew up his army in order of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. This happening after evening-prayer, *Hosein*, who, with his brother *Abbás*, was then in his tent, begged a truce till the following day; which was easily granted by *Amer*. In the mean time, *Hosein's* sister viewed with the utmost horror and consternation her brother's approaching fate. She was quite disconsolate, fainted away, and discovered all the symptoms of grief and despair; tho' *Hosein* did every thing in his power to comfort her. He endeavoured also to calm the minds of his men, who seemed then to be under the most dreadful apprehensions, by advising them to retire to their respective habitations. This, however, they could by no means be induced to do, most of them being determined not to survive him. But notwithstanding the ferment they were in, he did not omit making the proper dispositions for his defence. He ordered all the tents, of which his camp was composed, to be fastened to one another with ropes and cords, and to be fortified at one

¶ MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. GREG. ABU'Z-FARAJ, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 234. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Houssain*. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

end with a trench; so that the whole, which was finished in the night, formed a sort of barricade. Into the trench he caused to be thrown a large quantity of wood, and other combustible materials, which his men set on fire, to prevent their being surrounded; so that they could be attacked only in front. They spent the night in prayers and supplications, whilst the horse of the enemy's guard were perpetually moving round them. The next morning, the troops on both sides made such movements, as are for the most part immediately previous to an engagement. *Hosein* drew up his small army, which, according to an *Arab* writer of good authority, consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot (tho' *Abu Jaafar* makes the whole number to have amounted to fifty horse and an hundred foot) in order of battle, and made as good a disposition of this inconsiderable force, as the nature of the ground on which he incamped, and the short space of time, allowed him to do it in, would permit. *Amer*, as soon as the day appeared, having ranged his troops in battle-array, approached the barricade, in order to begin the attack; and found *Hosein*, who had before washed and perfumed himself, according to the *Arab* custom, wherein he was followed by his principal officers, prepared to receive him in a proper manner. Upon this motion of *Amer*, *Hosein* instantly mounted his horse, as did his son *Ali*, laid the *Korân* before him, and earnestly pressed the soldiers that attended him to a performance of their duty. This drew a fresh flood of tears from his sisters and daughters, who rent the air with their lamentations; upon which, he sent his son *Ali*, and his brother *Abbâs*, to pacify and appease them, declaring, that he would die in the field of battle rather than renounce his right in so servile a manner as was required of him to any tyrant whatsoever. Which moving scene so affected *Harro*, that he expressed great sorrow for having intercepted *Hosein*, immediately joined him with thirty horse, and came to a determination to die with him. He also made a final effort to mollify *Amer*, but without effect; that general alledging, that the express orders he had received from *Obeidallah* would not permit him to follow pacific measures. Upon which, *Harro* upbraided him, as well as the *Cûfans* in general, with having imposed upon *Hosein*, and with having deprived him and his men of the water of the *Euphrates*, of which *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Sabians*, were permitted to drink, and in which even hogs and dogs were suffered to sport themselves. An accommodation, therefore, being impracticable, *Shamer Ebn Dhu'lfeywsh* began the attack, and showers of arrows were on both sides discharged. But before the action became general, *Abdallah Ebn Amer*, having obtained leave of *Hosein* to fight them, killed *Yaser* and *Salem*, two of *Amer's* men, in single

combat; and another of the enemy attempting to engage *Hosein*, his horse threw him, dragged him with his left foot in the stirrup, his right leg having been cut off by one of *Hosein's* men, and at last destroyed him, by dashing his head against some stones. Several other combats were fought, wherein *Hosein's* men, being animated by despair, were superior to their antagonists; which induced *Amer* to order his soldiers to desist from that kind of engagement. After this, *Amru Ebn Hejāj*, who commanded the right wing, charged *Hosein's* troops with great fury, crying out aloud to the *Cūfans*, "Behave with bravery against those who separate from the religion, from the congregation, and from the *Imām*." To whom *Hosein*, with great coolness, replied, "You are the separatists; when your souls have taken their flight from your bodies, you will know which of us deserve hell-fire most." In this attack, *Moslem Ebn Aufajah*, the first that fell on *Hosein's* side, was killed, after he had behaved with unparalleled bravery. Several other Arab officers likewise at this time lost their lives; though the *Cūfans*, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, were not able to make themselves masters of the person of *Hosein*. The little body of cavalry that surrounded him sustained the shock with incredible firmness and intrepidity, and at last forced the enemy to retire with considerable loss.

Hosein
defeated
and killed.

THE right wing thus failing in its attempt upon *Hosein*, *Shamer*, who commanded the left, fell upon the Arab cavalry with such fury, that he had well nigh broke them, and even penetrated to *Hosein*. However, he was at last repulsed, and obliged to send to *Amer* for a reinforcement of 500 archers. Upon the arrival of these succours, the *Cūfans* under *Shamer* renewed the attack upon *Hosein's* camp, and so galled his cavalry, or rather their horses, with their arrows, that they were obliged to dismount, and fight on foot. Amongst the rest, *Harro* being forced to abandon his horse, by reason of a wound he had received, defended himself with his sword for a considerable time. *Shamer*, finding his efforts hitherto ineffectual, resolved to destroy the barricade; and therefore commanded his men to advance, and overthrow the tents that formed it. But they met with such a warm reception from the troops which defended them, that, after a vigorous action, they were again repulsed, left several of their men dead upon the spot, and were obliged to betake themselves to

MS (Laud. num. 161. et MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ABU JAAFAR AE TABAR. AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'LFARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. et in art. *Jenid*.

a precipitate flight. *Shamer* then attempted to set fire to *Hosein's* tent, but without effect; the *Arabs* driving his troops before them, and forcing them to abandon the camp they had attacked, with considerable loss. The battle now grew hot in all parts; notwithstanding which, *Hosein* performed his devotions with great fervency, saying the noon-prayers amongst the poor remains of his shatter'd troops, to which he added that of *Fear*, which is never used but in cases of the last extremity. The fight having already proved almost fatal to *Hosein*, notwithstanding the incredible valour of the *Arabs*, most of his men having been killed, and amongst the rest *Habib*, an officer of great merit and distinction; *Shamer* charged the small phalanx that supported him with such fury, that he broke it, put to the sword several of the soldiers that formed it, particularly one that had killed no less than ten of his men, as also *Ali*, the son of *Hosein*, who was first wounded with a lance, and afterwards cut to pieces, with unrelenting barbarity. Most of the rest were shot by the *Irâkian* archers; so that *Hosein*, his little son *Abd'allah*, and a nephew of his, that was likewise a child, were almost the only persons who survived the common destruction. The last of these had his hand cut off, and was killed, when he was upon the point of embracing his uncle *Hosein*; and *Abd'allah* was struck dead with an arrow, whilst he was in his father's lap. As for *Hosein* himself, he first received a wound in the head, which filled his helmet with blood, and was afterwards shot in the mouth with an arrow, whilst he was quenching his thirst. However, he continued still to defend himself like a man animated by despair; insomuch that none of the *Irâkians* durst, for a considerable time, attempt to give him the fatal stroke. Nay, his sister *Zeinab*, the daughter of *Fâtema*, turning to *Amer*, asked him whether he could have the heart to see *Hosein* slain? Upon which, the tears ran down his beard, and he turned his face away from her. But *Shamer*, who was of a more fierce and brutal disposition, cursed and upbraided his men for not approaching *Hosein*; whereupon one of them wounded him in the hand, another in the neck, and a third thrust him through with his spear. In fine, he received thirty-four contusions, and thirty-three wounds. After his death, his head was cut off, and the *Irâkians* rode over his dead body so often, that they trod it into the very ground. *Shamer*, not satisfied with his blood, intended to have butcher'd likewise his youngest son *Ali*, afterwards called *Zein Alabedin*, or *Zein Alab'addin*, i. e. the ornament of the religious, who was then very sick, and young; but was diverted by one of his officers from putting in execution so cruel a design. All the riches and spoil taken from *Hosein* and his family, even the womens

richest cloaths, were divided amongst the *Khalif's* troops; tho' the particular manner in which this was done has not been handed down to us by any of the *Moslem* authors. The night after the battle, *Hawla* carried *Hosein's* head to his own house; which so disgusted his wife, that she abandoned his bed, and could never afterwards be persuaded to cohabit with him. Nay, the woman that he took to supply her place that night, was terrified, as we are told by an *Arab* writer, by a supernatural light ascending from the spot on which *Hosein's* head was deposited towards heaven, and certain white birds that continually hovered over it. The next morning, *Hawla* carried the head to *Obeid'allah*, who struck it over the mouth with his stick, and treated it with great contempt. This so offended *Zeid Ebn Arkom*, that he gave the governor opprobrious language, for discovering so savage a disposition; which had like to have cost him his head. Thus ended the battle of *Kerbela*, fought on the 10th day of the month *Al Mobarram*, in the 61st year of the *Hejra*; which proved so fatal to the house of *Hâshem*, and so firmly established *Yezid* upon the *Moslem* throne. The *Arabs*, according to an eastern author, much esteemed by Mr. *Ockley*, had 72 men killed in the action, 17 of whom were descended from *Fâtema*; and the troops of *Irâk* 88, besides a considerable number wounded; tho', if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, not above thirty-eight of the *Khalif's* men fell on the field of battle. According to the same historian, *Obeid'allah* ordered the head of *Hosein* to be carried through the city, exposed to public view, fixed for some time, with forty others, upon one of the gates of *Cûfa*, and afterwards, with the women, and his son *Ali*, sent to *Yezid* at *Damascus*. *Hosein*, as some say, was about fifty-five or fifty-six, or, as others will have it, fifty-eight or fifty-nine, years old, at the time of his death. The principal officers slain on the side of the *Arabs*, in this unfortunate action, besides *Hosein*, were *Habib*, *Abd'allah Ebn Moslem Ebn Okail*, *Mohammed* and *Awn*, the sons of *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Ali* the elder son of *Hosein*, *Harro Ebn Yezid*, and *Moslem Ebn Aufajah*. Some authors relate, that *Hosein* was killed by *Senân Ebn Anas*, and others by *Shamer* himself. The *Arab* historians likewise differ in their opinion concerning the person who cut off *Hosein's* head; some of them ascribing this barbarous action to *Hawla Ebn Yezid*, and others to *Nasr*. *Zeinab*, *Hosein's* daughter, went, after the battle, to the citadel, where *Obeid'allah* had a conference with her, in which he reflected, with great warmth and asperity of expression, upon the family of *Hosein*; which provoked *Zeinab* to reproach him for his cruelty in such severe terms, that he was near issuing an order for

for her execution. After examination, finding that *Hosein's* youngest son *Ali* was arrived at puberty, he also threatened to execute him before her face; but, being mollified by her tears, he was at last prevailed upon to spare both of them, notwithstanding the high provocation he pretended to have received. We must beg leave to inform our curious readers here, that *Kerbela*, or *Kerbala*, was the name of a district, or territory, in *Babylonian*, or *Chaldean*, *Irak*, famous for the death and sepulchre of *Hosein*. This district, or territory, lies a little to the west of the city called *Kasr Ebn Hobeirah*, and at a small distance from *Cufa*. The *Persians* still retain the name of *Kerbala* in their songs and elegies, made to commemorate the fatal death of *Hosein*; from whom the bulk of those sectaries, as has been already observed, derive the descent, or succession, of their *Imams*.

THE first time *Obeid'allah* went to the great mosque in *Yezid's* *Cufa*, after the defeat of *Hosein*, he made a speech to the ^{behaviour} people, which contained several expressions injurious to the memory of *Ali*, and highly reflecting upon his family. He ^{to the fa-} praised God therein for discovering the truth, and those who ^{mily of} were in possession of it; as also for assisting *Yezid*, the emperor of the faithful, and his party; and, lastly, for destroying the liar *Hosein*, the son of the liar *Ali*, and his adherents. This so incensed the friends of the house of *Hâshem*, many of whom were then present, who rose up from their seats with great indignation, that they could scarce forbear shewing their resentment in the most public and violent manner. One of them in particular, who in two battles had lost his eyes, and continued for the most part in the mosque from morning till evening, performing his devotions, cried out, whilst the governor was in the midst of his harangue, *O son of Merjânah! the liar, and the son of the liar, you, your father, and those from whom you derive your commission, kill the sons of the prophets, and yet pretend to speak the words of honest men.* Upon which, *Obeid'allah* ordered him to be instantly seized; but he was soon rescued by those of his own party, about 700 of whom were at that time in town. However, he was killed not long after, and hung upon a gibbet, erected for that purpose at a small distance from *Cufa*; which barbarity rendered *Obeid'allah* extremely odious to the inhabitants of that place. Nor was his bloody treatment of *Hosein* at all relished by the *Khalif*; who, upon the arrival of an express dispatched from *Cufa*, to

MS. Laud. num. 161. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 51, 52. GREG ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 196, 197. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. et in art. *Kerbala*. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 105, 211, &c.

bring him advice of what had happened, and to congratulate him upon the success of his arms, is reported to have shed tears, and said, "God curse the son of *Somyah*," meaning *Obeid'allah*; "I should have been well pleased without the death of *Hosein*. Had he been with me, I should have pardoned him. God loved *Hosein*, but did not suffer him to arrive at the dignity to which he aspired." Before young *Ali*, and the women of *Hosein's* family, entered *Damascus*, *Yezid* consulted his courtiers about the disposal of them. One of these told the *Khalif*, that nothing could better support his interest than the extinction of the line of *Hosein*; to whom *Yezid*, not approving of what he proposed, made no manner of reply. Another of a milder disposition delivered his sentiments in the following terms: "O emperor of the faithful, treat them as would the apostle of God himself, were he to see them in this disconsolate condition." This moved his compassion; which was farther excited, when he saw the head of *Hosein*; insomuch that he could not forbear breaking out into this pathetic exclamation: "O *Hosein*, had it been in my power to have saved thee, thy life should not have been taken away!" When *Hosein's* wives and children were brought before him, and he saw the women appear in such mean and sordid attire, he cursed *Obeid'allah* again, calling him by way of contempt the son of *Somyah*, for suffering his troops to strip them of their most valuable effects in so shameful a manner. He afterwards entered into discourse with *Ali*, the son of *Hosein*, and his sisters *Fatema* and *Zeynab*, wherein some warmth and asperity of expression, not to say personal reflections, on both sides were used; tho', when the conversation was over, the *Khalif* ordered them to be conducted to the hot bath, and sent them cloaths suitable to their quality, as well as all sorts of refreshments, to comfort them after the fatigues they had sustained. He also treated the women with the utmost respect; *Mo'awiyah's* widows keeping them company for the space of three days, at his command, and mourning with them for *Hosein*. He once asked *Amru*, *Hosein's* son, a child, whom he took with him, as well as his brother *Ali*, whenever he walked abroad, whether he would fight his son *Khaled*? *Amru* answered, "Give me one knife, and him another." Which an enemy of the house of *Hâshem* taking advantage of, said to *Yezid*, in order to incense him against the child, "One serpent naturally begets another." But this produced no alteration in the *Khalif's* conduct. He continued to treat with lenity, not to say tenderness, the distressed family of *Hosein*; and dismissed them with great politeness, after they had sufficiently refreshed themselves, and were upon the point of setting out for *Medina*.

dina, the place of their destination. He ordered his wives and children to take leave of them in a friendly manner; commanded *Neoman Ebn Basbar* to furnish them with a proper escorte, as well as a quantity of provisions sufficient to enable them to perform the journey they were to undertake; and once more assured them, in the most moving terms, that he would have saved *Hosein*, had it been in his power, even tho' this could not have been done without the loss of some of his own children; and that he would endeavour, by all possible means, to make the place of their residence agreeable to them. The commander of the escorte that attended them so won the hearts of *Fâtema* and *Zeinab*, by his tenderness and indulgence, that they offered him all the jewels the plunderers had left them; which he modestly declined accepting, telling them, that, "had he been influenced by any worldly considerations, a less reward would have been sufficient; but that the kindness they had met with from him was shewn them for God's sake, and on account of their relation to the prophet." Upon their arrival at *Medina*, they were visited immediately by the whole family of *Hâshem*, who came to condole with them for the loss of their father, and their unhappy fate. We must not forget to inform our readers, that, according to *Khondemir*, *Ali*, surnamed *Zein Alabedîn*, or *Zein Alab'addin*, i. e. *the ornament of the religious*, as has been already observed, at this time conducted with the rest of the family to *Medina*, has all along been considered by the *Persians* as the fourth lawful *Imâm*.*

FROM the preceding account of *Yezid's* behaviour to the *Where* family of *Hosein*, extracted from some *Arab* writers of good *Hosein's* authority, it appears highly improbable, that he should have *head and* insulted the head of that *Imâm*; and not, without great diffi- *body were* culty, have permitted it to be buried at *Damascus*, as we find *buried* asserted by *M. D'Herbelot*; in which article, as well as many others, he seems to have been misled by the *Persian* historians. The place in which the *Khalif* ordered it to be interred there was called *Bab al faradis*, *the garden-gate*; from whence it was removed first to *Ascalon*, or *Ashkelon*, in *Palestine*, and afterwards to *Cairo* or *Al Kabirah*, by the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Egypt*. Some of those *Khalifs* erected a monument, or mosque, over it, which went under the name of *Mashhad HOSEIN*, *the sepulchre of HOSEIN the martyr*. These *Khalifs* were masters of *Syria* and *Egypt*, from before the year 400 till after the year 660 of the *Hejra*, and pretended that *Hosein's* head came not in-

* MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali Ben Hufsin*, p. 96, 97. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 197.

to Egypt till after the 500th year of that *era*. But that story has been rejected, says a reputable *Arab* author, by the *Imâm* of the learned. Those princes deduced their origin from *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, and consequently looked upon themselves as descended from *Ali*; for which reason they assumed the name, or rather the surname, of *Fâtemites*, as an appellation more immediately pointing out the nobility of their extraction. With regard to the body of *Hosein*, it was interred in the plain of *Kerbela*, where he was slain; and *Adde'ddawla*, surnamed also *Abu Sbaja'*, the second *Soltân* of the dynasty of the *Buiyans*, or *Deylamites*, raised a sumptuous monument upon the spot where it was inhumed, which is to this day visited with great devotion by the *Persians*. This *Soltân* called his magnificent edifice *Kunbud Faiz*, which, in the *Persian* language, signifies *the magnificent dome*; but at this time it goes amongst the *Arabs* under the denomination of *Mashhad Hosein*, *the sepulchre of HOSEIN the martyr*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, being an enemy to the house of *Ali*, forbade, under rigorous penalties, any of his subjects to perform the pilgrimage to *Hosein's* tomb. Nay, in order effectually to prevent this, he intirely razed the mosque built upon the spot, where had been deposited the remains of that *Imâm*; and not content with this, being resolved to efface all traces of it, he attempted to draw a canal of water over that place. But the water, say the *Shiites*, would never approach it, keeping its distance out of respect; from whence that water received the denomination of *Haïr*, that is, *astonished and respectful*; a name which has since passed to the sepulchre itself, on account of this miracle. The *Shiites* call that sepulchre *Mashhad Mokaddes*, *Moali*, and *Mozzeki*, i. e. *the holy, sublime, and pure place, or sepulchre*; because *Hosein*, whom they regard as a martyr, suffered death there. Nor did this impious attempt of *Al Motawakkel*, according to some *Persian* traditions, go long unpunished; *Ali* soon after appearing to him in his sleep, and, after having reproached him with the outrages committed upon his descendants, gave him seven lashes with a whip that he had in his hand. The *Khalif* telling his friends the next day what had happened, one of them assured him, that the whip *Ali* had in his hand was no other weapon than the famous sword *Dhu'l-Fakar*, which belonged at first to *Monba Ebn Hejab*, the *Sabamite*, and fell into the hands of *Mohammed* at the battle of *Bedr*, and, after the prophet's death, came into the possession of his son-in-law *Ali*; to which he likewise added, that this dream, or vision, portended some signal misfortune to him, by way of punishment, for the hatred he bore the family of that *Imâm*. Which prediction, or prognostication, continue the same traditions, was verified two days after, when *Al Motawakkel*

was assassinated by some of his servants, that were *Turks*, at the instigation of his son *Al Montaser*, who, after his death, mounted the *Moslem* throne. We are told by an author extremely well acquainted with the oriental historians, that the sepulchre of *Hosein* stood not very far from that of his father *Ali*; tho', according to an *Arab* writer of considerable credit, one *Naim* was angry with any one who would pretend to point out the place where the former of those *Imâms* lay interred.

THE death of *Hosein* did not remain long unrevenged; several persons appearing in this and the following reigns, who demanded the blood of *Hosein*; that is, in the language of the *Moslems*, insisted upon vengeance being taken of the murderers of that *Imâm*. *Al Mokhtâr*, one of the chiefs of that faction, in particular, boasted that he had destroyed near 50,000 of the enemies of the house of *Ali*, without reckoning those who were slain in the battles which he fought. The two titles generally given by the *Persians* to *Hosein* are *Shahid*, the martyr, and *Seid*, the lord. By the words *Al Seiddn*, the two lords, without any addition, they always understand the two eldest sons of *Ali*, *Hasan* and *Hosein*. According to *Ebn Shahnab*, the latter of those *Imâms* made before God every twenty-four hours a thousand adorations, or prostrations; and, at the age of fifty-five years, had performed 25 pilgrimages to *Mecca* on foot; whereas one of them would have been sufficient to have procured salvation for a pious *Moslem*. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that there fell no less than three of his own sons, and seven of those of *Ali*, with *Hosein*, when he was killed in the battle fought on the plain of *Karbela*.

YRZDI, in a treatise concerning divine love, relates, that *Hosein* having one day asked his father *Ali* if he loved him, and received for answer, that he loved him tenderly; he then demanded of his father if he loved God? to which he also answered in the affirmative. Upon which, *Hosein* said to him, "Two loves can never meet in the same heart." At these words, *Ali* was so moved, that he could not forbear

D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* in art. *Houssain*, p. 462. et in art. *Motawakkel*, p. 640, 641. ISM. ABULFED. in *hist. univ.* MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. lxx. p. 153. AL JANNAB. GAON. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. viii. p. 355. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, in *hist. Sarac.* lib. ii. c. xi. p. 151, 152, 153. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in *hist. dynast.* p. 261, 262. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 221, 222, 223. See also SALE's map. of Arabia, prefixed to his preliminary discourse.

D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* in art. *Houssain*, p. 463. EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 196.

shed-

shedding tears; when *Hosein*, touched with the impression his words had made, in order to comfort his father, again asked him, "Whether he should consider the sin of infidelity, or his death, as the greater evil?" *Ali* replied, "I would rather deliver you up to death than abandon my faith." "By this mark then," said *Hosein*, "'tis apparent that the love you have for me is only a natural tenderness; and that you bear towards God a true love." Many other sayings, attributed to *Hosein*, have been preserved by the *Persians*, who hold his memory in the highest veneration, and consider him as the great progenitor of their *Imâms*. Hence it comes to pass, that the day of his death, the 10th of the month *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 61, is so celebrated amongst them, that they have all along, from that very year to this day, called it *Yaum Hosein*, *Rûz Hosein*, the day of *Hosein*. Nor can it be doubted, but the anniversary weeping and extravagant lamentation on this day, still kept up by the *Persians*, principally contribute to the subsistence of the aversion bore by that nation to the other *Moslems*, who entertain different sentiments of this great *Imâm*. The superstitious observance of this day, and the many ridiculous fictions framed by the *Shiites* concerning *Hosein*, have been sufficiently exposed by an *Arab* author, cited often in this work; to whom, for farther satisfaction on this head, we must beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers w.

The Moslems make themselves masters of the kingdom of Khowarazm.

THE same year, *Yezid* appointed *Salem Ebn Ziyâd* to pre- side over *Sejistan* and *Khorasân*, when he came embassador to him. *Salem* was then but twenty-four years of age, tho' he was in all respects qualified for the honourable post assigned him. Soon after he had entered upon his government, he assembled a body of troops, in order to make an irruption into the *Turkish* territories. He took his wife along with him in this expedition, who was brought to bed of a son in the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, or the circumjacent villages and plains in the neighbourhood of that city. This child, from the place of his nativity, was surnamed *Al Sogdi*, or the *Sogdian*. *Salem's* wife, at this juncture, borrowed some jewels of the prince of *Sogd's* lady, which she carried off with her, upon the return of the *Arabs* into their own dominions. In the mean time, *Salem* sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Moballeh*, to *Khovarazm*, the principal city of the *Turks*, or *Tartars*, in those parts, which exacted an immense sum of the inhabitants, amounting to 50,000,000 pieces of

YESIDI, in resalat fi biyâni'l mehabbat. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. MS. Huntingt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 226—231.

money;

money; part of which he reserved for his own use, and sent the rest to *Yezid*. Then he advanced to *Samarkand*, forced the citizens to pay him likewise a vast sum of money, and afterwards retired with little loss into the provinces he governed. The city of *Khwarazm*, in the time of the *Khalif Yezid*, was the capital of the kingdom of the same name, the *Eborasnia* of *Ptolemy* and *Herodotus*, and the same with that afterwards called *Kharizme*, *Korkang*, *Orkang*, and at present *Urgens*. It was situated in a western direction from the *Fihin*, the *Oxus* of the ancients; or, as the situation of *Urgens* has been more accurately determined by the modern geographers, in a great plain to the north of the river *Amu*, in lat. 39° 50', twenty-five German leagues from the eastern shores of the *Caspian* sea. The tract called *Sogd*, or the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, went under the name of *Sogdiana* in the days of *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and of *Sugdian* in those of *Dionysius Afer*. The natives were denominated *Sogdiani* and *Sogdri*, in the *Roman* times, as appears from *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*. The *Moslems*, under the conduct of *Mohalleb*, did not only acquire an immense quantity of plunder in this expedition, but likewise made themselves masters of the kingdom of *Khwarazm* *.

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBHIR, after the death of *Hosein*, finding himself at the head of the partisans of the house of *Hâ-Ebn Zoshem*, who were greatly oppressed by *Yezid*, began to entertain thoughts in earnest of aspiring to the *Khalifat*. As he had, therefore, never recognized *Yezid's* authority, he now declared publicly against him, and deposed him in a formal manner at *Medina*; being supported by the inhabitants of that city, as well as those of *Mecca*; who, soon after the arrival of *Hosein's* family at *Medina*, proclaimed him *Khalif*. After his inauguration, in order to render himself more popular amongst them, he aggravated all the circumstances of *Hosein's* death to the last degree, and represented the *Cûfans*, who had first invited *Hosein* to their city, and afterwards deserted him, as the most faithless and perfidious villains upon

* MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. GOLIUS not. ad Alfragan. p. 120, 121, et alib. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. xii. p. 160. edit. Bert. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. xciii. p. 200. Lond. 1679. STRAB. lib. xi. ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 15. CURT. lib. vii. c. iv. et lib. viii. c. 1. DIONYS. perieg. v. 746, 747. ATHEN. deipnosoph. lib. ii. sub fin. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiii. c. 26. PLIN. lib. v. c. 16. CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. xxi. p. 832—835. LIPSIUS, 1706. An account of the present state of the NORTHERN ASIA, part i. c. ii. p. 420, 438, 440. Lond. 1729. Vide etiam ISM. ABULFED. in tab. ULUGH BEIGH, in tab. &c.

earth,

earth, in his speeches to the people; which produced the desired effect. For, the citizens, who had always been well-affected to *Hosein*, heard these discourses with delight; especially as *Abd'allah* took care, in them, to give the highest character of that *Imâm*; to expatiate upon his heroical conduct, in preferring to an ignominious life an honourable death; to magnify his merits, and remind them of his supereminent sanctity; and, in fine, to exhibit to their view every thing that might excite in them a desire of revenging his death, and inspire them with an abhorrence of that government, which had been the cause of it. They, therefore, flocked to him in such numbers, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable force. *Yezid*, being informed of his progress, swore he would have him in chains, and accordingly sent a silver collar for him to *Merwân*, then governor of *Medina*, with orders to put it about his neck, and send him to *Damascus*, if he did not immediately desist from his attempt. But *Abd'allah*, having secured the affections of the people, ridiculed both the *Khalîf* and his deputy, as well as the collar that had been prepared for him. As *Yezid* was a man of a very dissolute life, spending his time wholly in drinking wine, and with his dogs, and had not the least regard for religion, he was perfectly abhorred by the *Arabs*; and consequently the menaces he uttered against *Abd'allah* did not in the least tend to the diminution of his authority. Besides, it was very well known in *Arabia*, that when his father *Mu'awiyah* had reprimanded him for his abandoned course of life, and advised him to conform his actions more to the precepts of the *Korân*, he had slighted his wholesome reproofs, and treated with contempt his salutary admonitions; which made the *Arabs* to consider him as a wretch altogether incorrigible. About this time, *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, governor of *Mecca*, having been assured by *Abd'allah Ebn Amru* in *Egypt*, a person who had studied the prophet *Daniel*, and was celebrated amongst all the *Moslems* for his wisdom and knowledge of future events, whom he had consulted on this occasion, that, in his opinion, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* would live and die a king; this prejudiced farther in his favour the bulk of the *Arab* nation. Nay, *Amru Ebn Sa'id* himself, tho' he secretly hated him, thought it policy, as affairs then stood, to keep up a good understanding with him. This induced some of *Yezid's* courtiers, who probably before were no friends to *Amru*, to suggest to the *Khalîf*, that, had the commandant of *Mecca* been heartily in his master's interest, he might have seized *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and sent him to *Damascus*. Upon which suggestion, *Yezid* dismissed *Amru* from his post, and substituted *Walid Ebn Otbah* in his room. These commotions happened in

in the 61st year of the *Hejra*, about the same time that *Salem Ebn Ziyád* was employed in the expedition to *Samarkand*, or at least a little before the commencement of that expedition. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Salem* first advanced to *Nisabor*, or *Naisabour*, the capital of *Kherasán*, which he reduced; and from thence penetrated to *Khowsarrah*, which likewise surrendered to him. The same author also relates, that he detached *Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safrá* with a body of troops against *Khatán*, queen of *Bukhára*, or *Bokhára*, who had been joined by the king of *Sa'id* with an army of 120,000 men. *Mohalleb*, continues he, notwithstanding the prodigious inequality of numbers, defeated *Khatán*, and the king of *Sa'id*, and dispersed their numerous forces. The king of *Sa'id*, on whom *Khatán* had promised to bestow herself in marriage, was killed in the action, together with a considerable part of his troops; after which, *Bukhára*, or *Bokhára*, a very famous and antient city of *Mawará'nahr*, *Transoxiána*, or, as it is now called, *Great Bukhária*, submitted to the victors, and was, with the territory belonging to it, annexed to the *Moslem* empire. The city of *Bukhára*, the capital of *Great Bukhária*, or rather of the province of *Bukhária*, properly so called, and situated in lat. $39^{\circ} 30'$, is at present the residence of the *Khán* of *Great Bukhária*, of a vast extent, and fortified with a strong rampart fenced with earth. It stands about seven days journey to the south of *Samarkand*, upon a little river, that is said to fall into the *Jihán*, the *Amú*, or the *Oxus*, about the 92° of longitude. This river is called by the *Arabs* *Sogd*, or *Al Soghd*, and, as some writers assert, has its source in the cold and mountainous part of *Fargana*. Its water is said to be very bad, and to breed worms in the legs of those who drink it. One of the three parts of *Bukhára* is formed by the *Khán's* castle, and the buildings depending upon it; another by the places destined for the *Murfas*, or officers of the court, and others belonging to the retinue of the *Khán*; and the third, which is larger than the others, for the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. The mosques, baths, and such-like public edifices, are built of brick, and of a fine structure; but the other buildings consist only of earth. The situation of this place is very convenient for trade, especially that between *Grand Tartary*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*; and the inhabitants actually supply the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Persia*, with all sorts of dried fruits of a most exquisite flavour. It has produced a very considerable number of learned men, and some of the brightest genius's of the east; amongst whom we may reckon the famous *Ebn Sina*, or *Avicenna*, so well known by his writings even in our part of the world. Some authors place it above a day's

day's journey from the *Oxus*. It was surrounded with delicious gardens, stately towers, magnificent palaces, or rather splendid country-seats, pleasant villages, and fine verdant fields; all which were invironed by a wall of twelve parasangs in extent, in the days of *Abulfeda*. We are told by *Yákút*, that the *Arabs* passed the *Fibûn*, the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*, overthrew the *Bukhârian* forces assembled by *Kbatûn*, and possessed themselves of *Bukhâra*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, about the 55th year of the *Hejra*. But the best and most ancient *Arab* historians fix this expedition, as has been already observed, with greater accuracy and precision, in the 61st year of that æra.

Great
commo-
tions at
Medina.

Walid Ebn Otrah had no sooner entered upon the government of *Mecca* than he began to exert his authority, by imprisoning 300 of his predecessor *Amru*'s dependents. However, *Amru* found means soon to release them; which having done, he undertook a journey to *Damascus*, was introduced to the *Khalif* there, and met with a gracious reception from him. But notwithstanding this, *Yezid* rebuked him for being remiss in the execution of his commands, and for not being active enough in extinguishing the rebellion of *Abd'allah* and his adherents. *Amru*, being a man of great address and penetration, easily justified his conduct, and that so much to the *Khalif*'s satisfaction, that he told him he was an honest man than those who had taken such pains to misrepresent him; and that he should, for the future, repose an intire confidence in him. About this time, one *Najdah*, a powerful *Arab* of *Yamâma*, appeared at the head of a body of troops he had assembled against *Yezid*, and discovered a strong disposition to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. In the mean time, the new governor *Walid* made use of all his skill to circumvent *Abd'allah*; but without effect, that general being always upon his guard. This conduct, however, giving great disgust, as well as terrible apprehensions, to *Abd'allah*, he sent a letter to *Yezid*, informing him therein, that *Walid* was totally unfit for the post he had honoured him with; and that if he would send to *Medina* a person of a more tractable disposition, all differences between them might easily be composed. *Yezid*, desirous of peace upon any terms, indiscreetly dismissed *Walid*, a man of an unshaken fidelity to him, at the instigation of his mortal enemy, and sent *Othmân Ebn Mo-*

MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. ET AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 52, 53. *GOLII* not. ad *Alfragan*. p. 177, 178, 179, 188, 189. *SAID EBN ALI AL JURJANI*, in sua climat. descript. *ISM. ABULFED.* in geograph. *YAKUT.* See an account of the present state of the NORTHERN ASIA, par. i. c. iii. p. 465, 466.

bammed

hammed Ebn Abu Sofian, a man by no means qualified for so important a trust, to take upon him the government of *Medina* in his room. Soon after this event, some ambassadors, or rather deputies, were sent from that city to *Damascus*, where they waited upon *Yezid*, who received them kindly, and made them considerable presents; but his conversation gave them such offence, that, upon their return to *Medina*, they inflamed the people there greatly against him. They represented him as a man wholly addicted to wine, singing girls, and dogs, and void of all religion; for which reason they publickly renounced their allegiance to him, and were joined herein by many of their fellow-citizens, who came to a resolution to depose him in a formal manner. *Al Mondar*, one of the ambassadors, instead of returning home, went to *Basra*, where he was courteously entertained by *Obeid'allah*, who had formerly been acquainted with him. *Yezid* being apprized of this, and of the seditious proceedings of the ambassadors at *Medina*, wrote to *Obeid'allah* to put him under arrest till farther orders. But *Obeid'allah*, considering a compliance with the *Khalif's* commands in this point as a violation of the laws of hospitality, enabled *Al Mondar* to make his escape; who, upon his arrival at *Medina*, confirmed what the other deputies had related of *Yezid*; to which he likewise added, that his almost total neglect of prayers had rendered him infamous in the sight of all who had any regard for the *Moslem* faith; and that he would not be bribed by the hundred *dinârs* given him by the *Khalif* for that purpose to conceal the truth. This coming to *Yezid's* ears, he threatened *Al Mondar* with his resentment, and dispatched *Al Nooman Ebn Basbir* to *Medina*, to bring the people there back to a sense of their duty. This he endeavoured to do, by pointing out to them the effusion of *Moslem* blood, that must be the natural consequence of their persisting in such a rebellion; but without effect. The troubles mentioned here commenced in the 62d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 681; in which also died *Moseilama Ebn Mekhalled*, of *Medina*, the governor of *Egypt*. He was succeeded in that post by *Sa'id Ebn Yezid Al Azdi*, who continued in it till the death of *Yezid*. The tribe of *Azdi*, to which *Sa'id* belonged, which was very famous amongst the *Arabs*, produced several illustrious men, who assumed the surname of *Al Azdi*, or the *Azdite*; amongst whom were *Abu Becr Niehammed Ebn Wafa* and *Abu Ishak Ismael*, two celebrated *Moslem* doctors. The first of these, who died in the 127th year of the *Hejra*, was one of the most learned of the *Tabein*, or *Tabeites*; that is to say, the followers, or adherents, who were the successors of the COMPANIONS; and the latter was a native of *Basra*, who wrote a piece much

esteemed by those of his religion, intituled, *Abkam Al Korán*, i. e. *the laws and statutes of the Korán*. He departed this life, in what place is uncertain, about the 282d year of the *Hejra* ².

The inhabitants of Medina depose Yezid.

THE people of *Medina* having renounced all allegiance to *Yezid*, and being highly incensed against him, appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Moti* to preside over the *Koreish*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Hantelah* over the *Ansárs*. The latter of these was a person of great distinction, and adorned with many excellent endowments. He was one of the ambassadors sent lately to *Damascus*, and took his eight sons along with him. *Yezid* having been before apprized, that he was very religious and devout, and for that reason extremely popular amongst his fellow-citizens, took care to caress him more than any of the other deputies that attended him. He made him a present of 100,000 *dinárs*, and every one of his sons 10,000, besides a proper number of vests suitable to the quality of the persons for whom they were designed. In the beginning of the 63d year of the *Hejra*, the *Arabs of Medina* put their menaces against *Yezid* in execution. After they had assembled about the pulpit in the mosque there, one of them said, *I lay aside Yezid as I do this turban*; and then threw his turban upon the ground. Another said, *I put away Yezid as I do this shoe*; casting away the shoe at the same time from him. These examples being followed by others, there was a large heap of shoes and turbans almost instantly formed upon the spot. Then they dismissed *Othmán*, *Yezid's* lieutenant, and banished from *Medina* the house of *Ommiyah*, together with all their friends and dependents. These, to the number of about a thousand, took refuge in *Merwán Ebn Al Hakem's* house, where they were so closely besieged by the *Háshemite* faction, that they found themselves obliged to send to *Yezid* for immediate assistance; intimating in the letter they wrote to him, that, unless they received speedy relief, they must all inevitably perish. *Yezid* wondered that so considerable a number of men should suffer themselves to be confined, without making the least resistance; and asked *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, the former governor of *Mecca*, whom he had lately recalled from thence, whether he would march with a body of troops to *Medina*, in order to chastize the rebels there? But *Amru* declining the command of the forces offered him, the *Khalif* put *Meslem Ebn Okba*, tho' very antient and infirm, at the head of the troops

² MS. Laud. num. 161. & MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Podl. Oxon ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 53. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 154. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. v. p. 340.

that

that were to undertake the intended expedition. However, the conduct of the friends of the house of *Ommiyab*, who had suffered themselves to be cooped up in so ignominious a manner, irritated *Meslem* to such a degree, that he pronounced them both cowards and traitors to their prince, and declared that they ought not to be delivered before they had at least made one effort to extricate themselves out of the difficulties in which their pusillanimity had chiefly contributed to involve them. But *Yezid's* command being peremptory, he was obliged to submit. The *Khalif* ordered him to spare *Ali*, the son of *Husein*, and his family, as they had had no hand at all in the present commotions. He also ordered him to summon the city of *Medina*, upon his arrival before it, three days successively; and if, after such summons, the citizens refused to surrender the town, to take it by storm, and give it up to the soldiers to be plundered for three whole days. The inhabitants of *Medina*, being apprized of the impending storm, permitted all the members of the house of *Ommiyab*, together with their friends and adherents, to retire quietly out of the city; tho', before their departure, they extorted from them a promise never to appear in arms, or commit any hostilities, against the dominant faction^a.

MESLEM EBN OKBA AL MARSI, having received his instructions from the *Khalif*, begun his march for *Medina* with 5000 foot and 12,000 horse; and, upon his arrival before the town, the citizens having refused to surrender, made the necessary preparations for a general assault. He proposed to attack the place on the east side, that the troops which defended it, and had surrounded it with a ditch for their security, might have the sun in their faces; and this proved of signal service to him. However, the garison, for a considerable time, made a vigorous defence; insomuch that *Meslem* advanced very slowly in the siege. But at last most of the *Ansars* and the principal officers being killed, the *Arabs* within the town offered to capitulate. *Meslem* refused to grant them any terms, and insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. But this last summons not being complied with, the *Moslem* general, after a faint opposition, entered the place; sent *Ali*, whom he treated with great respect, in pursuance of the orders he had received, home upon his own camel; put all the men he met with to the sword; and, tho' the prophet was buried there, permitted the *Syrian* forces to get a thousand women with child, and to pillage the city for three days together, without

^a MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 53, 54. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid*, p. 486.

intermission. Those that escaped the sword, he obliged to own themselves slaves and vassals to *Yezid*; for which extreme severity the *Arabs* surnamed him *Al Musrif*, i. e. *extravagant, exorbitant*; because his orders did not extend to authorize the enormities he had committed. *Medina* was taken in the night, towards the close of the month *Dhu'l-hajja*, in the year of the *Hejra* 63, or of our LORD 682. The *Moslems* considered *Ebn Okba* ever after as an impious person, for his barbarity to the citizens of *Medina*; especially as the prophet himself had denounced a sort of curse against him, which was couched in the following terms: "If any man shall hereafter sack or plunder my city, the wrath of God shall most certainly remain upon him ^b."

Yezid
dies.

AFTER the reduction of *Medina*, *Meslem* marched with his army towards *Mecca*, in order to chastize the insolence of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who then resided in that place; but he died on his march, in the month of *Al Moharram*, the following year. Upon his death, *Hosein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi* took upon him the command of the army, and advanced to *Mecca*, which he besieged for the space of forty days; during which term, he battered the town, by the assistance of his military engines, with so much fury, that he beat down a great part of the famous temple there, and burnt the rest. Nor had the city itself escaped the same fate, had not the news of *Yezid's* death recalled *Hosein* into *Syria*, and forced him to abandon the siege.

The Sy-
rian forces
return
to i. e.

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR had before been informed of the *Khalif's* decease, and even apprized the *Syrian* troops of it from the walls; asking them, at the same time, for whom they fought, as *Yezid* was most certainly dead? However, they would not believe him; but continued the siege with great vigour, till they received farther information. As soon as this news was confirmed, *Hosein* told *Abd'allah*, that, as a farther effusion of *Moslem* blood was altogether unnecessary, he would take the oath of allegiance to him; and assured him, that all the forces under his command, amongst which were all the principal men of *Syria*, should be at his devotion. But *Abd'allah*, at this juncture, durst not trust him; and therefore refused the overture made him; tho' afterwards, when too late, he repented of this conduct. During the conference between them, *Hosein* turned his horse aside, in order to avoid killing some of the temple pigeons, that were pecking

^b MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ^c MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. EUTZCH. patriarch. Alexandr. annal. tom. ii. p. 362, 363.

some-

something on the ground at a small distance from him; which being observed by *Abd'allah*, he could not forbear asking him, "How he could scruple destroying any of those birds, and yet not be afraid of spilling the blood of so many *Moslems*?" *Hosein* replied, that "he would never for the future fight against him." After which, he desired leave to go in procession round the *Caaba*; which was immediately granted. Some pretend, that the temple was not set on fire by the engines employed by the *Syrian* army in the siege; but by a little fire accidentally waisted by the wind from the top of *Hosein's* spear, the sparks of which were communicated from thence to the hangings and wood-work of that edifice. We must not forget to remark, that the house of *Ommiyah* attended *Hosein* into *Syria*; and that *Yezid*, before his decease, having received advice of the death of *Meslem*, confirmed *Hosein Ebn Thamir Al Sekwi* in the command of the *Moslem* forces before *Mecca*. The engines made use of by *Hosein* in the siege of that place were a species of the catapult, or catapulta, a military machine generally employed on such occasions by the antients, as we learn from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* d.

YEZID died at *Hawwarin*, in the territory of *Hems*, in *Description* the beginning of the former *Rabi*, and the 64th year of the *Hejra*, or of *CHRIST* 684. He died in the 39th year of his *Yezid's* age, after he had reigned about three years and six or eight *person*, months. As to his person, he was either of a ruddy, accord- *and his* ing to *Abulfeda*, or, as *Abu Jaafar* will have it, of a swarthy *character*. complexion. He was a tall thin man, had a handsome beard tinged with *Al Henna*, curled hair, black eyes, leprous fingers, and a face pitted with the small-pox. His under-lip was inverted, when he laughed. He left behind him several children of both sexes. His son *Khaled* is reported to have been skilled in the art of alchemy, and his son *Abd'allah* to have been the most exact archer of all the *Arabs* of his time. His mother's name was *Meisun*, the daughter of *Yabdak*, of the tribe of *Calb*. She had an excellent genius for poetry; and, at *Mohawiyah's* command, took her son *Yezid* with her into the desert amongst her own relations there, in order to inspire him with poetic sentiments. Nor was this education altogether thrown away upon him, as he discovered himself capable of drawing up a tolerable good copy of *Arabic* verses, on several occasions. *Yezid* was the first *Khalif* that drank wine publicly, and was waited upon by eunuchs; which gave great offence to the *Mohammedans*. He was extremely fond

d MS. Laud. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 245, 246, 247.

of dogs; which likewise not a little disgusted vast numbers of his subjects, as the more scrupulous *Moslems* have an aversion to those animals. But he was rendered the most disagreeable to the *Arabs* by his avarice and impiety. This occasioned a certain author to observe, that the *Moslem* empire could only flourish either under a pious prince, such as were the four first *Khalifs*, or a liberal one, such as was *Mu'awiyah*; and consequently that, under such an impious and avaritious prince as *Yezid*, every thing must be lost. The ravages committed at *Medina*, or the city of the prophet, by this *Khalif's* order, are considered by the *Mohammedan* doctors as the highest instance of his impiety, and as the principal cause of his being cut off in the flower of his age. In support of which notion, they produce this saying of *Mohammed*, *Whoever injureth Medina shall melt away, even as salt melteth away in the water.* The *Persian* writers have the memory of *Yezid* in such abhorrence, that they always mention him with abomination, and generally annex to his name the following malediction, *The curse of God be upon him.* Which they do not so much on account of his vices, as because of the death of *Hossein*, whom, with all his family, he attempted first to destroy by poison, and afterwards caused to be killed on the plain of *Kerbela*. His principal secretary of state was *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*, and, after him, *Raml Ebn Omar Al Adri*; his *Kadi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Holuxini*; his chamberlain, *Khaled* his servant, or, as others say, *Safwan*; and the captain of his guards, *Hamid Ebn Sharbat Ebn Yahdak*, of the tribe of *Calb*, and afterwards *Amer Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamadani*. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Saturday*, and the last *Monday*. He was looked upon as so irreligious a prince, that some of the *Moslems*, and particularly the *Persians*, called, in after-ages, all those persons void of religion *Yezid* and *Yzit*. The *Persian* poet *Jami* being one of these, a man, named *Mezid*, was resolved to insult him on that account; and, therefore, one day, as soon as he entered the room where an assembly was met at *Jami's* house, he cried out with a loud voice, *The curse of God fall upon Yezid!* *Jami* perceiving that these words were pointed at him, instantly replied, *May that curse fall upon Yezid and Mezid!* The smartness of which repartee consists in the words, *upon Mezid*, which were not only applicable to the aggressor, but likewise denoted MORE AND MORE.

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. MOHAMMED EEN KHASSEM, EBN SHOHNNAH, EEN AMID, Aut. RABI AL AKYAR, MS. Huntingt. num. 495. et MS. Laud, num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup.

IN the *Khalifat* of *Yezid*, the *Moslems* made an absolute conquest of *Khorasân* and *Khowarazm*, and put the territories made by of the prince of *Samarkand* under contribution. The motto, the Mos- or inscription, of his seal was, GOD IS OUR LORD. He was lems in the buried at *Damascus*, in the sepulchre of the little gate; and his, Khalifat son *Moâwiyab*, whom he nominated, when at the point of of *Yezid*. death, emperor of the faithful, said the prayers usual on such occasions over him. *Theophanes* barely mentions the death of *Yezid*, whom he calls *Izid*, without taking any particular notice of the cause, circumstances, or effects of it; and *Dionysius Telmarenfis* only tells us, that *Yezid* died in the year of *Seleucus* 992, or of CHRIST 681, and was succeeded by *Meruân*. There is an author, named *Al Fadhl Al Berid*, who has written the history of this *Khalif*, under the title of *Akbâr Yezidî*.

S E C T. VIII.

MOAWIYAH II. the son of *Yezid*, was proclaimed *Khalif* *Moâwi-* at *Damascus* the very day on which his father died. His yah II. mother was the daughter of *Hâshem*, or, as others say, of succeeds *Khâled Ebn Abu Hâshem Ebn Otba Ebn Rabia Ebn Abd Shams*. his father The *Arab* writers represent this young prince as of a religious *Yezid*. disposition, but of a very weak constitution; and tell us, that he had not completed the twenty-first year of his age, when he mounted the *Moslem* throne. He was of the sect of the *Kadarians*, having been instructed in their principles by his favourite master *Omar Al Maksûs*, whom he consulted, in order to know of him whether he should accept of the *Khalifat*, or not. *Omar* told him, that if he found himself equal to the duties of that arduous post, he ought to accept of the high dignity offered him; if not, that he ought to decline it. Some of the eastern writers make the *Kadarians* to have been originally a branch of the *Motazalites*, or the followers of *Wâfel Ebn Atâ*, who, with their master, were expelled the school of *Hasan* of *Basra*, whose scholar he was, and thenceforth called *Motazalites*, or *Separatists*; tho' others look upon *Kadarians* as really a more antient name than that of *Motazalites*; *Mabad Al Jobni*, and his adherents, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before *Wâfel* quitted his master, having gone by that appellation. For which reason, some use the denomination of *Kadarians* as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the *Motazalites* under it. This

^c *ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, D'HERBEL. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Simon, Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 104.*

sect deny absolute predestination, saying, that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to GOD, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions; which GOD has granted him power either to do or to let alone. And hence it is said they are called *Kadarians*, because they deny *Al Kadr*, or GOD's absolute decree; tho' others, thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from *Kadr*, or *Kadrat*, i. e. power, because they assert man's power to act freely. Those, however, who give the name *Kadarians* to the *Motazalites* are their enemies; for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the *Jabarians*, who likewise refuse it, as an infamous appellation, because *Mohammed* is said to have declared the *Kadarians* to be the *Magians* of his followers. But what the opinion of these *Kadarians* in *Mohammed's* time was, is very uncertain. The *Motazalites* say the name belongs to those who assert predestination, and make GOD the author of good and evil, viz. the *Jabarians*; but all the other *Mohammedan* sects agree to fix it upon the *Motazalites*, who, they say, are like the *Magians*, in establishing two principles, *light*, or GOD, the author of good, and *darkness*, or the *devil*, the author of evil. But this cannot be said of the *Motazalites*, who generally ascribe men's good deeds to GOD, but their evil deeds to themselves; meaning thereby, that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions. For which reason it is, that the other *Mohammedans* call them *Magians*, because they assert another author of actions besides GOD. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to say what *Mohammed's* own opinion was in this matter. For, on the one side, the *Korân* itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination, and many sayings of *Mohammed* are recorded to that purpose. On the other, it is urged in behalf of the *Motazalites*, that *Mohammed* declaring, that the *Kadarians* and *Morgians* had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets, and being asked who the *Kadarians* were, answered, *Those who asserted, that GOD predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it.* *Al Hasan* is also said to have declared, that GOD sent *Mohammed* to the *Arabs*, while they were *Kadarians*, or *Jabarians*, and laid their sins upon GOD; and, in confirmation of this point, a passage is produced out of the *Kerân*. Both parties, therefore, have recourse to the testimony of *Mohammed* in support of their respective, tho' contrary, opinions; and consequently make him to contradict himself at least in some of his decisions. *Ebn Awn*, one of the most celebrated *Moslem* doctors, would not salute a *Kadarian*, if he met him; saying, that the sect to which he belonged ought

to be considered as the *Magians* of the *Mohammedans*; and *Shaabi*, another of those doctors, makes the *Kadarians* to have agreed in all points with the *Motazalites*. *Abu Zakaria Yahya Ebn Abu'lkhair*, a doctor following the sentiments of the famous *Al Shâfi'i*, has written a treatise against the tenets of the *Kadarians*, intituled, *Enteffür fil redd ala al Kadaria al asbrâr*. *Omar Al Maksûs* seems to have been one of the principal members of this sect, in the days of *Yezid*, who probably favoured it, as he intrusted him with the education of his son. *Al Maksûs* told this young prince, that, unless he found himself capable of administering justice exactly to the *Moslems*, he ought by no means to take upon himself the title of emperor of the faithful *.

ABOUT six weeks after his inauguration, *Moâwiyah* finding himself too weak to sustain the weight of the government, took a resolution to lay it down. In order to which, he assembled the grandees of his court, and told them, that when he first entertained thoughts of relinquishing the high station to which his father's nomination had advanced him, he intended to have chosen a successor in the same manner as did *Abu Beer*; but that this he found impossible, as a man of *Omar's* merit and abilities was not to be met with. Then he informed them, that, not being able to execute his first plan, he proposed to follow the example of *Omar*, and name six persons, upon one of which the choice by lot should fall; but that he likewise found this impracticable, as he could not be furnished with six men duly qualified for the discharge of the duties of so important a post. Wherefore, continued he, I am resolved to leave the election of a new *Khalif* intirely to your management. Upon which, they immediately expressed their readiness to chuse the person that should be the most agreeable to him; but he declined naming any one, saying; "As I have not enjoyed the advantages of the *Khalifat*, it is unreasonable that I should charge myself with the most odious part of it; and therefore I hope you will permit me to discharge my conscience towards you, and judge for yourselves who is the most capable amongst you of filling my place." After which, he made his abdication in form; and the noblesse

* *ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR.* apud *Al Makin*, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. ix. p. 55. ut et ipse *AL MAKIN*, ibid. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. p. 197. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 362, 363. *D'HERBEL.* Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah Ben Yezid*, p. 587, et alib. *MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABADI*, in Kam. *AL SHAHRESTAN.* Aut. *SHARH AL MAWAKEF*, *EBN AL ATHIR*, *AL MOTAREZZI*, in lib. *Mogreb.* *AL BOKHAR.* *EBN KHALECAN*, *AL KOR.* *MOHAM.* f. vii. et alib. *Poc. not.* in spec. hist. Arab. p. 231—238. See also *SALE's* translat. of the Kor. p. 119.

proceeding to an election, the choice fell upon *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was the fourth *Khalif* of Syria. However, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* had been advanced to the *Khalifat*, in *Arabia*, after the death of *Yezid*. He presided over *Hejaz*, *Yaman*, *Irak*, *Khorasan*, *Egypt*, and all *Syria*, except that part called *Ordon*, or *Al Oroddan*, which adhered to *Yezid*. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Moáwiyah's* speech, immediately preceding his abdication, was to the following effect: "My grandfather *Moáwiyah* deprived a man more worthy than himself of the *Khalifat*. Nor did my father merit that sublime dignity, though he obtained it. For my own part, I am determined not to have an account to give of so weighty a charge as is the government of the *Moslems*, when I appear in the presence of God; and therefore invest the person that shall please you best with the authority of *Khalif*." Which speech, as well as what was immediately consequent thereupon, ought to be considered as the effect of those religious impressions that his preceptor *Al Makfús* had made upon him ^b.

And dies.

MOAWIYAH had no sooner abdicated the government than he shut himself up in a chamber, from whence he stirred not till he died. Some say, that he was poisoned, and others, that he was carried off by the plague not long after his abdication. The interval between his death and that event he spent wholly in religious exercises, and in performing his devotions. He was surnamed, by way of ridicule, *Abu Leilah*, i. e. *the father of the night*; because his natural weakness and bad state of health would not permit him to appear much abroad in the day-time. Authors differ as to the precise account of the short time he reigned; some fixing this at twenty days, others at forty-five, others at forty, and others extending it to four months. Nor do they exactly agree in the length of the interval between his renunciation and his death; some making this to consist of only forty days, and others of three months. He was buried at *Damascus*, close by his father; and, according to some, *Walid Ebn Otha* performed the funeral service over him. It has been also said, that *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, his successor, put up prayers for him. The house of *Ommiyah* was so exasperated at his abdication, that, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, the members of it buried his master *Al Makfús*, whom they supposed to have been the author of it, alive. The inscription on his seal was, THE WORLD IS A CHEAT. He left no issue behind him. The first day of his reign was *Tuesday*, and the last *Thursday*. From the short dura-

^b GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiyah Ebn Yezid*. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAZIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

ion of his *Khalifat*, taken notice of by the *Arab* writers, it appears, that he departed this life in the 64th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 684¹.

BEFORE we proceed directly in our history, we must here *Some com-*
beg leave, by way of digression, to give a short account of *motions in*
some commotions that happened in *Irâk* immediately after the *Irâk*.
death of *Yezid*. *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, the governor of

Basra, being apprized of that event, represented, in a set speech, to the *Basrans*, that " he himself was their country-
" man, as being a native of *Basra*; that, since he had taken
" the government upon him, he had destroyed 140,000 of
" their enemies; that there was no person surviving that de-
" struction from whom they had any reason to apprehend
" the least opposition; that the territories of *Basra* formed
" the most considerable province of the empire, both with
" regard to their extent, and the number and valour of their
" inhabitants; that, till the commotions in *Syria* were ap-
" peased, they ought to appoint a person to preside over them,
" who was duly qualified to be the protector of their state;
" and that, after this, if the *Moslems* elected a *Khalif* dis-
" agreeable to them, they might, under the conduct of the
" person they had chosen, assert their independency." The
Basrans, clearly perceiving his intention in this speech, of-
fered him the government of their country; which he at first
affected to refuse, but afterwards accepted, at the repeated
solicitation of his friends. However, as soon as it was known
that the *Cûfans* would not acknowledge him, but even threw
dust, or gravel, upon his deputy, the *Basrans* immediately
deserted him, and even expelled him their city. Nor could
he prevail either upon the *Najâri*, a tribe of the *Ansârs*; or
even his own relations, tho' he had divided a great part of
the 16,000,000 pieces of money, found in the treasury of
Basra, amongst them, and kept the remainder himself, to
espouse his quarrel. So odious had he rendered himself to all
ranks and degrees of men by the enormous cruelties he had
committed! Nor could his brother *Abd'allah*, who kept him
disguised in women's cloaths at *Masûd's* house, lest any vio-
lence should have been offered his person, protect him from
the rage and fury of the *Basrans*, tho' he distributed 200,000
pieces of money amongst them; and though *Masûd* exerted
himself, to the utmost extent of his abilities, in his favour.
He was, therefore, at last constrained to abandon the city,
attended by an escorte of 100 men, that had been assigned

¹ ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. D'HERBEL. ABU JAAFAR AL
TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi
sup.

him by *Masūd*; and, immediately after his departure, the mob plundered his house, and pursued him. Being much fatigued by riding upon a camel in the night, he exchanged that beast for an ass; and, with great difficulty, made his escape into Syria. Soon after his arrival at *Damascus*, *Hosein Ebn Thamiir Al Sekhi* returned thither, with the troops that had formed the siege of *Mecca*, and gave a faithful account to *Merwān* of the situation of affairs on that side. He likewise informed him of his offer to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who refused to accept of it, or at least to undertake a journey to *Damascus*, in order to be invested there with the supreme authority. He therefore advised *Merwān*, and the house of *Ommiyah*, to take care of themselves in time, and fix their interest upon a solid basis, by the election of a new *Imām*, before the torrent of faction was too rapid to be stemmed. *Merwān*, after hearing *Hosein's* discourse, proposed to make his submission to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*; but was diverted from his resolution by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyād*, who told him, that, in the present conjuncture, no superior ought to be acknowledged by him who was at the head of the *Koreish*. The people of *Damascus* had constituted *Dahāk Ebn Kais Al Amri* their protector, till the *Moslems* should concur in the election of an *Imām*. *Dahāk* favoured *Abd'allah*, and declared his intention of supporting him. The *Basrans* were altogether in tumult and confusion, and could not fix upon a governor, during the *interregnum*, after their ejection of *Obeid'allah*. This induced them at last to write to *Abd'allah*, to take the government upon him. He complied with their request; but could not be prevailed upon to stir from *Mecca*, at that time the place of his residence. Nor could *Merwān* be persuaded to permit any of the *Syrians* to perform the pilgrimage thither, lest they should join *Abd'allah*, and thereby contribute to his exclusion from the *Moslem* throne ^k.

S E C T. IX.

IT has been already observed, that all the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, except part of Syria, unanimously concurred, soon after the death of *Yezid*, to advance *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* to the *Khalifat*; to which we shall now beg leave to add, that, after the last invitation he had received from *Irāk*, he caused himself to be inaugurated at *Mecca*. The people of *Mecca* had first declared in his favour, and were im-

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir advanced to the Khalifat.

^k MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 55 ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

mediately

mediately followed by the citizens of *Medina*. Nay, *Merwân* himself, a member of the house of *Ommiyah*, who was then at the latter of those places, was upon the point of recognizing his authority; which he had likewise afterwards done at *Damascus*, had he not been dissuaded from it by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyad*, as we have just informed our readers. However, *Abâ'allah* might easily have fixed himself in the *Khalifat*, and have settled his interest upon a lasting foundation, had he not too rashly formed a design either to banish or exterminate the house of *Ommiyah*; and, in consequence of this scheme, sent orders to his lieutenant at *Medina* to cut off, or, as others say, eject every member of that house. This alienated vast numbers of the *Moslems*, and particularly all the friends and dependents of the family threatened either with banishment or excision, from him, as will hereafter more fully appear. The resolution taken by *Abd'allah* at this juncture was certainly a most impolitic step; and, notwithstanding the bravery and religious disposition he was famed for, undoubtedly indicated a want of capacity, as well as generosity and humanity, in him. He was surnamed, according to some, *Abu Becr*, or, as others will have it, *Abu Habib*. His mother was *Asma*, the daughter of the first *Khalif Abu Becr*. He was inaugurated at *Mecca* on the ninth day of the month of *Rajeb*, after there had been an *interregnum* during the former and latter *Jomâda*, and the eight first days of *Rajeb*. He appointed his brother *Masab*, or *Mas'ab*, *Ebn Zobeir* governor of *Basra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Moti* that of *Cûfa*, his brother *Obeidah Ebn Zobeir* that of *Medina*, and sent *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jahram* in the same capacity to *Egypt*. Some authors inform us, that his mother's name was *Asima*; and that she was not the daughter, but the grand-daughter, of *Abu Becr*; but as the *Arab* writers of best repute make her not to be much above thirty years younger than that *Khalif*, they seem, notwithstanding the authority of *M. D'Herbelot*, to discountenance the latter assertion ¹.

THE members of the house of *Ommiyah* finding themselves in such imminent danger, tho' before well enough affected to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, resolved to stand upon their own defence, and consequently to oppose him to the utmost of their power. In order, therefore, to defeat all his machinations, they proclaimed *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was at the head of them, after the death of *Moâwiyah II. Khalif at Damascus*; *The house of Ommiyah proclaimed Merwân Khalif at Damascus*.

¹ ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. MS. Laud. num. 161. ABU JAAPAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L FARAJ. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zohair*, p. 7. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 120. et vol. ii. p. 343.

to which place they had made their escape, after they found it necessary, for their own safety, to take their leave of *Medina*. Syria, therefore, or rather the whole Moslem empire, was at this time divided into two potent factions; one of which, under the conduct of *Hassan Ebn Malec*, declared for *Merwân*, and the other, under that of *Debâk Ebn Kais*, for *Abd'allah*. The latter was a person of great distinction, and had been constituted by *Moâwiyah I.* commandant at *Cûfa*, in the 54th year of the *Hejra*. His adherents, from his father *Kais's* name, were denominated *Kaisians*. Several conferences were held between the leaders of these factions, and all possible methods made use of to dispose both parties to an accommodation; but without effect. The forces on both sides, therefore, commanded by *Merwân* and *Debâk*, found themselves at last obliged to come to a general action, which ended in the defeat of the *Kaisians*. As soon as they began to break, *Merwân* sounded a retreat, and would not suffer his men to pursue them. The battle was fought at *Marj Raht*, a place in the plain of *Damascus*, at a small distance from that city. *Debâk* himself was killed upon the spot, together with a great number of his horse, and about eighty of the Syrian nobility. When *Debâk's* head was brought to *Merwân*, at the sight of it he expressed great concern, and said, "This is a very preposterous thing, that I, who am an old man, and whose bones are so wasted, that I am reduced almost to nothing, should bring armies together, in order to cut one another to pieces." After this victory, the citizens of *Damascus* submitted to *Merwân*, who lived in the house where *Moâwiyah* used to reside. He also married *Yezid's* widow, having before declared that *Khalif's* son *Khâled*, then a minor, his successor. However, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* kept his ground still in *Arabia*, tho' the inhabitants of *Damascus* had renewed their oath of fidelity to *Merwân*, after the battle of *Marj Raht*, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*. Soon after which event, the people of *Hems*, receiving advice of the death and defeat of *Debâk*, revolted from *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, whose interest they had espoused; upon which, *Nooman Ebn Bashîr*, *Abd'allah's* governor there, betook himself, together with his wife and family, to flight. But the citizens pursued him, cut off his head, and brought it with them, as well as his wife and children, in triumph to *Hems*. In the beginning, therefore, of the 65th year of the *Hejra*, *Merwân* was in possession of the *Khalifat* of Syria, as *Abd'allah* was of that of *Hejaz*, *Yaman*, *Egypt*, and *Irâk*^m.

^m MS. Laud. num 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L FAKAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. p. 364, 365.

S E C T. X.

MERWÂN, soon after his accession, advanced at the head of Merwân a considerable army towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. *Ab-conquers* *alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jahram*, *Abd'allah's* lieutenant there, *Egypt*. being informed before of his design, had made the necessary dispositions for giving him a proper reception, in case he should attempt to make an impression upon that country. He sent before him *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, with a body of troops, to facilitate the passage of his forces, as well as the conquest of *Egypt*. *Abd'alrahmân* being worsted in several brisk actions that happened between him and the *Syrians*, at last, for a sum of money, surrendered the whole country to *Merwân*, and retired with the *Arabs* under his command into *Hejâz*. The *Syrian* troops then immediately possessed themselves of *Egypt*, and obliged the inhabitants of that region to take the oath of allegiance to *Merwân*. Things being in this happy situation, the *Syrian Khalif* appointed his son *Abd'alaziz* to preside over *Egypt*, and, with the greatest part of his forces, returned to *Damascus*. Whilst he was upon his march for that city, he was informed, that *Abd'allah* had sent his brother *Mus'ab* against him with a powerful army. Upon the arrival of this disagreeable news, *Merwân* detached *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, with a body of his troops, to give the enemy battle, without loss of time. *Amru* soon came up with *Mus'ab*, brought him to a general action, and intirely defeated him. In fine, *Mus'ab* was forced to betake himself to a shameful flight, a great part of his men were cut to pieces upon the spot, and the remainder of them so dispersed, that they found it impossible to rally. After which, *Merwân's* troops, having sustained a very considerable loss, enter'd *Damascus* in a triumphant manner.

THIS year the people of *Khorasân* chose *Salem Ebn Ziyâd*, *Salem* who had before been governor of that province, for their *elected* protector, till the *Moslems* could concur in their election of an *protector* *Imâm*. *Salem* continued in this post about two months; and, of *Khorasân* during that short term, rendered himself extremely popular amongst those who had put themselves under his protection. He had likewise discharged the duties of his function, when governor, so much to their satisfaction, that, within the space of a few years, they named above 20,000 children, born amongst them, *Salem*, out of their great regard and affection for him. The natives of *Khorasân*, therefore, enjoyed perfect tranquillity at this time, when tumults and seditions, not to say open war, disturbed the repose of many other parts of the *Moslem* dominions °.

° MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TARABI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 56, 57. ° MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 205.

An insur-
rection of
the fol-
lowers of
Ali against
both the
Khalifs.

IN the 65th year of the *Hejra*, the followers of *Ali*, and their dependents, at *Gâfa*, likewise put themselves in motion. They proposed to assemble in a body at *Nokhailab*, and march from thence into *Syria* the following year, in order to revenge the death of *Hosein*. As the *Cûfans* now reflected upon their base and perfidious conduct to that *Imâm* with the utmost detestation, they thought themselves obliged, both in point of honour and duty, to take vengeance of his murderers, as the best atonement they could make for so enormous a crime. For this purpose, they sent circular letters to their friends, inviting them to contribute all in their power to the execution of so laudable a design. The five principal persons, to whom the management of the whole affair was committed, *Solimân Ebn Sorâd*, who was one of the COMPANIONS, *Mosabbib Ebn Nabbah*, one of *Ali*'s most intimate friends, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, *Abd'allah Ebn Wâli*, and *Refaa Ebn Shaddâd*, met together at *Solimân*'s house, attended by a vast number of their adherents, in order to concert the proper measures that were to be pursued on this occasion. To the *Shiites*, or sectaries of *Ali*, now assembled, *Mosabbib* made an elegant speech; wherein he fully set forth the heinousness of the crime the *Cûfans* had been guilty of, in deserting *Hosein*, the grandson of the prophet, and his family, after they had invited him to their city, and so solemnly engaged to support him; adding, that they could no otherwise, in any degree, atone for that crime, than by bringing his murderers to condign punishment; which might easily be effected, if they could pitch upon a proper general to lead them against the perpetrators and abettors of that execrable fact. *Refaa* then proposed to the assembly, for a general, *Solimân Ebn Sorâd*, the chief of their sect, or rather political party; a man revered by all for his years, dignity, piety, and experience; who was unanimously elected, and, after having made a speech suitable to the occasion, accepted of the command. *Abd'allah Ebn Wâli*, by the unanimous suffrages of all the *Moslems* present, was then appointed treasurer, and a considerable sum of money deposited in his hands. After which, *Solimân* dispatched circular letters to *Saad Ebn Hodaisa*, and others, to excite them to act with vigour, and forward as much as possible the execution of the plan of operations that had been formed; and, in a short time, received from them such satisfactory answers, as greatly animated both him and his friends. It may not be improper here to observe, that this affair had been in agitation ever since the death of *Yezid*; so that the followers of *Ali* had amassed vast quantities of provisions, erected large magazines, and, in short, taken all the necessary precautions to render this enterprize successful. It has been remarked by *Abu'l-Faraj*,

Faraj, that *Solimán* was an Arab of the tribe of *Khozâa*; and that *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, whose mother, *Amena Bint Al-kama*, was of the house of *Safwân*, was the first of the *Khalifs* who made his way to the *Moslem* throne by the assistance of the sword ^{p.}

ABOUT six months after the death of *Yezid*, in the month of *They as-Ramadân*, *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah* came to *Cûfa*, and ^{seems a} brought along with him *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telha*, in ^{body of} order to collect the tribute of that city for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, ⁴⁰⁰⁰ who had been elected *Khalif* by the *Arabs*. This man, pretend- ^{men} ing to act under the direction of *Mohammed Ebn Hanisfyah*, one of *Ali's* sons, was at first not a little caressed by the followers of that *Imâm*. But *Al Mokhtar* afterwards depreciated the merits and capacity of *Solimán Ebn Sorâd Al Khzoâi*, and *Ibrahim* having declared in very warm terms against the sentiments contained in a speech of *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, then governor of *Cûfa*, which seemed to favour the sectaries, or malecontents, they were both for some time treated with less respect by the *Shiites*, as well as by *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*. Nay, *Ibrahim*, by his conduct, so incensed them, that *Mosabbih* threatened him with an assassination; tho' afterwards finding means to pacify the governor, both he and *Al Mokhtar* recovered their former esteem; and *Solimán*, at the head of the *Shiites*, soon after appeared in arms. The troops he assembled on this occasion, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, amounted to about 4000 men ^{q.}

AT this time, the *Motaxalites*, or *Separatists*, who had as- ^{which in-} sisted *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* in the defence of *Mecca*, aban- ^{creases to} doned him, and retired to *Basra*. *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, ^{one of} the governor of that city, who was always their most impla- ^{16,000.} cable enemy, had formerly done his utmost to extirpate them; so that they found themselves obliged, in order to avoid the fate he intended them, to fly to *Mecca*, and put themselves there under the protection of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. As he then stood in great need of their assistance, he gave them a favourable reception, without making any inquiry into the principles they maintained; as they, on their side, being then in very distressed circumstances, did not think it proper, or expedient, to ask him any questions either about his religious or political sentiments. However, some time after, before they engaged themselves thoroughly in his service, they recollected,

^p MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 57. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 198. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 118. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Khoz.* p. 1002.

^q MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

that both he and his father *Zobeir* had persecuted them on account of *Othmân's* death ; and therefore resolved to take an occasion from hence to discover his present disposition towards them. Coming to him accordingly in a body, they desired to know his opinion of that event ; but having at that time very few of his friends about him, and clearly perceiving their view in proposing such a question to him, he told them, that, if they would return in the evening, he would give them a satisfactory answer. In the mean time, he posted a proper party of the guards in double ranks about his house ; which hinder'd the *Motaxalites*, when they returned, from proceeding to acts of violence. However, one of the most eloquent of them made a speech, wherein he enumerated the dispensations of providence towards them, as well as all the *Khalifs* that had presided over the *Moslems* since the death of *Mohammed*, reflected severely upon *Othmân's* administration, and, in fine, endeavoured to justify the murder of that *Imâm*. *Abd'allah* replied, that, with regard to *Mohammed*, on whom too great encomiums could not be passed, as well as *Abu Beer* and *Omar*, he perfectly agreed with him in what he had advanced ; but that, as no man living was better acquainted with *Othmân* than himself, he must beg leave to declare, that he believed that *Khalif* to have been wrongfully murdered ; that he never wrote the letter laid to his charge ; and that he should always support *Othmân's* friends, and oppose his enemies, to the utmost of his power. To this they answered, *God is clear of thee, thou enemy of God !* Which he instantly echoed again, and they immediately took their leave of *Mecca*. Some of them went to *Yamâma*, and others to *Basra*. The latter animated one another to some bold attempt in favour of religion ; and, having been joined by several stragglers upon the road, before they reached *Basra*, formed a body of 300 men. They enter'd the town, when every thing was in confusion, on account of *Obeid'allah's* precipitate retreat, or rather flight, into *Syria* ; which gave them an opportunity of opening the public prisons, and constraining the malefactors they took from thence to be incorporated amongst them. However, both the *Motaxalites* and their companions, after the commotion was appeased, were soon dispersed, and obliged to abandon *Basra*. As for the forces assembled by *Solimân*, if we will believe *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, they soon increased from 4000 to 16000 men. But before we can oblige our readers with the particulars of this expedition, and the fate he met with in the conclusion of it, in a satisfactory manner, it will be proper to premise a short and concise account of the famous *Mokhtar*, or *Al Mokhtar*, as he is called by the *Arab* historians, the scourge of the enemies of the house of *Ali*, who

who makes so considerable a figure in that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon ¹.

THE followers of *Ali* had not entertained the most favourable sentiments of *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidab*, since the time he was supposed to have been too remiss in the service of *Ha-* *Al Mokhtar*. But he recovered his esteem with that party, when he not only entertained in his house *Moslem*, who had been sent to *Cáfa* by *Hosein*, to take the suffrages of the *Cáfans*, in a very hospitable manner, but likewise made use of all his interest privately to serve him; tho' he still thought fit to appear amongst *Obeid'allah's* friends, in order to prevent suspicion. But *Obeid'allah*, having secret intelligence of his conduct, upbraided him with it, and gave him such a blow with his stick upon the face, that he beat out one of his eyes. Not content with this, he sent him immediately to prison, and detained him there till the death of *Hosein*; when, finding means to make a proper application to *Yezid*, he was set at liberty by the express command of the *Khalif*. *Obeid'allah*, as his interest required, was very desirous of continuing his detention, but durst not disobey the *Khalif*; and therefore released him, but ordered him to quit the territories of *Cáfa* within the space of three days. *Al Mokhtar* then made the best of his way to *Hejáx*, where meeting with one of his friends, who asked him how he came to lose his eye, he said, "The son of a whore has beat it out; but GOD kill me if I do not some time or other cut him to pieces." *Al Mokhtar* afterwards being told by the *Arab* with whom he was conversing, that *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* had made *Mecca* his residence, he delivered himself in the following terms: "His affairs will never be in a flourishing situation, till you see *Al Mokhtar* at the head of his forces, with orders to revenge the death of *Hosein*. I will then destroy as many, by way of vengeance for the murder of that *Imám*, as there perished on account of the blood of *John* the son of *Zacharias*, on whom be peace." For the illustration of which passage, it must be observed, that the *Moslems* hold in a very high veneration the memory of *St. John the Baptist*, on account of the honourable mention made of him in the third chapter of the *Korán*. Nor does the commentary on this passage, drawn up by *Hosein Waex*, a *French* version of which has been published, give a less advantageous character of that saint. As a farther proof of his sanctity, and the iniquity of his murderers, the *Mohammedans* have also a tradition, which contains an ac-

¹ MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABULRED. in hist. univers. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'LFARAJ, ubi sup.

count of the vengeance taken upon the *Jews* for the perpetration of that horrid fact, and is to the following effect: "The general either of *Bakhnafir*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Gudarz*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in an expedition against *Jerusalem*, entering the temple, saw blood bubbling upon the great altar there; and asking the reason of it, the *Jews* told him it was the blood of a sacrifice which had not been accepted of *GOD*: to which he replied, that they had not told him the truth, and ordered a thousand of them to be slain on the altar; but the blood not ceasing, he told them, that, if they would not confess the truth, he would not spare one of them; whereupon they acknowledged it was the blood of *John*: and the general said, *Thus hath your LORD taken vengeance on you*; and then cried out, *O John! my LORD and thy LORD knoweth what hath befallen thy people for thy sake; wherefore let thy blood stop, by GOD's permission, lest I leave not one of them alive*: upon which the blood immediately stopped." To this tradition *Mokhtar* apparently alluded, in his discourse with the *Arab* of *Hejaz*; after his departure from whom he went to *Mecca*, in order to offer his service to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and arrived there soon after his inauguration. But not meeting with proper encouragement there, he retired to *Tâyes*; and, in about a year's time, returned to *Mecca*. Soon after his arrival there, *Abd'allah*, by the assistance of *Abbas Ebn Sabel*, engaged him in his service. However, *Mokhtar* could not be prevailed upon to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah*, before the latter had promised to make use of him in all his most weighty affairs, and grant him free access to him on all occasions, even before any other person. After this, he behaved with great bravery during the siege of *Mecca*, which was raised upon the news of *Yezid's* death; and continued above five months with *Abd'allah* after that event. But not being advanced to any considerable post, and being informed that the sectaries at *Cûfa* only wanted a proper general, in order to carry all before them, he immediately set out for that city. Every mosque on the road he visited, performed his devotions in them all, and harangued the people he found therein, assuring them of victory, and a speedy deliverance from all the grievances they laboured under. He had no sooner entered *Cûfa*, than he convoked the leaders of the sectaries there; telling them, that he came from *Mahammed Ebn Hanifyah*, the mine of excellency, the *Imâm* that directed the right way, and representing to them the incapacity of *Solimân* for the undertaking in which he was soon to embark. These two points he repeated to them so often, that at last he made an impression upon the minds of many of the *Shiites* in his favour; though the superior

perior interest, age, and authority, of *Solimân* rendered it impossible for him to wrest the command out of his hands. However, he comforted himself with the hopes of being vested with the supreme authority, and consequently with the command of all the *Shiite* forces, in case *Solimân* should miscarry in the projected expedition. Nevertheless, for some time, his interest declined to such a degree, that, upon suspicion of his having formed a design of seizing upon the province, he was surprized by a detachment of *Solimân's* troops, conducted to prison, and for a certain term kept there closely confined. We must not forget to remark, that *Theophanes* calls the person, of whom we have here been giving our readers an account, *Mvuchar*, or *Muchar*, and *Mouktar*, not *Mochtar*, as has been asserted by Mr. *Ockley*. He also tells us, that this *Muchar*, tho' an impostor, pretended to act the prophet, made himself master of *Persia*, and occasioned amongst the *Arabs* many commotions. From whence, in conjunction with many more instances of the like kind that occur, some of which have already been taken notice of in this work, we may infer, that a most confused, indistinct, and imperfect relation of the *Arab* affairs has been handed down to us by the later *Greek* and *Latin* historians *.

ALL *Al Mokhtar's* efforts to deprive *Solimân* of his post proving *Solimân* ineffectual, that general began his march at the head of the *begins his Shiite* forces, who had assumed the name of *penitents*, because of *march in- the penitence*, or repentance and sorrow, they now expressed for *to Syria*. abandoning *Hosein*, for the place of their destination. He first advanced to *Nokhailah*, a town at no very great distance from *Cûfa*, being the place appointed for the general rendezvous, in the new moon of the latter *Rabî*. When he arrived there, he took a view of the camp; and being not a little surprized at the small number of men that formed it, he instantly dispatched two of his horse to *Cûfa*, with orders to cry out in the streets, and in the great mosque, VENGEANCE FOR HOSEIN! This so alarmed the citizens, that they assembled in vast numbers, and several of them repaired the next morning to the camp at *Nokhailah*. Amongst these there was one who had married an *Arabian* lady, the most celebrated beauty of her age, on whom he doated to excess; and another, who was a person of distinction, that had a daughter and many re-

* MS. Laud. num. 161. et ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. f. iii. v. 33. HOSEIN WARZ, in comment. ad Al Kor. Mohammed. ibid. YAHYA, JALLALQ'DDIN, AL BRIDAWI, &c. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jahia Ben Zacaria*, p. 471, 472. ABU JAAPAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 57. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300, 303, 304. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 278—288.

lations; both of whom abandoned every thing that was dear and valuable to them, with uncommon alacrity, on this occasion; the former saying at his departure, *O God! I commend to thee my family and my child. O God! preserve me in them!* and the latter, by way of answer to his daughter, when she asked him how he could abandon her, *Child, thy father flies from his sin to his God.* Upon the arrival of these volunteers, *Solimán* took a review of the troops under his command, and found them to amount to above 4000 effective men; though the *Cúfans* had promised to supply him with at least four times that number. Two thousand of those who had engaged to attend *Solimán*, had been drawn off by *Maktar*, who, tho' a pretended friend to the cause he espoused, entertained very indifferent sentiments of the military capacity of that general; and the other 10,000 chose rather to violate their oaths, and abandon the engagements they had entered into, than to run the risk of being cut to pieces by a superior enemy. However, *Solimán* did not neglect to animate his men, by assuring them, that they were to fight for another world, and not for this; and that therefore, whatever should be the fate of the present expedition, they might depend upon a future state of eternal and uninterrupted felicity. A council of war being held, two plans of operations were proposed to the general; according to the first of which, the troops were to return to *Cúfa*, and put to the sword all those who had deserted *Hosein* in that city; but the latter required them immediately to march into *Syria*, and take vengeance of *Obeid'allah* there, who had been the principal cause, if not the absolute author, of the destruction of that *Imám*. This, for several weighty reasons and considerations, meeting with *Solimán's* approbation, he made the necessary dispositions for putting it in immediate execution; tho' *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telha*, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's* collector of the tribute at *Cúfa*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, the governor of that city, who were both in the interest of the house of *Háshem*, did their utmost to prevail upon him to suspend his march. They represented to *Solimán*, that they should soon be able to assist him both with money and troops; and that as *Obeid'allah*, by reason of his enormous cruelty, was mortally hated in that province, it would be better to wait for him there, where the people would most certainly declare against him, and where he would soon arrive, than to attack a powerful enemy in his own country with so inconsiderable a force. But *Solimán* proving deaf to so salutary an admonition, *Ibrahim* endeavoured to persuade him to remain in his camp at least till he could furnish him with the tribute of the provinces; which would not fail of animating his men, and enabling him to push

push on with greater vigour the military operations. But *Solimán* still continuing refractory, the conferences broke off without success; and the *Shiite* army decamped from *Nokhailab*, in order to pursue their march into *Syria* without delay.

THE first place to which *Solimán* advanced, after his departure from *Nokhailab*, was *Esfás* upon the *Euphrates*; *wanted to* where, upon a general muster, he found that by desertion he *Masbhad* had lost 1000 men. Nor was he joined there by the *Separatists* of *Basra* and *Al Madäyen*, tho' they had promised him a reinforcement; which proved a great discouragement to his troops, especially as they had received certain advice, that *Obeid'allah* was upon his march against them. However, *Solimán* put a good face upon the matter, saying to his men, "The LORD doth not approve of their going out, and therefore he hath withdrawn them for our advantage; wherefore praise ye the LORD." *Solimán* having resumed his march, and continued it all night, he arrived the next morning at *Masbhad Hosein*, or the sepulchre of the martyr *Hosein*, where the army staid a day and a night, in order to pray for *Hosein*, to beg his pardon for deserting him, and to perform upon that holy, pure, and sublime spot their devotions. When they first approached the tomb, they all cried out with one voice, and shed tears in the most copious manner, wishing that they had all died with him; insomuch that a more melancholy and moving scene never appeared. Nay, their grief was so intense on this occasion, their repentance for abandoning *Hosein* so sincere, and so fervent their devotion, that, when *Solimán* commanded them to march, not a man of them would stir till he had first stood upon *Hosein's* tomb, and asked his pardon for what had happened. Which conduct seemed so extraordinary even to the more rational *Mohammedans* themselves, that one of them then present swore that he never saw such crowding about the *black stone* in the temple of *Mecca* itself. In order to set which remark in a clear light, we must beg leave to remind our readers, that the *black stone* here mentioned is a stone set in silver, and fixed in the south east corner of the *Caaba*, being that which looks towards *Basra*, about two inches and one-third, or, which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground, held in the utmost veneration by the *Mohammedans*, and kissed by all who perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*; being called by some of them *the right hand of God on earth*. But for a farther account of this stone, as well as of every thing else relating to the temple of *Mecca*,

1 MS. Laud. num. 161. et ISM. ARABIC. ubi sup.

we must refer our readers to a preceding part of this work u.

He and his troops are all cut to pieces by Obeid'allah. FROM *Mashhad Hosein* the *Shiite* army marched to *Hefâsab*, and from thence to *Al Ambâr*, or *Anbâr*, a city of *Irâk*, near the confluence of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, in the territory of *Baghdâd*, and the imperial seat of *Al Saffah*, the first *Khalîf* of the house of *Abbâs*. From *Anbâr* *Solimân* advanced to *Seddûd*; and from thence to *Kayyârah*, where he ordered his troops to pitch their tents. They had not been long here before *Solimân* received a friendly letter from *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, the governor of *Cûfa*; wherein he pressed him to return home, and represented to him, in the strongest terms, the folly and temerity of engaging so powerful an army as would be sent against him with a handful of men. *Abd'allah* concluded his letter with these remarkable words: "Do not set at nought my advice, nor contradict my command. Come as soon as my letter is read to you. God turn your faces towards his obedience, and your backs to a rebellion against him." But *Solimân* imagining that *Abd'allah* recalled them only in order to support *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, persisted in his intention of penetrating into *Syria*; telling his troops, that they would never be nearer the two *Hoseins*, meaning *Hosein* and his brother *Hasan*, to whom the *Shiites* gave that name, than they were at present; and that if they, at this juncture, should meet with death, they would die in a state of repentance, and consequently obtain a remission of their sins. From *Kayyârah* the *Shiite* general moved to *Hait*, or *Haditza*, another town of *Irâk*, situated on the opposite bank of the *Euphrates*, from whence he wrote an answer to *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*; wherein he thanked him for his kind letter, but said that he could not accept of his invitation. To which he added, that his men considered themselves as true penitents, and therefore resolved to continue their march, and leave to God the success of the expedition. From *Haditza* *Solimân* advanced to *Karkisia*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, the *Circusium* of the later *Greek* and *Roman* writers, whose walls were surrounded by the *Chabera*, or *Abora*, and the *Euphrates*; and from thence to *Ainwerda*, or *Ainwerdab*, where the *Separatists* gave out, that their design was to depose both the *Khalîfs*, and fix upon the *Moslem* throne one of the family of the prophet. But here a stop was put to their career, they meeting with the just reward of their temerity and presumption, For, *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd* came up with them at *Ain-*

u Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Houssain & Motavakkel*. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AHMED EBN YUSEF, Poc. not. in Spec. hist. Arab. p. 117, &c. -Med. Hist. vol. i. p. 208.

werda, or *Ras Ain*, as we find it called by *Abu'l-Faraj*, with a body of 20,000 horse; in a short time brought them to a general action; and, after a sharp dispute, cut them all to pieces upon the spot *.

SOON after this decisive action, the governor of *Cúfa* released *Merwán Al Mokhtar*, whom he had before ordered to be confined, at *dies.* the request of *Abd'allah Ebn Omar*, who had married *Al Mokhtar's* sister. This happened a little before the death of *Merwán*, who departed this life in the month of *Ramadán*. It must here be remember'd, that, after *Moáwiyab's* decease, *Merwán* was elected *Khalif*, on condition that *Kháled*, the son of *Yezid*, should mount the *Moslem* throne after him, and his own children be excluded from the succession; *Kháled* at that time refusing to take the government upon him, on account of his tender age. To shew the purity and sincerity of his intentions in this affair, *Merwán* married *Yezid's* widow, who was *Kháled's* mother, and declared that he would never be guilty of an infraction of the treaty concluded with *Kháled*, in the minutest particular. However, afterwards altering his mind, he caused his eldest son *Abd'almálec* to be proclaimed his lawful successor; which so disgusted *Kháled*, who always hated him, that he one day reviled him for it, before a great number of the nobility, in a very reproachful manner. This so incensed *Merwán*, that he called him bastard; which his mother being informed of by the child, she vowed to be revenged of him for so grievous an affront. In consequence of which resolution, she soon after poisoned him, as we find asserted by some of the *Arab* historians, or, as others will have it, smothered him, by laying a pillow on his face, when he was asleep, and sitting upon it till he was dead. However, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* seems to intimate, that *Merwán* died of the plague; and not a word is said of his wife's being even in any manner accessory to his death by *Abu'l-Faraj*. Some authors make him to have been sixty-three, and others, with more probability, seventy-one years of age, at the time of his death. His wife, say those who believe that she destroyed him, gave out that he died suddenly. He reigned 298 days, or, as others affirm, eleven months, if we compute from the renewal of his inauguration. We find it intimated by *Theophanes*, that the *Arabs* elected *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir Khalif* at *Yathreb*, or *Medina*, which he denominates *Æthrib*, and the

* MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124, 234, 256. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 95. ZOSIM. lib. iii. c. 12, 13. EUTROP. lib. ix. c. 2. SEXT. RUF. c. xxii. PROCOP. Persic. lib. ii. c. 5. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiii. c. 11. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 57. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 198.

Syrians Merwân, called by him *Maruam*, at *Damascus*; where, according to this writer, he reigned about nine months. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* makes *Yezid*, *Merwân*, and *Abd'almâlec*, to have reigned in continual succession, and consequently takes no notice of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* and *Moâwiyab II.* 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that he should have kept *Merwân* a year upon the *Moslem* throne. For this may be easily accounted for, if we suppose his *Khalifat* to have commenced at the death of *Yezid*. It ought to be remarked here, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a mistake, when he affirms, that *Merwân's* authority was recognized by all the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, after the defeat of *Dabâk Ebn Kais*; and that he left his son *Abd'almâlec*, after his death, in full possession of the sovereignty of all those provinces. For, that *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* was invested with the supreme authority in *Arabia*, when *Abd'almâlec* ascended the *Syrian* throne, and not intirely reduced till the 73d year of the *Hejra*, is attested by the best *Arabic* writers, and even by M. *D'Herbelot* himself; and will, as we fully persuade ourselves, in the sequel of this history, most clearly appear *.

And is buried at Damascus.

As to his person, *Merwân* was tall and of a thin habit of body. He had blue or grey eyes, and red or yellowish hair. He was surnamed *Ebn Tarid*, or the son of the expelled; his father *Al Hakem* having been banished by *Mohammed* to *Al Tâyes*, or *Waj*, for divulging a secret that had been imparted to him. He continued in exile during the reigns of *Abu Beer* and *Omar*, but was recalled by *Othmân*; to whom this was afterwards objected as one of his greatest crimes. His secretary was *Sofân Ebn Abrâd*, or, according to others, *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*; his *Kâdi*, or judge, *Ebn Iâris Al Holwâni*; the captain of his guards, *Yahya Ebn Kais*; his chamberlain, *Abu Sabl*, his servant, who was a black, or negro, and his mother's freed-man. *Eutychius* fixes the duration of his *Khalifat* precisely at nine months, and *Abu'l-Faraj* at seven and a few days; in which he differs from all other authors. He died, and was buried, at *Damascus*, and his son *Abd'almâlec* performed the funeral-service over him. He expired, as has been already observed, in the month of *Ramadân*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, in the former *Rabi*, and the 65th year of the *Hejra*, corresponding with the year of our LORD 6857.

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. MS. Laud. num. 161. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Simmon. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 104. ut et ipse Jos. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Maruam*, p. 558. et in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobair*, p. 7.

† ABU JAAFAR AL TABARÍ et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH.

S E C T. XI.

ABD'ALMALEC, the son of *Merwân*, who succeeded him, *Abd'al-* was surnamed *Abu'l-Walid*, or, as others affirm, *Abu Mar-* mâlec *sua-* wân, and, according to *Abulfeda*, was inaugurated on the 3d day *ceeds his* of the month of *Ramadân*, being the very day on which his fa- *father* ther died. His mother was *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Alûm Ebn* *Merwân* *Arab Ebn Abu'l As*, or, according to others, of *Moâwiyah Ebn* *in the* *Mogbeirab Ebn Abu'l As Ebn Ommeyya Ebn Abd Shems*. Some *Khalifat*. authors relate, that, at the time of his inauguration, he had the *Moshâf*, or the *Korân*, in his lap; which folding up, he said, probably to the person taking the oath of allegiance to him, "Let this divide, or determine, between me and thee." But this circumstance is related by *Abulfeda* in a different manner. He informs us, that when the news of his father's death was brought to *Abd'almâlec*, the messengers found him with the *Korân* in the aforesaid position; and that hereupon folding it up, he said, "I must take my leave of thee now." But this relation, tho' followed by *Mr. Ockley*, ought to be considered, on many accounts, as much more improbable than the other ².

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR, who had been elected *Khalif*, *The Syri-* by the *Arabs*, still holding his residence at *Mecca*, *Abd'almâlec* *ans per-* would not permit his subjects to visit the temple there; and, *form their* for that reason, ordered the temple at *Jerusalem* to be so ex- *pilgrimage* larged as to take the stone, or rather the steps, on which *Omar* *to the tem-* had formerly prayed, and on which the *Moslems* had before *ple at Je-* erected a mosque, into the body of the church. The whole *rusalem* being, therefore, thus in a manner converted into a mosque, the *Syrians* performed their pilgrimage thither, as the *Arabs* under *Abd'allah's* jurisdiction did still to the *Caaba*. Not content with this, *Abd'almâlec* desired the *Christians* of *Damascus* to deliver into his hands one of their churches adjoining to the cathedral there. Upon which, they shewed him the instrument drawn up and signed by *Khâtâd Ebn Al Walid*, when the city was taken in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; by which the possession of that and the other *Christian* churches was for ever secured to them. *Abd'almâlec* then offered them a large sum of money, and gave them leave to build another church in lieu of it, in what part of the town they pleased. But not being hereby induced to part with it, he left it in their possession; not judging it proper or expedient at this juncture, when he had a

ETYM. ubi sup. p. 364, 365. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 198.

² AL MAKIN, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 12. p. 58. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 198, 199. ISM. ABULFED. hist. univ. ETYM. ubi sup. p. 364, 365. OCKLEY'S hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 299.

powerful enemy to contend with, to take it from them by force *.

Al Mokhtar—THE following year, *Al Mokhtar*, who had found means, during his imprisonment, to keep up a correspondence with the sectaries, being informed of *Solimán's* fate, which, from the moment of that general's departure, he had expected, began to put himself in motion. As *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* still supported himself in *Arabia* against the new *Syrian Khalif*, he thought this a proper time to put his design in execution; and therefore having received a commission from *Al Mohdi*, the son of *Mohammed*, the son of *Ali*, the great *Imám*, or head of the sect in a lineal succession, constituting him general of all his forces, he took the command of the *Shiite* army upon him. This was for some time opposed by *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar*, a man of considerable interest amongst the sectaries; but, upon *Al Mokhtar's* producing his commission, he acquiesced in the measures that had been taken, and *Al Mokhtar* was universally acknowledged generalissimo of the forces assembled to demand the blood of *Hosein*, or, in other words, to take vengeance of the murderers of that *Imám*. Nay, according to *Abulfeda*, he was formally inaugurated *Khalif* upon the following terms; that he should govern according to the contents of the BOOK OF GOD, and the traditions of his apostle, and destroy all the murderers of *Hosein*. In consequence of which agreement, he killed *Shamer*, *Kawla*, who carried *Hosein's* head to *Obeid'allah*, and *Amer*, who commanded the army that defeated the troops of that *Imám*. The head of *Amer*, together with that of his son, he sent to *Mohammed Ebn Hanisfiah*; and put *Adi Ebn Hathem*, whom he had taken prisoner, into the hands of the *Shiites*, who stripped him and shot him with arrows, in the same manner as he had served the son of *Ali*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to *Ebn Fajjal Al Andalusí*, an *Arab* author of *Spain*, one *Masarjouyah*, a *Jewish* physician of *Basra*, flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Merwán*. He translated the medical pandects of *Aaron* the presbyter into the *Arabic* tongue. A remarkable story has been told of him by one *Ayub Ebn Al Hakem*; for the particulars of which we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Abu'l-Faraj* ^b.

Al pacification con- **AL MOKTAR EBN ABU OBEIDAH AL THAKIFI** having
cluded be- received advice, that *Abd'almálec* had sent an army to reduce *Ab-*
tween Ab- *d'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and that a body of the *Khalif's* troops were
posted upon the frontiers of *Irák*, which he apprehended might

* ISM. ABULFED. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

^b ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. AL MAKIN et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

attack

attack him on that side, whilst *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, *Abd'allah's* d'allah brother, advanced against him with a strong detachment from *Ebn Zobeir and* *Basra*; he wrote a deceitful letter to *Abd'allah*, wherein he offered to march to his assistance, at the head of all his forces. *Abd'allah*, in answer to that letter, assured him, that, as soon as he had satisfied him of the sincerity of his allegiance, by receiving the suffrages of his men for him, he should look upon him as his friend, and not send any forces into his country. To which he added, that, for the present, he could not give him a more convincing proof of the sincerity of his intentions, than by sending a body of troops, with all possible expedition, to watch the motions of the *Khalif Abd'almâlec's* army, that was then posted at *Dilkôra*. As soon as this answer came to hand, *Al Mokhtar* dispatched *Serjabil Ebn Wars*, one of his officers, with a body of 3000 men, consisting chiefly of slaves, there being but 700 *Arabs* amongst them, to *Medina*; commanding him, upon his arrival there, to write to him from thence for farther orders. His design herein was to send an *Emir* immediately to *Medina* to command those troops, whilst *Serjabil*, at the head of another body of the *Shiite* forces, should form the siege of *Mecca*, at that time the residence of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. But *Abd'allah*, not having received from *Al Mokhtar* the security he required, was resolved to be upon his guard; and therefore sent *Abbâs Ebn Sabel* to *Medina*, with a detachment of 2000 men; ordering him to treat *Al Mokhtar's* troops as friends, if he found them really in his interest; but, if otherwise, to use his utmost endeavours to destroy them. *Abbâs*, upon his arrival at *Medina*, not being able to persuade *Serjabil* to march with him to *Dilkôra*, very justly entertained a suspicion of him. However, he dissembled this, till he found an opportunity of distributing a few sheep amongst *Al Mokhtar's* troops, reduced almost to the last extremity for want of provisions; which excited them to disperse themselves over the adjacent territory, in order to supply the camp with what necessaries they could collect. This being observed by *Abbâs*, he advanced at the head of his troops, to the enemy's tents, soon made himself master of them, killed *Serjabil* himself, with seventy of his men, and spared all the rest, who accepted of the quarter offered them, except about 300, who were afterwards put to the sword. *Al Mokhtar* fearing this disaster might intimidate *Mohammed Ebn Haniffyah*, at the same time that he acquainted him with it, offered to support him with a powerful army. But *Mohammed* refused such assistance; telling him in the answer he wrote, that his intention was to have recourse only to pacific measures; and before the messenger, which he sent to *Al Mokhtar*, departed, he said, "Desire him to fear God, and abstain from all effusion of blood." But tho' *Mohammed*
Ebn

Ebn Hanifiyah, and all the rest of *Ali's* family, behaved at *Mecca* in a very inoffensive manner, and were so far from exciting any commotions there, that they did their utmost to preserve the public tranquillity and repose; yet *Abd'allah Ebn Zubeir* not thinking himself safe as long as they refused a recognition of his authority, imprisoned them, together with seventeen of the principal *Cûfans*, set a guard over them, and threatened to put them to death, and reduce their bodies afterwards to ashes, if, within a limited time, they did not take the oath of allegiance to him. *Al Mokhtar*, being informed of the distressed situation they were in, sent a body of 750 horse, under the command of *Abu Abd'allah Al Jodali*, to *Mecca*, to release them. *Al Jodali* not only executed his orders with great bravery, but likewise took *Abd'allah* himself prisoner, and would have cut him to pieces on the spot, had not *Mohammed* prevented such an act of violence, and composed all differences to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, by his timely interposition. *Abu Abd'allah Al Jodali*, or rather *Mohammed* himself, distributed a sum of money he brought with him amongst 4000 of *Ali's* friends, in order to make them some amends for the losses they had sustained. When *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah* was delivered from the prison near the well *Zemzem*, in which he had been confined, the time allowed him to make his submission to *Abd'allah* was within two days of being expired; and a sufficient quantity of wood, and other combustible materials, was prepared for burning both him and his companions, if they had not been set at liberty by the *Shiite* horse. One of the persons confined with *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah* was *Abd'allah Ebn Ayad*, a man highly esteemed by the followers of *Ali*. Notwithstanding the late pacification, *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*, after a distribution of *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidab's* money amongst those that attended him had been made, for his farther security, took post on a mountain near *Mecca* with a body of 4000 men^c.

Obeid'al-
lah Ebn
Ziyâd de-
fected and
killed.

THE *Cûfans* having received advice, that *Merwân*, before his death, had sent *Obeid'allah* with a powerful army towards their city, and even given him a permission to plunder it for three days together, appointed *Yezid Ebn Ares*, a man of undaunted courage, to command the forces they raised to oppose him. But *Merwân* dying before *Obeid'allah* could execute his orders, an end was put, at least for the present, to the intended expedition. However, the *Cûfans* remembering this, and *Al Mokhtar* now being at leisure to chastize that general for suggesting such an enterprize to *Merwân*, as well as for the

^c MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidab*, p. 619.

murder of *Hosein*, which still was the pretext for all the hostile proceedings of the sectaries; they assembled a body of troops, in their turn, to act offensively against *Obeid'allah*, and even the Syrian *Khalif* himself, if he should think fit to support him. There was one thing very remarkable in the preparations made for this expedition. *Al Mokhtar* caused a portable throne to be made, in which he pretended there was something mysterious; telling the people, that "it would be of the same use to them that the ark was to the children of *Israel*." Wherefore he ordered it to be carried on a mule with the forces that were to march against *Obeid'allah*, and a prayer to be said before it, conceived in the following terms; "O GOD! grant that we may live long in thy obedience; help us, and do not forget us, but protect us." To which the people answered, *Amen, Amen*. By this stratagem, than which nothing could have been devised more proper to animate a body of ignorant hot-headed enthusiasts, the *Cûfan* troops were inspired with such fortitude and resolution, that *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar*, *Al Mokhtar's* general, found it no difficult matter to lead them against the enemy. In fine, being determined to act offensively, he attacked *Obeid'allah's* camp; and, after a sharp engagement, forced it, put that general and many of his men to the sword, and drove a greater number of them into a neighbouring river, where they all immediately perished. *Ibrahim* cut off *Obeid'allah's* head, which, with some others, he sent to *Al Mokhtar*, and afterwards reduced his body to ashes. This victory the *Cûfans* ascribed intirely to the ark, or throne, and consequently almost idolized it for a long time after. We are told by some *Arab* authors, that the army commanded by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd* consisted of 70,000 men, of whom 10,300 were killed in the action; and that the loss sustained by *Ibrahim* scarce amounted to 370 men. Be that as it will, the victory was complete; insomuch that *Nisibin*, or *Nisibis*, *Sinjar*, and *Dara*, or *Daras*, without the least opposition, surrendered to the victors. This great success rendered the sectaries so formidable, that they began to entertain thoughts in earnest of fixing either *Mohammed Ebn Hani-syah*, or some other of *Ali's* family, upon the *Moslem* throne^d.

THE same year the late battle was fought, that is, the *Al Mokh-67th* of the *Hejra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* sent his brother *tar de-Mus'ab* to govern *Basra*. *Al Mokhtar* was then absolute master seated and of *Cûfa*, where he put all to the sword who would not join killed by him, in order to revenge the murder of *Hosein*. Upon *Mu-Mus'ab's* arrival at *Basra*, he went into the mosque there, ascended

^d ISM. ARULFED. et MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR ALTABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 59, 60.

the pulpit, and made a speech to the people. His predecessor *Al Hâreth* sat one step below him. In his speech, amongst other things, he reflected upon *Abd'almâlec*, and that part of the *Moslem* empire which submitted to him, and extolled the conduct of the *Arabs* who obeyed the orders of his brother *Abd'allah*. Then he told the *Basrans*, that as they usually gave names, or rather surnames, to their *Emirs*, he would take the liberty to assume that of *Hejâz*. Soon after which, one *Shebet* came to *Basra*, upon a crop-eared bob-tailed mule, from *Cûsa*; with his cloaths rent, crying out, *Ya gautha, Ya gautha, Help! Help!* He was attended by many of the principal *Cûsans*, who complained bitterly of *Al Mokhtar's* cruel and tyrannical administration; and begged *Mus'ab* to march with an army against him. This petition *Mus'ab* very readily complied with, and wrote immediately to *Al Moballeb*, his lieutenant in *Persia*, to come and join him with the *Persian* forces; which at last, tho' with some reluctance, he did. After this junction, *Mus'ab* and *Al Moballeb* advanced at the head of their troops into the territory of *Cûsa*, forced *Al Mokhtar* to a general action, overthrew him with great slaughter, and obliged him to shut himself up in the castle of *Cûsa*. Thither *Mus'ab* pursued him, and laid siege to the place. *Al Mokhtar* for some time made a brave defence; but being at last killed, his men surrendered at discretion. They amounted to about 7000 in all, and were, on account of the outrages they had committed, every one of them put by *Mus'ab* to the sword^e.

A farther account of THIS blow, which for the present at least put an end to all their towering projects, was given the *Motazalites* in the month of *Ramadân*, and the 67th year of the *Hejra*. The great consequence of which was the submission of *Cûsa*, the captain *Al Mokhtar*. and its district, to *Mus'ab*; after which, *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar* took the oath of fidelity to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. This he did at the invitation of *Mus'ab*, who, being now master of *Irâk*, had him absolutely in his power. After this important conquest, *Mus'ab* appointed *Moballeb Ebn Abu Saфра* to preside over *Mawfel* upon the *Tigris*, together with the provinces of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijan*. As for *Al Mokhtar*, he was killed in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after he had worsted, in several engagements, the generals of *Yezid*, *Merwân*, and *Abd'almâlec*, and made himself master of the *Babylonian Irâk*, of which *Cûsa* was the capital. He never pardoned any one who had declared himself an enemy to the house of *Hâshem*, or who had been in any manner concerned in the murder of *Hosein*. He was

^e MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 160. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Mokhtar Ben Abou Obeidab*, p. 619.

surnamed

surnamed *Al Thakifi*, as being originally of the tribe of *Thakif*, and boasted that he had destroyed 50,000 of the adherents of the house of *Ommiyah*, exclusive of those that were slain in the battles which he fought. He left several children behind him, some of whom so signalized themselves by their glorious actions, that a book was afterwards written by an oriental author, intitled, *Anwar alabâr fi fadhl banu Al Mokhtar*; which contained an accurate account of all the illustrious achievements of *Al Mokhtar* and his descendents. We must beg leave here to observe, that M. D'Herbelot is guilty of a great mistake, when he tells us, that *Al Mokhtar* was found under an elephant's feet at the battle, or in the war, of *Khaibar*, and that this war happened in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*. For the expedition against *Khaibar* was undertaken by the prophet himself, in the seventh year of the *Hejra*; and consequently our hero *Al Mokhtar* could not then have been above seven years of age ^f.

THE next year, the *Azarakites*, so denominated from *Nasîr* ^{The Azar} *Ebn Al Azarak*, the author of their sect, assembled a considerable force in *Persia*, and made an irruption into *Irâk*. They advanced almost to the gates of *Cûfa*, and penetrated to *Al Madâyen*. As they acknowledged no established government, either temporal or spiritual, and were sworn enemies to the house of *Ommiyah*, they committed terrible ravages in the province of *Ahwâz*, and in every other part of the *Moslem* territories through which they moved. They carried their excesses so far as to murder all the people they met with, to rip open women with child, and to exercise every species of cruelty upon the *Moslems* of all denominations, without distinction of sex or age. One of them being desirous of sparing a lady of transcendent piety, as well as beauty, another said to him, "What! thou enemy of GOD, thou art captivated with her beauty, and hast denied the faith!" and instantly killed her. The governor of *Mawfel* and *Mesopotamia*, being informed of these unparalleled outrages, marched against them with a body of select troops, came up with them at a place called *Sawlâk*, and carried on a brisk war against them, for the space of eight months, without intermission; during which interval many sharp engagements happened. In some part of this term, their leader *Nasîr Ebn Al Azarak* died, and was succeeded by *Katri Ebn Al Fojât*; under whose conduct they continued their depredations. *Mus'ab* being not

^f AL MAKIN et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xlv. p. 87—92. MOHAMMED. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL WAKED. AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. EBN ISHAK, Aut. lib. MO'ALEM AL TANZIL, &c.

pleased with his lieutenant *Mahleb*, or *Al Mohalleb*, *Abusafra's* management of the war, recalled him, and substituted in his room *Oman Ebn Abd'allah Al Temini*, who gave the *Azarakites* a great overthrow at *Naisabur* in *Khorasan*, put many of them to the sword, and pursued the rest as far as *Ispahan* and the province of *Kermân*. Here having received a reinforcement, they returned into the province of *Abwâz*, and did incredible damage to the country through which they passed. But *Omar* advancing a second time against them, they retired at his approach to *Al Madâyen*, and plundered the district belonging to that city in a dreadful manner. However, *Omar* pursuing them hither also, they fled first into *Kermân*, and afterwards into *Khorasan*, where they gradually dispersed themselves. This year there was a grievous famine in *Syria*, which hindered all military operations. *Abd'almâlec*, however, incamped near *Botnân*, near the district of *Kinnisrin*, tho' he was not a little incommoded by the heavy rains that fell there; and, in the spring returned to *Damascus*, where he soon finished his preparations for the ensuing campaign *.

*Abd'al-
mâlec re-
duces
Amru.*

In the 69th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'almâlec* left *Damascus*, in order to march against *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, who was grown very formidable since the defeat of the *Azarakites*, and appointed *Amru Ebn Sa'id* governor of that city. But *Amru* seizing upon it for himself, the *Khalif* was obliged to return thither, and lay aside for the present the intended expedition. Upon *Abd'almâlec's* arrival at *Damascus*, several skirmishes happened between detachments of his troops and some of *Amru's* men; but, by the intervention of the women, a treaty was at last concluded between the contending parties, and the public tranquillity intirely restored. However, the *Khalif* not forgetting his competitor's attempt, three or four days after sent for him, ordered him to be disarmed of his sword, and fetter'd, and beat out two of his fore-teeth. Then he went to the evening-prayers, and left the execution of *Amru* to his brother *Abd'alaziz*; who being so nearly related to him, and commiserating his unhappy situation, threw away his sword, and resolved not to be the instrument of his death. The *Khalif* returning from the performance of his devotions, to his great surprize, found *Amru* alive; whereupon he ordered him to be laid upon his back, and immediately killed him. This action, however, so affected *Abd'almâlec*, that he was seized with a tremor, which, for some time after, quite disabled him; insomuch that his servants were obliged to take

* MS. Laud. num. 161. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Azarecab*, p. 154. GOLII not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 188—190.

him up, and lay him upon his couch. The people observing, that *Amru* did not attend the *Khalif* to prayers, acquainted his brother *Yabya* with the affair; who instantly armed 1000 of *Amru's* slaves, and attacked *Abd'almâlec's* palace. After a warm dispute, they forced open the gates, killed several of the guards, and were upon the point of entering the palace, when the people within threw *Amru's* head amongst them. This so cooled their ardour, that they desisted from the attempt; and some money having been soon after distributed amongst them by *Abd'alaziz*, they retired to their respective habitations. But so great was *Abd'almâlec's* avarice, that, as we are told by an *Arab* author of good repute, when the commotion was appeased, he recalled the money bestowed upon them, and ordered it all to be again deposited in the public treasury. As for *Yabya*, who was the ringleader in the late riot, he was sentenced to die; but *Abd'alaziz* prevailed upon the *Khalif* to convert that punishment, on account of his being a member of the *Ommiyan* family, into a month's imprisonment, and then to banish him to *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*. The quarrel between *Amru* and *Abd'almâlec*, which proved so fatal to the former, is said to have been occasioned by an emulation excited between them by an old woman, whom they frequently visited, in their infancy, and which continued to subsist till the very day of *Amru's* tragical death. *Merwân* being sufficiently apprized of this, and fearing it might produce fatal effects after his death, obliged the *Syrians* to take the oath of fidelity to *Abd'almâlec* as his successor, in his life-time, and to swear likewise to elevate to the *Moslem* throne, if that *Khalif* died without issue, his younger son *Abd'alaziz*. We find it intimated by one of the *Arab* historians, that *Abd'almâlec* could not make himself master of *Damascus*, after it had been seized by *Amru*, or, as he calls him, *Omar Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Wakâs*, without laying a formal siege to that city ^h.

In the 70th year of the *Hejra*, the *Greeks* made an incur-^{The Kha-}sion into *Syria*. *Abd'almâlec* having then occasion for all his ^{lis con-}forces, in order to reduce to his obedience *Abd'allah Ebn Zo-beir, in *Arabia*, and *Mus'ab*, his brother, in *Irâk*, was not ^{cludes a}able to march against them; and therefore agreed to pay the ^{treaty}*Greek* emperor 1000 *dinârs* every week for a certain term, to ^{with the}induce that prince to withdraw his troops out of the *Moslem* ^{Greek} territories. This year *Mus'ab* went to *Mecca*, with all the ^{emperor.}wealth, cattle, and rich furniture, he had amassed; which he distributed amongst the *Arabs*. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* himself also performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca* about the same time.*

^h MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 60, 61.

We must here beg leave to observe, that, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, *Abd'almâlec* concluded a treaty with the emperor, in the third or fourth year of his reign, by which he engaged himself to pay that prince annually 365,000 pieces of money, or *dinârs*, and to send him every year 365 slaves, as well as the same number of horses, of a generous breed; and the *Christian* potentate, on his part, promised to repress the course of the *Maronites*, who committed great disorders in the *Khalif's* dominions. About two-years before this event, a pestilence, of a very malignant kind, made dreadful havock in *Syria*. In the aforesaid treaty, it was also stipulated, that the revenues of *Cyprus*, *Armenia*, and *Iberia*, should be equally divided between the contracting powers. *Theophanes* adds, that, in the same year, *Abd'almâlec* sent *Ziyad* the brother of *Mauia*, *Obaid'allah* the son of *Ziyâd*, the brother of *Moâwiyah* I. he must mean, against the tyrant and impostor *Mouchar*, or *Mouktar*, into *Persia*; and that *Ziyad*, or rather *Obaid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, was slain by *Mouchar*. He likewise farther relates, that as soon as the news of this blow reached the *Khalif*, he set out for *Mesopotamia*; but was obliged to return to *Damascus* by the rebellion of *Sa'id*, that is, *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, whom he left behind him there. Which rebellion, however, according to him, *Abd'almâlec* soon extinguished; and, in violation of his promise, put *Sa'id* to death. All which particulars, huddled together in so abrupt a manner, tho' in some points agreeing with the *Arab* historians, may be considered as an additional proof of the confused and indistinct accounts this chronographer has handed down to us of the *Moslem* affairs¹.

Abd'al-
mâlec in-
wades
Irâk.

ABD'ALMALEC, being resolved to undertake an expedition into *Irâk* against *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, put to death the principal accomplices of *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, and dispatched *Khâled Ebn Asid* privately to *Basra*, to form a party for him there. *Mus'ab* having received intelligence of *Ebn Asid's* arrival, attempted to surprize him; but without effect: which he imputed to the care the *Basrans* had taken to conceal him; and therefore reproached the chief of them in very sharp terms for their conduct on this occasion. Some of them he upbraided with their mean extraction, others with infamous actions committed either by them or their relations; and, in fine, all of them with something that incensed them greatly against him. In the mean time, *Abd'almâlec* had sent letters to the leading men full of large promises; and, amongst the rest, one to *Ibra-*

¹ MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300, 301, 302, 303. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 440. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 323.

him Ebn Al Ashtar, who delivered it to *Mus'ab* sealed up as it came. That letter contained a promise to *Ibrahim* of the lieutenancy of *Irāk*, if he would declare in favour of the *Khalif*. *Ibrahim* then assured *Mus'ab*, that he should persist in his fidelity to him; and advised him, as *Abd'almālec* had undoubtedly written to the other principal persons in *Basra*, whom he thought he could confide in, to the same effect, to behead all those whom he had reason to suspect were in that prince's interest. But *Mus'ab* not approving of this expedient, as he imagined it would create in the people of *Irāk* an aversion to him; *Ibrahim* pressed him to put them under arrest, till his fate was determined: so that, if he should be defeated by *Abd'almālec*, their heads might be cut off, upon the first arrival of the bad news at *Basra*; but, if he obtained the victory, he might make a compliment of them to their tribes. As for *Abd'almālec*, his subjects did their utmost to prevail upon him to reduce *Irāk* by his generals, and not expose his person to the hazards of war; fearing lest their affairs should be imbroiled, if any disaster should happen to him, as their government was not yet settled upon a solid foundation. But the Syrian *Khalif* believing himself perfectly qualified to command his troops in this expedition, both by his abilities in war, and his personal courage, and that he was a better match for *Mus'ab* than any of his generals, would not be persuaded to stay at home, whilst his forces were in the field. Having, therefore, finished his military preparations, he began his march for *Irāk*, and at last arrived at *Masken*, where *Mus'ab* had drawn up his army in order of battle. *Masken*, which we find called *Sakan* by *Abu'l Faraj*, is a small town in the deserts either of *Al Shām* or *Al Fajira*, between *Tadmor* and the town of *Tayba*, near the *Euphrates*, upon the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*. It derived its name from a fountain or spring of hot water, in *Arabic* denominated *Sukhn*, surrounded with palm-trees, at a small distance from it. This place is the *Sukana* of the maps, and the *Sakhna*, or *Sukhna*, of the oriental geographers ^k.

AFTER several movements, the two armies came in sight of each other, and made the necessary dispositions for an engagement. The troops of *Irāk*, according to custom, were resolved to desert *Mus'ab*, and not expose their country, on his account, to the ravages of a Syrian army. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Ashtar* began the battle, by charging *Mohammed Ebn Harūn* with such fury, that he forced him to retire; tho', being

^k MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 199. ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Sakhna*.

sustained by a fresh body of troops, headed by the *Khalif* himself, he soon returned to the charge, repulsed *Ibrahim* in his turn, and killed him upon the spot. *Mus'ab's* general of the horse, either intimidated by the death and defeat of *Ibrahim*, or through treachery, soon after this, betook himself to flight; and many of the other *Irâkian* officers, who did not abandon their posts, refused to fight. Neither *Omar Ebn Abd'allab*, nor *Al Mohalleb*, nor *Ibad Ebn Hossam*, appeared in this engagement; of which *Abd'almâlec* being informed, he took occasion from thence to presage a certain victory to his troops. *Mus'ab*, being pressed on all sides, endeavoured to prevail upon his son *Isa* to make his escape to *Mecca*, and acquaint his uncle *Abd'allab* with the perfidy of the people of *Irâk*; but he could not by any means be induced to desert his father at that perilous conjuncture; declaring he would not survive him. On the contrary, he advised him to retreat first to *Basra*, and afterwards to *Mecca*, himself; but *Mus'ab* would not hear of such infamous conduct. Nay, he would not accept of quarter, when tendered him by the *Khalif*, but persisted in his resolution of dying upon the field of battle. His son, therefore, who was determined not to forsake him, and he rushing into the midst of the enemy, fought like men animated by despair, destroyed several of the *Syrians*, and were at last both laid dead upon the spot. *Mus'ab* was first grievously wounded with arrows, then stabbed in several places, and had finally his head cut off by a man who carried it immediately to the *Khalif*. *Abd'almâlec* offered the bearer 1000 *dinârs*; which he would not take; saying, that as he had slain *Mus'ab* purely to gratify his own private resentment, he had no manner of title to it. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that *Abd'almâlec* and *Mus'ab*, in the *Khalifat* of *Merwân*, had contracted an intimate friendship; but that the latter afterwards marrying *Seking*, the daughter of *Hosein*, and *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Talba*, became allied to two families that bore an implacable hatred to the house of *Ommiyah*. *Theophanes* relates, that about this time, whilst the *Arabs* were engaged in a civil war, the imperial forces, under the conduct of *Leontius*, drove them out of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Media*, and *Bulgaria*, with great slaughter, and re-annexed those provinces to the empire. He also informs us, that *Abd'almâlec*, whom he calls *Abimelec*, after *Mus'ab* had cut off *Mouktar*, killed and defeated that conqueror, and reduced *Persia*, or rather *Irâk*, under his dominion; which agrees tolerably well with what we find advanced in this point by the *Arab* historians. For, according to them, after the battle of *Masken*, *Cûsa* opened its gates to the *Syrian Khalif*, and both the *Persian* and *Babylonian Irâk* submitted to him. The people of those provinces

came

came in crowds, and, amongst the rest, *Yahya*, the brother of *Amru*, whom he had killed, to take the oath of allegiance to him. After the conclusion of that ceremony, he ordered vast sums of money to be distributed amongst them, and gave a splendid entertainment to his new subjects, to which even the meanest of them were admitted. Neither the *Arab* nor the *Greek* writers have preserved many particulars of the battle of *Majken*, nor transmitted down to us an account of the number of *Moslems* killed and wounded on either side in that memorable action ¹.

DURING the banquet prepared for the *Cûsans*, *Abd'almâlec* took great notice of *Amru Ebn Al Hârâth*, an antient *Makhzumite*, whom he placed by him on his *Sofa*. Amongst other questions, he asked him what sort of food pleased him best? To which the old *Makhzumite* answered, "An ass's head seasoned high and well roasted." "That is but an ordinary dish," replied the *Khalif*; "what say you to a leg or a shoulder of a sucking lamb, well roasted and covered with butter and milk?" From whence we may infer, that the *Arabs*, in the *Khalifat* of *Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, had at least some dishes similar to those made use of by their progenitors in *Abraham's* time. For, that *Abraham* entertained his divine guests with butter, milk, and a calf which he had dressed, is attested by the author of the *Pentateuch*; and that he was at no great distance from the borders of *Arabia*, when he gave that entertainment, we are certainly informed by the same sacred historian. When the supper was over, the *Makhzumite* diverted the *Khalif* with a particular account of the antiquities of the castle; after which, *Mus'ab's* head, that had been just brought in, was exhibited to his view. One of the company seeing it, said to *Abd'almâlec*, "I saw *Hosein's* head in this same castle presented to *Obeid'allah*, *Obeid'allah's* to *Al Mokhtar*, *Al Mokhtar's* to *Mus'ab*, and now at last *Mus'ab's* to yourself." This observation greatly affected the *Khalif*, who, in order to avert the ill omen, commanded the castle to be immediately demolished. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, having received the melancholy news of his brother's death, assembled the people in the mosque at *Mecca*, and made a speech to them from the pulpit suitable to the occasion. He also did his utmost to put his capital in a posture of defence, and render it capable of sustaining a siege; expecting a speedy visit from his formidable competitor, who now gave law to *Irâk*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, without controul ².

THE

¹ MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univers. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 303, 304. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 61. ² MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi

The Mozalites apprize Alhinn'al-Mohalleb of the defeat at Masken.

THE *Separatists*, or *Azarakites*, in the neighbourhood of *Maw-sel*, received advice of the defeat at *Masken*, and of *Mus'ab's* death, which happened in the 71st year of the *Hejra*, before *Al Mohalleb*, the governor of that city, and its dependencies, with whom they were then at war, was apprized of those fatal events. Whereupon some of them asked certain of his men what they thought of *Mus'ab*? They replied, "He is a lawful *Imâm*." "He is then," said the sectaries, "your friend both in this world and that which is to come; and you are his friends both alive and dead." To which the others answered in the affirmative. "And what," demanded the *Separatists*, "is your opinion of *Abd'almâlec*, the son of *Merwân*?" "He is," said they, "the son of the accursed; we acknowledge him not, but hold it more lawful for us to shed his blood than yours?" "And you are," continued the *Separatists*, "his enemies both alive and dead?" "Yes," replied the others. "Very well," said the *Azarakites*, "*Abd'almâlec* has killed *Mus'ab*, your *Imâm*; and you will make him your *Imâm* to-morrow, though you wash your hands of him to-day, and curse his father." To which the others answered, "You lie, you enemies of God." However, being certainly informed the next day of what had happened, they changed their note, and took the oath of allegiance to *Abd'almâlec* without hesitation. For which being reproached by the *Azarakites* in very severe terms, they defended themselves, by saying, "We were pleased with the other as long as he presided over us; and now we approve of this, as we did before of him." "You are," replied the *Azarakites*, brethren of the devils; companions of the wicked, and slaves to the present world." With regard to *Mus'ab*, he was, if we will believe an *Arab* author of good note, an officer of distinguished bravery, great generosity, and of a very comely agreeable person. Tho' he had a son that fell with him in the battle of *Masken*, as has been already observed, he was not above six-and-thirty years of age when he met with his untimely fate.

The Azarakites, or Separatists, defeat Abd'alaziz.

SOON after *Abd'almâlec's* arrival at *Damascus*, he conferred upon his brother, *Bashar Ebn Merwân*, the government of *Cûfa*, and upon *Khâled Ebn Abd'allah* that of *Basra*. The latter of these had no sooner taken possession of his post, than he appointed *Al Mohalleb* supervisor of the tribute of *Basra*; which was a very indiscrete and impolitic step, as *Al Mohalleb*

ubi sup. GEN. xviii. 8. xiii. 18. xxiii. 19. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 13. MS. Huntingt. n. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Abd'almâlec*, p. 8. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 330, 331. 2 MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 61.

was one of the most consummate generals of his age. To this imprudent measure was probably owing the disaster that immediately followed. The *Azarakites*, being apprized of *Al Moballeb's* dismissal from the command of the army destined to act against them, and that he was succeeded by *Abd'alaziz* in that important post, advanced against the latter with great alacrity, intirely defeated him, and took his wife prisoner. A debate arising amongst the victors about the value of that lady, which some fixed at 100,000 *dinârs*, one of them, in order to put an end to it, immediately struck off her head. *Khâled*, after the blow he had received, wrote a letter to the *Khalif*, acquainting him with the loss the army had sustained, and desiring to know what step he was next to take. *Abd'almâlec*, in the answer he sent him, condemned *Khâled's* conduct; ordered him to remove *Abd'alaziz* from the command of the forces assigned him, to substitute *Al Moballeb*, whom he called *the son and the grandson of war*, in his room, to advance into the province of *Abwâz* with all the troops he could assemble, and, in fine, to do nothing without the privity and advice of *Al Moballeb*. This answer by no means pleased *Khâled*, tho' the *Khalif* also promised him in it a speedy reinforcement; and, in consequence of that promise, sent a body of 5000 *Cûfans*, under the command of his brother *Basbar*, soon after to join him. *Basbar*, before his arrival, dispatched a courier to *Al Moballeb*, to give him notice of his approach; the good of the *Khalif's* service at that time rendering it necessary to treat a person of that general's merit with great marks of distinction.

THE *Khalif's* generals receiving advice, that the *Azara-The Azarakites*, or *Separatists*, were in motion, advanced at the head of the army as far as *Abwâz*, the metropolis of the province of the same name, and pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of that city. Soon after their arrival here, *Al Moballeb* advised *Khâled* to seize some ships that then appeared in the river on which *Abwâz* was situated; but they were burnt, before that design could be put in execution, by a party of the enemy's horse. *Al Moballeb* taking upon him one day to view all the posts of the camp, observed that an officer had not taken the precaution to intrench himself; who being asked by that general the reason of this, replied, that he valued the *Azarakites* no more than a camel's fart: but *Al Moballeb* told him, that he ought not to despise them, since they were the lions of the *Arabs*. In consequence of this notion, that commander ordered a line to be drawn round the camp; and the troops remained in their intrenchments about twenty days.

• MS. Laud. num. 161. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

After

After the expiration of which term, *Khâled* and *Al Mohalleb* fell upon the enemy with such fury, that, after a most sharp and bloody engagement, they overthrew them, and took possession of their camp. Upon which, *Khâled* detached *David*, one of his officers, to pursue the fugitives with a body of horse, and dispatched an express to the *Khalif* with a particular account of the victory they had gained. *Abd'almâlec* hereupon sent an order to *Bashar* to reinforce *David's* detachment with another body of 4000 horse, that he might be thereby enabled to push the *Azarakites* to the very centre of *Persia*. This was accordingly done, and those detachments of cavalry, after a long and fatiguing pursuit, in which most of their horses perished, returned in a very shatter'd condition to *Abwâz*. That city, denominated likewise by some of the eastern writers *Ekwâz*, seems to have been called in early times by the *Persians* the city of *Hormuz*, or *Hormuzd*, which answered to the *Diospolis* of the *Greeks*; *Hormuz*, *Hormuzd*, or *Ormuzd*, denoting *Jupiter* amongst the *Persians*, as we learn from *Plutarch*. The name of *Abwâz* is sometimes applied to the whole region of *Khûzestân*, or *Khûzistân*, of which the province of *Abwâz* is the best and most considerable part. The old metropolis of this province at present lies in ruins; so that very few traces, or remains, of that antient city are now to be seen.

Abd'al-
mâlec's
forces in-
vise
Mecca.

ABDA'LMÂLEC having thus defeated and dispersed the *Azarakites*, in the 72d year of the *Hejra*, had no enemy left to contend with but *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who still was considered as *Khalif* by the *Arabs*, and held his residence at *Mecca*. He, therefore, made great preparations for an invasion of *Hejâz*, and appointed *Al Hejâj Ebn Yusef Al Thakifi*, one of the most warlike and eloquent captains of the age, to command the troops to be employed in this expedition. *Al Hejâj* having imagined in a dream that he had overcome *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, taken him prisoner, and slayed him, the *Syrian Khalif* considered this as a good omen; and therefore resolved to commit the management of the war to be carried on against the *Khalif* of *Mecca* to his care. Before he put his army in march for *Mecca*, he offered his protection to all the *Arabs* there that would accept of it, and take an oath of fidelity to him. *Abd'allah* being informed of *Al Hejâj's* approach, sent out several parties of horse to reconnoitre the enemy, and give him intelligence of their motions. Betwixt these and some of *Al Hejâj's* advanced guards several skirmishes happened, in which *Abd'allah's* men had generally the worst. This encouraged

P MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 39, 118. PLUT. de Isid. et Osirid. See SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim. disc.

Al Hejāj to send to his master for a farther reinforcement, his army, consisting of only 2000 men, not being strong enough to form the siege of *Mecca*; assuring him, that *Abd'allah's* fierceness was very much abated, and that his men deserted him daily. Upon which, *Abd'almālec* ordered *Thārik Ebn Amer* to march to his assistance with a body of 5000 men. In the mean time, *Al Hejāj* advanced to *Al Tāyef*, a town about 60 miles east of *Mecca*, in the month of *Shaabān*, and was joined by *Thārik* with the forces under his command the new moon of the following *Dhu'l-hajja*; after which junction, he continued his rout to *Mecca*, and immediately invested that place. We find it intimated by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Theodocus* and *Theodunus*, two very eminent physicians, were great favourites of this *Al Hejāj*; that *Theodunus* composed a large physical treatise, for the instruction of his son; and that some of *Theodocus's* scholars and followers flourished till the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbās* mounted the *Moslem* throne.

IN the 73d year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'almālec* offered the *Abd'al-* whole public revenues of *Khorasān* for seven years to *Abd'almālec* *Abd'allah Ebn Hāzim*, if he would make his submission to him; *overcomes* which so incensed that commander, that he forced the *Khalif's* messenger to eat the letter he brought, and would have *Abd'allah Ebn Hā-* cut him to pieces upon the spot, had he not foreseen that *zim*, such an action would have created a disturbance between two of the *Arab* tribes. *Abd'almālec*, therefore, in order to chastize him for his insolence, as well as his refusal to recognize his authority, sent one of his generals with a body of troops against him; who first defeated and dispersed his forces, and afterwards put him to death. Others say, that *Abd'almālec* made no overtures to *Abd'allah Ebn Hāzim* till after the reduction of *Hejāz*; and that he sent *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's* head to *Ebn Hāzim*, imagining that the sight of this would have intimidated him into a submission. But, according to them, it produced a quite contrary effect. That general, continue they, swore, as soon as he saw it, that he would never obey *Abd'almālec's* orders as long as he lived, washed the head in a basin, embalmed it, wrapped it up in linen, prayed over it, and then sent it to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's* relations at *Mecca*. They also relate, that he obliged the messenger to eat the letter he brought, and told him, that if he had not been a messenger, he would instantly have ordered his head to have been struck off. But this relation, however it may be countenanced by *Mr. Ockley*, we are by no means disposed to admit; since

1 MS. Laud. num. 161. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 200. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 366, 367. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hagioge Ben Josef Al Thakefi*, p. 442.

the Arab authors in a manner unanimously agree, that *Abd'almâlec* had subdued all his other competitors before *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* was destroyed †.

Mecca
taken by
Al Hejâj.

NOTWITHSTANDING the reinforcement *Al Hejâj* had received, for some time he made very little progress in the siege of Mecca. Whilst he battered the temple there with his military engines, it thundered and lightened so dreadfully, that the Syrians were struck with terror, and refused to play them any longer upon that edifice. Upon which, *Al Hejâj* stuck the corner of his vest into his girdle, and putting one of the stones that was to be discharged out of his catapults into it, flung it upon the town; and this occasioned the recommencement of the operations. The next morning, the Syrians were annoyed by several successive storms, that killed twelve of their men, and quite dispirited them. *Al Hejâj* seeing them in such a consternation, said, "O Syrians! let not this terrify you. I am a son of *Tebâma*. This, therefore, is the storm of *Tebâma*. Victory is at hand. Rejoice at the news of it, especially since the rebels suffer as much as you." The day following, some of *Abd'allah's* men were killed by another storm, that was extremely violent, which gave *Al Hejâj* a farther opportunity of animating his troops. At last, *Abd'allah*, having been deserted by most of his friends, 10,000 of the inhabitants of Mecca, and even his two sons *Hamza* and *Kho-beib*, desired to know his mother's sentiments as to the course he was to take. He represented to her, that he was almost intirely abandoned by his subjects and relations; that the few who persisted in their fidelity to him could scarce enable him to defend the city any longer; and that the Syrian *Khalif* would grant him any terms he should think fit to demand. She, being a woman of inflexible resolution, and not able to bear the thoughts of seeing her son reduced to the condition of a private person, having herself been the grand-daughter, or rather, as has been already observed, the daughter, of *Abu Becr*, the first *Khalif*, advised him by no means to survive the sovereignty of which he was upon the point of being deprived. This perfectly agreeing with his own sentiments, he resolved to die in the defence of the place; so that, to the great surprize of the besiegers, he maintained himself there ten days longer, tho' destitute of arms, troops, and fortifications. At last, having taken a final leave of his mother, and being animated by despair, he made a sally upon the enemy, destroyed a great number of them with his own hands, and was

† MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 341, 342. ISM. ABULFED. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi supra.

at length himself killed, fighting valiantly, upon the spot. We are told, that his mother obliged him to put off a coat of mail he had on when he made her his last visit, and which he wore that he might be the better able to defend her; pressing him, after the conference was over, to rush into the midst of the enemy, and die a martyr for the cause of truth. It is also said, that when he told her he was not so much afraid of dying, as of being exposed after death, she courageously replied, *When a sheep is once killed, it is not sensible of the pain of excoriation*; and that, in order to inspire him with a greater degree of fortitude in the article of death, she gave him a draught into which a pound of musk had been infused. The enemy, not daring to approach him, pelted him with stones, and wounded him in several places, before they gave him the fatal stroke. When he felt the blood run down his face and beard, he repeated an Arabic verse, importing, that *the blood of our wounds does not fall down upon our heels, but upon our feet*. By which he implied, that he did not turn his back upon his enemies, however terrible they might appear. After his death, *Al Hejāj* ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be affixed to a cross in the city. Which body, being perfumed with the musk *Abd'allah* had drank, emitted a grateful odour for several days; and was afterwards interred in the burying place of the *Jews* at *Medina*. As to the duration of the siege of *Mecca*, authors are not perfectly agreed; some making it to amount to seven months and a few days, and others to eight months and seventeen nights. According to the writers followed by *Al Makin*, *Abd'allah's* mother survived him only five days. The reduction of *Mecca* put *Abd'almâlee* in possession of the peninsula of the *Arabs*, and consequently rendered him sole and absolute master of the *Moslem* empire*.

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR presided over the *Arabs* nine *Abd'allah* years and twenty-two days, having been inaugurated immediately after the death of *Yezid*. He was a man of extraordinary courage, as was allowed even by *Abd'almâlee* and *Tharrik* themselves, and as sufficiently appeared from the whole tenor of his conduct, but more particularly from his noble defence of *Mecca*, tho' the place was in a manner void both of troops and fortifications. He has been represented likewise by some of the eastern writers as a person of exemplary piety, and so fixed and unmoved when employed in the performance of his devotions, that nothing could divert his attention from

* MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 61, 62. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 366—369. GREG. ABU'1-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 199. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, p. 7.

the object of them; of which they supply us with the following remarkable instance. When he was once at prayer, a pigeon lighted upon his head, and sat there a considerable time, without his being in the least sensible of it. And yet notwithstanding these amiable qualities, he is said to have been covetous to such a degree, that his avarice became a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. *Abulfeda* relates, that he wore a suit of cloaths forty years without ever putting them off his back; which is absolutely incredible. He was about seventy-two years of age at the time of his death, and of a family not very acute, according to some of the *Moslem* historians. His secretary's name was *Deyl Ebn Omar*, and his chamberlain's *Salem*. In the beginning of the siege of *Mecca*, he resided for the most part in the *Caaba*; but after *Al Hejaj* had beat down one part of that place by the stones he discharged upon it, and set fire to the other by some burning balls of pitch, which, by the assistance of his engines, he found means to communicate to it, he found himself obliged to retire to his own house. In fine, *Abd'allah* was killed, and *Mecca* taken, on the 18th day of the former *Jomâda*, in the 73d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 692. About this time, *Abd'almâlec* ordered the poll-tax, or capitation, called *Taadil*, to be levied upon the *Christians* of *Syria*. The same year, *Mohammed Ebn Merwân* gained a victory over the *Greeks*, which was attended with the surrender of *Affasyah*; and *Othmân Ebn Walid* made an irruption into *Armenia* with a body of 4000 *Arabs*, and defeated likewise an army of the same nation that amounted to 60,000 men. The *Greek* writers only in general observe, that all civil wars ceasing at this time amongst the *Moslems*, they became reunited under one prince; and that *Abd'almâlec* being now firmly seated upon his throne, discovered an inclination to keep up a good understanding with all the neighbouring powers^t.

Several
sharp en-
gagements
in Arme-
nia:

AFTER the late victory, *Mohammed Ebn Merwân*, who was then governor of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijan*, sustained a very great loss in the first of those countries, by the defeat and total destruction of an army of 100,000 men, sent against the *Hararians*, *Khararians*, or rather *Khazarians*, there. Upon which, *Mohammed*, at the head of another army of 40,000 men, who were all chosen troops, penetrated into the very heart of *Armenia*, defeated and dispersed a large body of the *Khazarians*, drove them into their temples, and reduced

^t MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. hist. univer. vol. i. MS. Poc. num. 303. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 62. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Simon. Asseman. in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino Vatican. tom. ii. p. 104. ut et ipse JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 304. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 441.

them

them to ashes there. *Moslem Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân* also, with another body of the *Moslem* forces, attacked an army of 80,000 *Khazarians*, at the *Iron*, or *Caspian*, *Gates*, and destroyed a great number of them. The rest were obliged by the victors to embrace the *Mohammedan* faith. Several other actions happened about the same time in that country, of which no clear and distinct account has been handed down to us either by the *Moslem* or *Christian* historians *.

IN the 74th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Hejâj* demolished the temple *Hejâj's* of *Mecca*, after it had been repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, *crueky*. rebuilt it, and restored it to the form it was in before *Mohammed's* time, wherein it still remains. Having been appointed the governor of *Medina*, he exercised unheard-of cruelties upon the inhabitants of that city. He frequently quarrelled with them without any manner of provocation, and punished them where there was not the least appearance of any crime. It has been observed by some *Arab* writers, that there happened a very remarkable solar eclipse this year, on *Monday*, towards the close of the former *Jomâda*; in one part of the duration of which the stars very clearly appeared *.

THE following year, *Abd'almâlek* made *Al Hejâj* his lieutenant *Hejâj op-* of *Irâk*; of which post that general took possession at *Cûfa*, *pointed go-* escorted by a body of 12,000 horse. The *Khalif* likewise *vernor of* constituted him governor of *Khorasân* and *Sijisân*, after the *Irâk*, death of his brother *Bashar*. *Al Hejâj* entered *Cûfa*, muffled up *Khorasân*, in his turban, and was soon surrounded by crouds of people, *and Si-* who pressed forwards to see him. He told them their curiosity *Jisân*. should soon be gratified, as he would immediately discover himself to them. Then going directly to the mosque, he ascended the *membar*, or pulpit, where he treated them after a very coarse manner; swearing that he would make the wicked bear his own burden, and sit him with his own shoe. One day, after a short pause, in the pulpit, he said, *O people of Irâk! methinks I see the heads of men ripe and ready to be gathered, and turb-* bants and beards sprinkled with blood. The day after his arrival at *Cûfa*, he upbraided, in very sharp terms, the inhabitants of that city; swearing to them from the pulpit, that his punishments, in rigour and severity, should exceed those of the most cruel of his predecessors, and be a pattern for his successors to the remotest periods of time. Those who had any hand in the murder of *Othmân* were the principal objects of his fury and resentment, both at *Cûfa* and *Basra*; to the latter of which places he went after a short stay at the other, and made the citizens there a speech conceived in much the

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 62. D'HERBEL. p. 429, 1002, 1003.

* ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL JANNAB. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 63. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 368, 369.

same terms as that above-mentioned. And to give the *Basrans* a taste of his discipline, he caused one of them, who had been informed against as a rebel, to be beheaded upon the spot. In fine, his conduct so exasperated the people of *Irâk*, that they made an insurrection against him; but having defeated them in a pitched battle, and sent eighteen of their heads to *Al Mohalleb*, he returned to *Basra*. Soon after which, he sent a body of troops, under the command of *Al Mohalleb*, called by *Al Makin Al Mohalleb Ebn Abusafra*, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Mebnef*, against the *Azarakites*, who began again to be in motion. Those generals at first obtained several advantages over the rebels; but *Abd'alrahmân*, refusing to listen to the advice of *Al Mohalleb*, and neglecting to intrench himself, was at last surprized, and cut to pieces, with all the troops he commanded; which proved a very considerable loss. What part of the *Moslem* territories was the theatre of this war, we are not told by the *Arab* writers; but, from several circumstances recorded by those writers, either the province of *Abwâz*, or some neighbouring district, seems to have been the scene of these commotions. The *Azarakites*, at this time, were probably posted at no great distance from *Basra*, as the revolt, that happened there at this juncture, proved no small encouragement to those rebels, and animated them to attack the forces sent against them by *Al Hejâj*. However, they reaped no great advantage from that event; *Al Mohalleb* soon afterwards putting them to flight, and driving them before him, as it should seem, into some of the remoter parts of *Persia*. We have already given our readers a description of the province and city of *Abwâz*, and shall therefore take no farther notice of it here *.

Saleh and Shebib re-headed sectary, and *Shebib Ebn Zeid*, a *Kbârejite*, took up arms against the *Khalif*. They had both been on pilgrimage at *Mecca* the preceding year, when *Abd'almâlec* was there, and formed a conspiracy against him. The *Khalif*, being apprized of this, ordered *Al Hejâj* to seize them; but they eluded all his vigilance, and found means to make their escape. *Saleh* remained very secure a month at *Cûfa*, and concerted the most proper measures with his friends there to carry his design into execution. That branch of the *Kbârejites*, that followed him, went under the name of *Safrians*, and appeared now for the first time in arms. He was a man much given to devotion, and had many followers in *Mawset* and *Mesopotamia*,

* MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 63. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage*, p. 442, 443. GOLL not. ad Alfragan. p. 118.

to whom he frequently read and expounded the *Korân*. He once delivered a discourse, which so pleased all his hearers, that they begged he would favour them with a copy of it. He granted their request; and by this means that discourse has been preserved to the present age; but as it is little better than enthusiastic cant, or rather a collection of crude exhortatory observations, adapted to the taste of those hot-headed illiterate enthusiasts, to whom it was directed, and intirely calculated to excite them to a rebellion; as it throws not the least light upon that part of the *Arab* history, in which we are now engaged, and consequently contains nothing that can render it in any degree either instructive or entertaining; an omission of it here will by no means prove unacceptable to our sagacious and intelligent readers.

WHILST *Saleh* was haranguing his followers, in order to *And are* inspire them with sentiments of abhorrence both of the *Khalif driven to* and *Al Hejâj*, he received a letter from *Shebib*; wherein that *Mawfel* incendiary reproved him for being so tardy in his motions. *Saleh*, in his answer, by way of recrimination, told him, that, had he himself not been so dilatory, hostilities would have commenced before that time against the wicked *Imâm*; that his delay had raised in them a suspicion of him; and that they waited only for his arrival, in order to enter upon action. This rousing *Shebib*, he immediately joined *Saleh* at *Dara'l-jazira*, that is, *Dara*, or *Daras*, in *Mesopotamia*, of which *Mohammed Ebn Merwân* was at that time governor, with a small body of infantry, and saluted him emperor of the faithful there. After this junction, they seized some of *Mohammed's* horses in a neighbouring village, upon which they mounted their foot. The governor soon received intelligence of their motions; but despising their number, the whole force commanded by these enthusiasts not exceeding 120 men, he only ordered *Adi* to march against them with a detachment of 500 men. But *Adi* informing him, that this force was insufficient to reduce them, he reinforced him with 500 more; upon which, he advanced to *Daras*, near which place the *Safrians*, or *Khârejites*, had posted themselves. *Adi*, having no mind to fight, notwithstanding his vast superiority in point of numbers, gave *Saleh* to understand, that, if he would quit *Mesopotamia*, and invade some other province, he would not oppose him; but this *Saleh* refused to do, except *Adi* would declare himself to be of the same religious and political sentiments with the *Safrians*, who acknowledged him for their chief. This proposal not being relished by *Adi*, nothing could then be concluded upon. *Adi*, soon after this first effort to prevail upon

MS. Laud. num. 161. ISM. ABULFED. et AL MARIN, ubi sup. D'HÉREL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Shebib Ben Zeid*, p. 780.

Saleh to depart out of *Mesopotamia* by amicable means proved ineffectual, not being sufficiently upon his guard, was surprized by the enemy; who attacked him whilst he was saying the noon-prayers, put him to the rout, and made themselves masters of his camp. *Mohammed*, receiving advice of this defeat, ordered *Khâled Ebn Al Jora* and *Al Hâreth*, each at the head of 1500 men, to advance against the *Separatists*; who coming up with them near *Amed*, or *Amida*, a fierce conflict ensued. The rebels behaved with great bravery on this occasion, and repulsed in such a manner the *Khalif's* horse, that they were obliged to dismount, and fight on foot: after which, they warmly attacked the enemy. However, the *Safrians* defended themselves with unparalleled intrepidity, till the approach of the night put an end to the action; tho' finding themselves not able to cope with the *Khalif's* forces, they soon after decamped, and retired with great precipitation to *Mawfel*. From thence they continued their route to *Dascara*, where they pitched their tents. We must not forget to observe, that, tho' the dispute near *Amida* was on both sides so obstinate, neither the *Khalif's* troops, nor the *Safrians*, sustained any considerable loss; the former not having had many above 70, and the latter only 30 men killed in the action.

Shebib defeats the Khalif's forces, and takes Cûfa. AL HEJAJ having been informed, that the *Safrians*, under the command of *Saleh* and *Shebib*, had taken post at *Dascara*, sent *Al Hâreth Al Hamadâni* to drive them from thence with a body of 5000 men. Whilst *Al Hâreth* was upon his march, he received advice, that *Saleh* had abandoned *Dascara*, and seemed to be moving towards *Jalouta* and *Katikin*; upon which, he pursued him with great expedition, endeavouring, by forced marches, to come up with him. At last, the two armies faced each other at *Modbaj*, a little town or village upon the *Tigris*, between *Mawfel* and *Jukhi*, and, after some previous motions, engaged. *Saleh's* forces were composed only of three companies, consisting of thirty men each; which, not being able to make head against *Al Hâreth's* troops, were soon thrown into confusion, and *Saleh* himself killed upon the spot. *Shebib* was also beaten off his horse, obliged for some time to fight on foot, and at last made his retreat in excellent order to a neighbouring castle. From thence, tho' surrounded by *Al Hâreth's* numerous forces, with his little army, or rather troop, he made a sally upon the enemy, penetrated about midnight to the very centre of their camp, cut many of them to pieces, wounded the general himself, who was with great difficulty carried off, and dispersed the most considerable part of the army he commanded. By this victory, *Shebib*,

* *Idem* *ibid.* GOLII not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 232, 235, 241. & *alib. pass.* OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 352—362.

animated his friends, and became terrible even to *Hejāj* himself, whom he worsted in several actions consequential to it. Nay, taking advantage of that general's absence, when at *Basra*, without any considerable opposition, he made himself master of *Cúfa*. About this time, *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abusafra*, whom *Al-Hejāj* had continued his lieutenant of *Khorasán*, departed this life. He was a person of an extraordinary character, both for his surprising abilities, and his uncommon generosity of temper. When he was at the point of death, he gave his sons a bundle of arrows to break; which none of them being able to do, he asked them whether they could break those arrows singly? To which they answered in the affirmative. "Then," said he, "suppose yourselves to be like that bundle of arrows here exhibited to your view, and not to be represented by the divided united arrows;" intimating hereby, that as their union would render them invincible, so, the moment discord entered amongst them, they would begin to advance towards destruction.

AL HEJAJ, determined not to bear any longer the insults of *Shebib*, wrote to the *Khalif* for a reinforcement; who sent him a strong detachment of the Syrian forces, to enable him to extirpate the *Safrians* under the command of that enthusiast. After he had been joined by these succours, he advanced against *Shebib*, whose army did not consist of above 4000 horse, or, as others say, 600, gave him battle in the plains of *Cúfa*, and intirely defeated him. *Shebib's* wife *Gazála*, who had attended him in his first march to *Cúfa*, his brother, and a considerable number of his men, were killed in the action; and the rest pursued some parafangs by a body of the Syrian troops, who put to the sword only thirty of the *Safrians*, tho' they lost themselves above 100 men. This disaster obliged *Shebib* to abandon *Cúfa*, in order to provide for his own safety. Having therefore passed the *Tigris*, he advanced to *Fukhi*; from whence, repassing the same river at the place where *Wáset* was afterwards built, he retired with great precipitation to *Abwáz*, and from thence into *Kermán*, where he halted, and refreshed his men. In the mean time, *Al Hejāj* ordered *Gazála's* head to be washed, and interred; and detached *Sofán Ebn Al Abrad*, whom *Abd'almálec* had sent to his assistance out of *Syria*, with a body of troops to march against *Shebib*, who had advanced a second time to *Abwáz*. *Sofán* came up with the enemy at a bridge called *Dajail Al Abwáz*, where a sharp dispute ensued; in which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, *Shebib* several times repulsed the *Khalif's* forces, but was at last himself put to

* MS. Laud. num. 161. & ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 364.

flight. His horse, leaping upon a mare before him, loosened the stones of the bridge, whilst he was passing it, and forced his foot upon the edge of a boat; which threw him into the river, or arm of the sea, as we find intimated by *Al Makin*, that a little farther discharges itself into the bay of *Basra*. Notwithstanding which, *M. D'Herbelot*, who seems to have followed chiefly the *Persian* historians, says, that *Shebib* was drowned in the *Sarfar*, a river of *Syria*. The first time he emerged, he said, *When GOD decrees a thing, it is done*; and the second, *This is the decree of the ALMIGHTY, the ALL-WISE GOD*: upon which, the *Safrians*, being struck with terror, immediately cried out, *The emperor of the faithful is drowned*. His body being drawn up with a net, the head was cut off, and sent to *Al Hejâj*, who was not a little pleased at the sight of it. When the body was opened, the heart was taken out of it, and found to be prodigiously firm and hard, like a stone. His mother is said to have been a *Christian*, carried off as a prisoner, and consequently a slave, by *Yezid Ebn Naim*, after a victory obtained by the *Moslems* over the *Greeks*, in the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*, and the 25th year of the *Hojra*. Proving with child of *Shebib* by her master, she grew extremely fond of him; and, in order to please him, embraced *Mohammedism*. *Shebib* was born on the tenth of *Dhu'lbojja*, the day on which the victims at *Mecca* are killed. Before his birth, his mother is reported to have seen in a dream a flame proceeding from her, that diffused itself over the face of the heavens, and extended to every quarter; after which, a coal dropt into a large water, and was quenched. From whence, continues our author, she inferred, that her son was to be a man of blood, elevated to an exalted station, and at last to perish in the water. Hence it came to pass, that, being once informed of his having been killed, she gave no credit to the rumour; but that being told he was drowned, she immediately believed it, saying it was impossible for him to come to any other end. After *Shebib's* death, the *Azarakites*, or *Safrians*, quarrelled amongst themselves; the greatest part of them deserting their leader, *Katri Ebn Fojât*. This gave the *Khalif's* troops an opportunity of attacking them to great advantage, putting 4000 of them to the sword, and driving the rest, with *Katri*, into *Taberistân*. Upon their arrival here, they were kindly received by *Asbid*, the king of *Taberistân*, who assigned them a part of his territories for their habitations. They had not long been settled here, before they insisted upon *Asbid's* either embracing *Islamism*, or paying them an annual tribute; which he refusing to do, they drove him to *Ray*, or *Raya*, a populous city of *Al Jebûl*, in the *Persian Irâk*, where he implored the *Khalif's* protection. He afterwards conducted a body of the

the *Moslem* troops into *Taberistân*, where they fell upon the rebels with such fury, that they killed *Katri Ebn Fojât* himself upon the spot, cut a great number of his men in pieces, and took all the rest of them prisoners. All which operations an *Arab* author, followed by *Mr. Ockley*, places in the 77th year of the *Hejra*; as do also *Khondemir* and another *Persian* writer; tho' the historians epitomized by *Al Makin* assert them to have happened in the preceding year. And this seems to us the most probable opinion, as those historians affirm, that *Al Moballeb Ebn Abusafra*, who died in the 76th year of the aforesaid æra, commanded the *Moslem* forces in the last expedition. We must not forget to observe, that *Taberistân*, the scene of this expedition, is a mountainous tract, full of woods, limited in part by the region called *Deylam*, and the districts of *Ghilân* and *Cazbin*, said by *Golius* pretty nearly to answer to the *Hyrcania* of the antients. But, for a more particular account of that remote country, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the copious description of it extracted by the last-mentioned author out of the oriental geographers^b.

THE same year, that is, the 76th of the *Hejra*, in the *The Arabs Khalifat* of *Abd'almâlec*, according to *Al Makin*, or rather the *begin to* authors he followed, *dinârs* and *dirhems* were first struck *coin man-* with *Arabic* inscriptions upon them. Before this time, the *ney*. *dinârs*, or gold coins, had *Greek*, and the *dirhems*, or silver ones, *Persic* characters upon them. The first erection of a mint amongst the *Arabs* was occasioned by the following accident. *Abd'almâlec* frequently prefixed to the letters he wrote to the *Greek* emperor this short passage of the *Korân*, *Say, GOD is one*, or *Say, there is one GOD*; and then inserted the name of the prophet with the date of the letter, according to the *Hejra*, or the æra then in use amongst the *Arabs*. This giving the emperor great offence, he desired the *Khalîf* to alter that manner of writing; threatening otherwise to send some coins that should mention their prophet in terms not very agreeable to him. This incensed *Abd'almâlec*, who thereupon said, *A curse be upon their coins!* and, from that time, proposed setting up a mint in his own dominions. The first *Arabic* money seems to have been some *dirhems* stamped by *Al Hejâj*, with this inscription, *Say, there is one GOD*, or, according to *Al Makin*, *Allab Samad, GOD is eternal*; which not a little displeased the *Moslems*, as they imagined that the

^b MS. Laud. num. 161, ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. 63, 64. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Schebib Ben Zeid*, p. 780. KHONDEMIR & AUT. NIGHIARISTAN. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 193—197.

sacred name of GOD would be thereby exposed to the touch of unclean persons of both sexes. *Somyor*, a Jew, regulated their coinage, which was very rude at first, but received afterwards several improvements in the times of *Omar Ebn Habbira*, the governor of *Irâk*, *Khâled Al Karshi*, *Yusef Ebn Omar*, the *Khalifs Harûn Al Rashid*, his son *Al Mamûn*, and *Al Wâthek*. In the days of *Khâled Al Karshi*, there were three sorts of *dirbêms*, a species of silver coin amongst the *Arabs* that we have already given our readers some account of in the life of *Mohammed*; the weight of every one of which has been handed down to us by *Al Makin*. The metal at first was not very good, but received afterwards farther degrees of perfection in the aforesaid reigns. All the earliest coins struck by the *Khalifs* seem to have had only legends and inscriptions upon them; however, those of a later date were sometimes adorned with the heads of the princes who struck them, or the figures of animals. Of the first sort we have one preserved in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, which is perhaps the oldest *Arabic* coin extant; it having been struck at *Wâset* upon the *Tigris*, in the *Khalifat* of *Al Walid Ebn Abd almâlec*, and the 88th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 707. The inscription on one side of this coin, as it has been translated by the reverend and learned Dr. *Hunt*, professor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages in the university of *Oxford*, is, *There is only one GOD, who has no companion*; and round it the following words, *In the name of GOD, this dirhêm was struck at Wâset in the year of the Hejra 88*. On the reverse is a passage taken out of the 112th *sûra* of the *Korân*, to the following effect: *GOD is one, eternal, neither begetting nor begotten, nor is there any being like him*; and, round it, another taken from the sixty first *sûra* of the same book, couched in the following terms, *MOHAMMED is the apostle of GOD, who sent him with a direction and the religion of truth, that he might render this religion more conspicuous than any other; tho' it be opposed by the ASSOCIATORS*. The character here is the *Câsic*, of which enough has been said in our antient history of the *Arabs*; and the coin is so well preserved, that it may seem to some not to be genuine. It consists of pretty good silver, and weighs one penny-weight and twenty grains. Another of these *dirbêms* is to be seen in the very valuable collection of antient coins, bequeathed by the late archbishop *Wake* to *Christ-Church* college in *Oxford*; and another in the small cabinet of the writer of this history; of both which our readers will meet with an explication in a proper place. Notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Al Makin*, we are told by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, who, in this point, seem to deserve some regard, that *Abd almâlec* had begun to coin money of a new form, such as

had

had never before been seen, in the sixth year of the emperor *Justinian* II's reign, coincident with the year of CHRIST 690, or 691; and that then the emperor refused to receive the tribute sent him by the *Khalif*, because it consisted intirely of the new *Arabic* money. Which if we admit, it must be allowed, that *Abd'almâlec* began to strike *dinârs* and *dirhems* at least five or six years earlier than the time that has been fixed for the commencement of coinage amongst the *Moslems* by the *Arab* historians. To what has been here observed, *Theophanes* seems to add, that the emperor made the *Khalif*'s offer of his tribute in *Arabic* money one of his pretexts for coming to a rupture with that prince. Be that as it will, *Abd'almâlec*, if we will believe this writer, understanding that *Justinian* was determined to break the treaty lately concluded with the *Arabs*, raised a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals, named *Mohammed*; who, causing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a spear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of *Sebastopolis*, and engaged his army with unparalleled bravery. But notwithstanding this, *Mohammed* was obliged to give ground, and even retire to his camp; where he must have perished with hunger, or submitted to the emperor, had he not in the mean time gained over 20,000 *Sclavi*, with their commander, in the emperor's service; whose unexpected desertion caused such a consternation in the *Greek* army, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight, being pursued with great slaughter by the *Arabs*. After which, *Mohammed* harassed the imperial provinces in a most cruel manner, and made himself absolute master of *Armenia*; which, however, returned again to the emperor in a very short time. The same author also relates, that *Mohammed* bribed the general of the *Sclavi* to desert the emperor, by sending him, in the heat of the action, a quiver full of *dinârs*, and promising him a much larger sum. Some commotions likewise, according to him, happened about this time on the side of *Khorasân*, in which a great number of the *Arabs* lost their lives.

IN the 77th year of the *Hajra*, answering to the 696th of *Laxica* the *Christian* æra, one of *Abd'almâlec*'s commanders, called *and Bar-nucium* by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus Alid*, made an incursion into the imperial territories, plundered them in a dreadful manner, *betrayed to the Arabs.* and then retired with the *Christian* prisoners he had taken into

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 64, 65. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Poc. num. 137. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. AL KOR. MOHAM. f. cxii, lxi. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 69. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 304, 305, 306. GEORG. CEDREN. historiari. compend. p. 441.

the *Khalif's* dominions. About the same time, *Sergius*, a patrician, who commanded the *Greek* troops in *Lazica* and *Bar-nucium*, rebelled against the new emperor *Leontius*, and delivered up both of those places to the *Moslems*. Besides which, nothing remarkable, as far as can be collected either from the *Greek* or *Arab* historians, happened this year ^a.

The Arabs reduce Africa Propria. THE following year, that is, the 78th of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 697, the *Moslems* invaded *Africa* with a very considerable force, made themselves masters of *Carthage*, and overran the whole country that, in the earlier ages, properly appertained to that city. But they were soon driven out by *John* the patrician, a man of great valour and experience in war, whom the emperor had sent against them. The *Arabs*, to repair the great losses they had sustained, equipped another fleet, and returning to *Africa*, obliged *John* to fly to the sea-coast, where he embarked with the troops under his command for *Constantinople*. Thus was *Africa*, or rather *Africa Propria*, in a manner without opposition, abandoned once more to the *Moslems* ^c.

Abd'al-rahmân rebels against the Khalif. IN the 79th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 698, *Apfimar*, or *Tiberius*, who had been raised to the empire, sent his brother *Heraclius* into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of the *Arabs*. This year, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, one *Abd'alrahmân*, an *Arab* governor, or commander, rebelled against the *Khalif* in *Persia*, and drove the *Khâkhân* out of that country. We must here beg leave to observe, that *Khâkhân* was a general title made use of by all those princes who reigned in the *Transoxanian* provinces; amongst which we may reckon the *Khâns* of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*. The old church at *Edessa* was thrown down this year by an earthquake, which did considerable damage in the neighbouring parts of *Mesopotamia* ^f.

Heraclius destroys 300,000 Arabs. THE following year, being the eightieth of the *Hejra*, and the 699th of the *Christian* æra, the *Khalif* sent a general, called *Mohammed*, with a powerful army, into *Persia*; who, after he had been joined by the *Khâkân*, overthrew *Abd'alrahmân* with very great slaughter, killed him upon the spot, and reinitated the *Khâkhân* in the government of *Persia*. About the same time, *Heraclius*, one of *Tiberius's* generals, taking advantage of the divisions that now reigned amongst the *Arabs*, penetrated into *Syria*, as far as *Samosata*, wasted all

^a THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 309. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 443.

^c THEOPHAN. et CEDREN. ubi sup. ^f THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 310. GEORG. CEDREN. p. 444. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Khacan*, p. 983. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Ass-man. ubi sup. p. 104.

the adjacent territory, and put to the sword about 200,000 of the enemy. After which, he returned to *Cappadocia*, loaded with the immense booty he had acquired in this expedition ².

IN the 81st year of the *Hejra*, A. C. 700, died *Mohammed* *Mohammed Ebn Hanifyah*, who, by several of his followers, was confirmed Ebn dered, after *Hosein's* death, as lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. *Hanifyah* Some of the *Shiites* look upon him as an illustrious prophet, ^{dis.} taken and preserved by GOD in mount *Redwa*, who shall hereafter appear, and fill the earth with piety and justice; though others of them utterly explode so ridiculous a notion. His father's name, or rather surname, according to the *Arab* poet *Al Hamiri*, one of his admirers, was *Seth*; after whose death, *Kawla*, his mother, and *Seth's* widow, was married to *Ali*; so that he was not, properly speaking, the son of that *Imâm*, nor descended from *Mohammed*, as *Hasan* and *Hosein* were. He several times refused the *Khalifat*, and was surnamed *Ebn Hanifyah*, that, by this appellation, he might be distinguished from the two last-mentioned *Imâms*, who were truly and properly *Ali's* sons, by *Fâtema*, the daughter of the prophet. Which if, with M. *D'Herbelot*, we admit, Mr. *Ockley* must have been guilty of a mistake (as indeed the surname *Ebn Hanifyah* itself seems clearly enough to evince) when he makes this *Mohammed* to have been the real son of *Ali*. We are told by the *Greek* writers, that the *Arabs* made an irruption this year into the imperial territories, and laid siege to *Antaradus* in *Syria*; but not being able to master that place, they returned to *Mopsuestia* in *Cilicia*, and left a garison there. The text of *Theophanes*, in the passage referred to, exhibiting *Tarantum* for *Antaradus*, may be emended by that of *Cedrenus*, which has preserved the true reading *Antaradus* here. One *Abd'allah*, according to those authors, commanded the *Moslems* forces this campaign ⁴.

THE expedition placed by the *Greek* writers in the 79th Abd'al- year of the *Hejra*, and said by them to have been undertaken by *Abd'alrahmân* against the *Khâkbân*, really happened in the 82d year of that æra, according to the *Arab* historians. Which- ^{defeats} soever of these may be in the right as to the year, our curious ^{Al Hejâj;} readers will not be displeased to find here the following particu- ^{but is at} lars, extracted from the oriental authors, relating to that ex- ^{last over-} pedition. *Al Hejâj*, hating *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn* ^{thrown by} *Ashab Al Kendî*, ordered him to advance against *Zentil*, king ^{that gene-} ^{ral.}

² THEOPHAN. et CEDREN ubi sup. ⁴ D. HAMIR. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 65. ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hanifah*, p. 428, 429. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 80, 272, 370. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 310, 311. CEDREN. ubi sup.

of the *Turks*, or the *Khakhân*, and, with an inconsiderable force that he assigned him, to make an irruption into his dominions. This *Al Hejâj* did in order to destroy him; of which being secretly informed, he took care to acquaint the troops under his command with the motive to this expedition. The soldiers finding that they were to be sacrificed to *Al Hejâj's* malice against their general, resolved to be revenged of the governor for his barbarity; and therefore unanimously took an oath to support *Abd alrahmân Ebn Mohammed*. *Abd alrahmân* hereupon concluded a peace with the *Turk*, returned into *Irâk*, and marched directly against *Al Hejâj*; who, having received advice of what had happened, had sent to the *Khalîf* for a reinforcement of the *Syrian* troops. After the arrival of these succours, *Al Hejâj* attacked *Abd alrahmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ashab Al Kendi*; but, being overthrown, *Abd alrahmân* carried his victorious arms to *Basra*, and was joined by a great number of the inhabitants of that place, who took the oath of allegiance to him. Then intrenching himself on one side of the city, he found an opportunity of attacking, to great advantage, *Al Hejâj*, in his turn, and gained a second victory over him. From the scene of action he moved to *Cûfa*, and was received with open arms by the people of that city. In the mean time, *Al Hejâj* assembled all the forces he was able, and led them against *Abd alrahmân*; whose army, by the accession of the *Basrans*, who had conceived an invincible aversion to *Al Hejâj*, on account of his enormous cruelty, amounted to 100,000 men. *Al Hejâj* incamped at a place called *Dairkorrah*, and *Abd alrahmân* at another denominated *Dair aljamajim*, at a small distance from the enemy; and, in the space of an hundred days, these two commanders are said to have fought eighty-one battles. At last, *Al Hejâj* put *Abd alrahmân* to flight, and cut off 4000 of his men; after which, the latter retreated to *Sahân*, where he was seized by *Al Hejâj's* lieutenant, and rescued by *Zentil*, the *Turk*, his friend and ally. *Al Hejâj*, receiving intelligence of this, sent *Yezid Ebn Al Mokalleb* against *Zentil*, in order to force him to deliver up *Abd alrahmân* into his hands. *Zentil* made the proper dispositions for his defence, and engaged *Yezid* with an army of 60,000 men; but he was soon overthrown, had many of his men killed, and a great number of them taken prisoners; amongst whom was *Abd alrahmân* himself. With regard to the manner of that general's death, the *Arab* writers are not perfectly agreed; but, according to some of the best of them, he threw himself headlong from the top of an high house, in order to avoid falling into the hands of his most implacable enemy. What became of *Hasan Al Basri*, *Saï'd Ebn Hossein*, *Nadi Ebn Abu-lil*, and others of his principal accomplices, we are not told by

by the *Moslem* historians. Some of those writers assert, that *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abusafra*, *Al Hejáj's* lieutenant of *Khorasán*, died this year; that he was succeeded by his son *Yezid* in that post; and that, upon *Yezid's* removal some time after from thence, *Fadl*, another of *Al Mohalleb's* sons, was substituted in his room. The *Greek* writers relate, that *Baanet*, surnamed *Heptadæmon*, from the seven devils with which he was supposed to have been possessed, betrayed this year likewise *Armenia* to the *Arabs*, for which he doubtless received a very considerable reward ¹.

THE following year, being the 83d of the *Hejra*, and of *Al Hejáj* CHRIST 702 *Al Hejáj* built a city upon the *Tigris*, which he ^{builds} called *Wáset*. That name signifies the middle in the *Arabic* ^{Wáset} language, because this city stood in the mid-way between ^{upon the} *Basra* and *Cúfa*. The eastern authors, however, a little differ ^{Tigria.} about the year of its foundation; *Ebn Shohnab* making this to have been the 83d, and *Khondemir* the 84th, of the *Moslem* æra. The *Arabs* call the circumjacent tract *Al Abár*, the wells, as it abounds with wells; and near the city there is a place bearing the name of *Al Abár Al Arab*, the wells of the *Arabs*. *Wáset*, according to the *Arab* tables, is situated in *Chaldæa*, or *Babylonian Irák*, in long. 81° 30', and lat. 32° 20' N. The *Persian* geographer says, that it is seated upon the *Tigris*, at an equal distance from *Baghdád*, *Cúfa*, *Basra*, and *Abwáz*; that is, about fifty parasangs from every one of those cities. This year the nobility of *Armenia* drove the *Arabs* out of their country, and sent to *Apfimar*, or *Tiberius*, for assistance. But, in the mean time, *Mohammed*, one of the *Khalif's* generals, entering *Armenia* with a powerful army, recovered that province; and, having got the authors of the revolt into his hands, burnt them all alive. Encouraged with this success, the *Moslems* invaded *Cilicia* once more under the conduct of *Izar*; but were, to the number of 10,000, either cut in pieces by *Heraclius*, or taken prisoners, and sent in chains to *Constantinople*. That *Wáset* was founded this year, as *Ebn Shohnab* affirms, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Khondemir*, may be inferred from *Abu'l-Faraj* ².

¹ AL MAKIN & ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiazge Ben Jusuf Al Thakefi*, p. 442. THEOPHANES, ubi sup. p. 311. CEDREN. ubi sup. ² GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in h. st. dynast. p. 200. EBN SHOHNAH, MOHAMMED AL FIRAUZABAD. in *K. m.* KHONDEMIR, GÖLII not. ad *Alfragan*. p. 121. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Vasseth*, p. 910. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup.

The Arabs defeated by Heraclius. In the 84th year of the *Hejra*, or of the *Christian* era 703, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, the *Khalif* sent *Azib*, or *Azid*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, with an army into *Cilicia*, in order to make himself master of that country. Meeting with no enemy at first to oppose him, he laid siege to *Sisium*, took it, and levelled it with the ground. But *Heraclius*, the imperial general, soon after appearing at the head of the *Christian* forces, brought him to a general action; in which he cut off 12,000 of the *Arabs*, and probably defeated *Azib*; tho' this has not been expressly asserted by any of the *Greek* historians. As we hear no more of *Azib* after this action, we may naturally suppose, that he soon abandoned *Cilicia*, and retired with the shatter'd remains of his army into the *Khalif's* dominions ¹.

Writers differ about the year of Abd'al-mâlec's death. The following year, being the 85th of the *Hejra*, and of *CHRIST* 704, if we will believe *Theophanes*, the *Khalif* *Abd'al-mâlec Ebn Merwân* departed this life. Some other *Christian* writers affirm, that he died the preceding year. But none of them, in this point, are to be depended upon, as running counter to the express testimony of the best and most authentic *Moslem* historians. The *Arabs* seem to have enjoyed this year an uninterrupted repose, as no account of any achievements, or military operations, performed by them in it has been handed down to us by any of the *Greek* or *Moslem* writers ^m.

Abd'al-mâlec's death, and a particular character. THE next year, the 86th of the *Hejra*, and of *CHRIST* 705, *Abd'alaziz Ebn Merwân*, the *Khalif's* brother, died at *Al Fostât* in *Egypt*, and was buried there on *Monday*, the 12th day of the former *Jemâda*. He governed *Egypt* above twenty years, having been constituted lieutenant of that country by his father *Merwân*. Being infected with the leprosy, the physicians advised him to retire to *Holwân*, as the most proper place for him to reside in. Here he made a large fish-pond, or reservoir, which he took care to supply constantly with water from the springs, or fountains, on mount *Al Mekattam*, by means of certain arches, or vaults, which he caused to be built, that kept open a communication between them; upon which, according to *Eutychius*, he erected a throne of glass. Upon these and other works at *Holwân*, where he first planted dates, he is said to have laid out 1,000,000 *dinârs*. He rode every *Thursday* from *Holwân* to *Al Fostât*; and the next day, after the morning-prayer was over, returned to the former place. He likewise built a *Mikras*, or measuring pillar, in order to form an estimate of the increase of the

¹ THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup. ^m THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 312, 313. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SIMON. ASSERMAN. ubi sup. p. 105. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 67.

Nile. His two chamberlains were *Christians* of the *Melchite* sect, whom he gave leave to erect the church of St. John at *Holwân*, for those of their own communion. He likewise obliged the *Egyptians* to pay part of their tribute every *Friday*, that he might be the better enabled to supply the exigencies of the state, till the death of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and the perfect settlement of his brother upon the *Moslem* throne. He constructed a bridge upon the *Khalij Amir Al Mumenin*, or the river of the emperor of the faithful, the *Annis Trajanus* of the antients, and the *Khalis* of the moderns; and had an intention to remove the bridge at *Al Fostât* to *Holwân*, a pleasant village about two parasangs distant from that city, on the eastern bank of the *Nile*. He likewise designed to transfer the port, the merchants, and the exchange, from *Al Fostât* to *Holwân*; but did not live long enough to put this design in execution. One *Athanasius*, a *Christian* of the *Jacobite* persuasion, was his secretary, whom he permitted to build the church of St. George in *Kasril Shamaa*, and that of *Abukir* in the citadel near *Ashabol Rabiât*. We are told by some of the *Christian* writers, that he was the first who fixed upon the *Egyptian* monks a capitation, obliging every one of them to pay annually a *dinâr*. An author cited by *Al Makin* relates, that *Abd'alaziz*, entering into a monastery at *Holwân* the day before his death, saw there an image of the virgin *Mary* with *CHRIST* in her arms, which he spat upon; and that the night following our Saviour appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to be killed; upon which, he imagined himself to be immediately run through with a lance. This struck him with such terror, that he instantly awaked, and expired the same night. His son, according to the same author, survived him only forty days. After *Abd'alaziz's* death, the *Khalif* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon his son *Abd'allah*, who rendered himself more disagreeable to the *Egyptians* than any of his predecessors. In this post he continued till his father *Abd'almâlec's* death, which happened about the middle of the month *Shawâl*, in the 86th year of the *Hejra*. The disease he died of seems to have been a dropsy, since the physicians had absolutely prohibited him the use of all kinds of liquors. Notwithstanding which, being tortured with extreme thirst, he commanded his son *Al Walid* to give him some water to drink; which he refusing to do, he ordered his daughter *Fâtema* to bring some to him. But *Al Walid*, desirous of keeping his father alive as long as possible, would not suffer her to approach him; which so exasperated the *Khalif*, that he threatened to disinherit him. *Fâtema*, therefore, gave him water, which he greedily drank, and soon after expired. He was always apprehensive that the month

month *Ramadân* would prove fatal to him ; as he was born, weaned, learned the *Korân* by heart, and was saluted *Khalif* in that month. He sat upon the *Moslem* throne above twenty-one years ; and was either sixty or sixty-two, or, as others say, fifty-seven years old, at the time of his death. He was buried at *Damascus*, without the little gate, and his son *Al Walid* said the funeral service at the time of his interment. As to his person, *Abd'almâlec* was of a middle stature, and a fair, or, as others will have it, a swarthy complexion ; having a large gaping mouth, a long beard, and a prominent belly. With regard to his disposition, he was so extremely covetous, that some of his subjects, by way of derision, called him the *sweat of a stone*. However, according to *Abulfeda*, as well as the authors followed by *Al Makin*, he was a man of a very good capacity, being exceeded by few of his subjects in judgment and penetration. He was also courageous, learned, and wise ; but did not make so amiable a figure after his elevation to the *Khalifat* as before. He had such stinking breath, that the flies lighting on his lips were almost instantly struck dead with it ; for which reason he received from some the appellation of *father of flies*. He one night dreamed, that he made water in the most sacred part of the temple of *Mecca* ; and this dream was repeated four times successively : which greatly affecting him, he consulted *Sa'id Ebn Mosabbib*, a person very expert in the interpretation of dreams, about the signification of so ominous a vision. *Sa'id* told him, that he had no reason to look upon it in so disagreeable a light, as it undoubtedly portended the exaltation of four of his sons, all of whom should be advanced to the *Khalifat* after their father's death. Which nocturnal prediction was exactly verified, *Al Walid*, *Solimân*, *Yezid*, and *Hesbâm*, four of his sons, afterwards actually ascending the *Moslem* throne. He left sixteen sons behind him, the eldest of which was *Al Walid*, who succeeded him. His first secretary was *Rûb Ebn Riba'*, and his second *Kabida Ebn Dawib* ; his principal *Kadi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Holwâni*, who was succeeded by *Abd'allah Ebn Kais* ; his chamberlain *Yusef*, who was likewise succeeded by several others of his servants, one of whom was *Abu'l Rogairaga* ; the first captain of his guards *Yezid Ebn Abu Habsa Al Saksâki*, and the second *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid Al Hakemi*. The inscription of his seal was, *I believe in God our Saviour*. He was much more powerful than any of his predecessors ; having subdued *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and annexed *Arabia* to his dominions ; reduced to his obedience the sectaries of all denominations that appeared in arms against him ; conquered *India*, or at least a considerable part of that vast region, in the east ; and, in the west, penetrated with his victorious

victorious troops as far as *Spain*. The first day of his reign was *Wednesday*, and the last *Thursday*. He was so implacable an enemy to the house of *Ali*, that he would not suffer the celebrated poet *Ferozduk*, in his works, to praise any of the descendents of that illustrious *Imâm* ⁿ.

S E C T. XII.

AL WALID, the son of *Abd'almâlec*, was proclaimed *Khalif* Al Walid the same day his father died. His mother was *Walada*, Ebn Abthe daughter of *Abbâs Ebn Harbi Ebn Hâruth*. He was surd'almâlec named *Abu'l Abbâs*, and continued all his father's lieutenants proclaimed of provinces in their respective governments. At his inaugu-^{Khalif.}ration, his principal subjects took the usual oath of allegiance to him. *Korrab Ebn Shebal*, or, according to others, *Korrab Ebn Sbarik*, of the house of *Abbâs*, his governor of *Egypt*, at the *Khalif's* command, demolished the principal mosque at *Mesr*, and either built or beautified another, deaurating the tops or heads of its pillars; which rendered that governor extremely disagreeable to the *Egyptians*. *Al Walid* also is said to have adorned the temple at *Jerusalem* with some additional buildings, soon after his accession; and, after the example of his father *Abd'almâlec*, to have ordered his subjects to go on pilgrimage thither. His troops made a very successful irruption into the imperial territories, under the command of his brother *Moslem Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who carried off a very considerable number of the emperor's subjects prisoners. This *Arab* general seems to have been called by *Theophanes Masalmas*. That writer places the expedition here hinted at in the fourth year of *Al Walid's* reign. In the 88th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 707, money was coined in the new mint lately erected at *Wâset*; as appears from a *dirbém* explained by the learned *Dr. Hunt*, and now preserved in the cabinet of medals belonging to the university of *Oxford* ^o.

^a AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 66—69. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 368—373. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. & in descript. *Ægypt*. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Abd'almâlec*, p. 8. KHONDEMIR, BINA KITI, EBN SHOHNAH, HAFEDH ABRU, alique Scriptor. orient. pass. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Afragan. p. 148—157. & SHAW's geograph. observat. in *Egypt, Arab. Petr.* &c. p. 340, 433—442.

^o AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 70. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 200. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 372, 373. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 315. Two dissertat. on the meaning of the word *Kesitab*, &c. and on the signification of the word *Hermes*, &c. p. 33, 34, 35. Oxford, 1750.

ABOUT

He extends the Moslem conquests. ABOUT the same time, or rather in the very same year, according to the author of *Leb Tarikh* and *Kbondemir*, this *Khalif* rebuilt the temple of *Medina*, where *Mohammed* and the first *Khalifs* lay interred. This was a much more superb and magnificent structure than the former; and, in order to render it the more grand, *Al Walid* commanded *Omar Ebn Abd alaziz*, his governor in *Arabia*, to demolish the houses set apart for the habitations of the prophet's wives. This gave great offence to the inhabitants of *Medina*; who reproached the *Khalif* with having deprived the *Moslems*, coming thither from different parts of the world, of the finest monument of *Mohammed's* modesty, in having assigned his wives, for their habitations, such low and small cottages as those, that then remained. About this time, *Walid* also ordered the construction of a most stately and famous mosque at *Damascus*; to which he joined the superb church of *St. John Baptist*, that had been enriched with many invaluable ornaments by the *Greek* emperors, for several ages. He would first have purchased this church of the *Christians* for a sum of money, with which they might have built them a church in some other part of the city, amounting to about 40,000 *dinârs*. But they shewing him the instrument signed by *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, confirming to them the possession of that church, and refusing to part with it at any rate, he took it from them by force. He employed 12,000 workmen in the erection of his mosque, but did not live to see it finished; the last hand having not been put to it before the beginning of his brother *Salimân's* reign. This year *Katiba Ebn Moslem* penetrated into the *Transoxanian* provinces; and having passed the *Jihûn*, or the *Oxus*, without any loss, defeated a numerous army that had kept him blocked up for four months together, and reduced him to very great straits. That army was composed of *Turks* and *Tartars*, of whom *Katiba* slew a very great number. After this victory he laid siege to *Bokhâra*, the metropolis of *Bukharia* properly so called, and took it. From thence he marched to *Samarkand*, which in a short time surrendered to him. In fine, he reduced *Sogd*, or *Sogdiana*, *Bagrafa*, *Shah*, *Fargâna*, and the whole immense tract going under the name of *Mawarâlnahr*. After he had concluded a peace with, or rather conquered, the *Khân* of *Khovarazm*; he erected a mosque in his capital, where he officiated every *Friday*, and destroyed all the idols he met with in that city. Those idols were fixed to the places where they stood by golden nails, that weighed 50,000 *Metbkals*, or *Arabic drachms*; all which *Katiba* carried off with him. The principal article of the treaty concluded with the *Khân* of *Khovarazm* was, that he should pay an annual tribute of 2,000,000 *dinârs* to the *Khalif*. *Mohammed*

hamed Ebn Kasem Al Thakfi, another of *Al Walid's* generals, at or near the same time, also invaded *India*, or *Al Hind*, and subjugated a considerable part of that country. He likewise made himself master of the kingdom of *Sindia*, or *Al Sind*, bounded by *Kermán*, or rather the region of *Makran*, the desert of *Sijistán*, and *India*, some parts of which vast continent it likewise comprehends, whose king *Dahar* he defeated, killed him in battle, and cut off his head. The Greek writers mention few particulars relating to the Moslem affairs, during the three first years of *Al Walid's* reign. However, *Theophanes* observes, that he mounted the Moslem throne the same year his father *Abd'almálec* died; and that he deprived the *Cbristians* of their great church at *Damascus*, in his second year. We are told by an eastern writer, that a dreadful pestilence raged about two years before this time in *Mesopotamia*, and made terrible havock in the territory of *Sarug*; no less than seventy-two persons dying in the monastery of *St. Silas* there P.

THE following year, being the 89th of the *Hejra*, and of *The build.* CHRIST 708, no remarkable occurrences happened in the *ing of the* Moslem empire, an account of which has been handed down *mosque at* to us by any historian, except the continuation of the building *Damascus* of *Al Walid's* famous mosque at *Damascus*; the expence of *continued.* which is said to have amounted to 400 chests, or purses, every one of which contained 14,000 *dinárs*. The golden chains for the lamps there, in number 600, were so bright, says an *Arab* author, that they disturbed, or rather hindered, the devotions of the Moslems who came thither to pray. They were afterwards blackened by the smoke of the lamps, and remained in that condition till they were removed into the public treasury by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, who substituted iron chains in their room. One of the historians followed by *Al Makin* relates, that when the workmen were digging for the foundations of this mosque, they found a stone with an inscription upon it, importing, that the temple, or edifice, to which it belonged, was built by *Mahab Al Khair*, in the fourth year of *Al Aflawána*. This year, *Theodorus* was constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and lived, after his promotion to that high dignity, thirty-five years 9.

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that *Al Walid* appointed *Korrah His forces* *Ebn Sbarik* governor of *Egypt* in the 90th year of the *Hejra*; *make an*

P KHONDEMIR, AUT. LEB TARIKH, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 70, 71. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 201. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 374, 375. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 312, 313. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. SIM. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 105. ut & ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Walid*, p. 907.

9 AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 70, 71. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 374—377.

MOD. HIST. VOL. II.

M

tho'

irruption
into Cap-
padocia.

tho' *Eutychius*, who, in this point, has probability on his side, seems to place that event three or four years higher, in the beginning of this *Khalif's* reign, as has been already observed. Be that as it will, this *Korrah* was most certainly a very impious and abandoned person; taking with him frequently a company of catamites, players, and buffoons, into the cathedral at *Mesr*, and placing them upon the seats belonging to the priests, in time of divine service, there. At this time, *Mesabma*, *Moslema*, or *Moslem*, and *Abbás*, two Arab commanders, according to *Theophanes*, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and formed the siege of *Tyana*. The emperor, being apprized of this, sent an army under the conduct of *Theodorus Carterua* and *Theophylactus Saliba*, two of his generals, to force them to raise the siege. But this army, being made up of raw undisciplined troops, assembled in haste, was easily routed by the *Arabs*, who killed a great number of the *Christians* upon the spot, took most of the rest prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. The besieged, being now destitute of all hopes of relief, and reduced to the last extremity, surrendered the place to the *Moslems*, who had been so straitened in their camp for want of provisions, before the late action, that they had entertained thoughts of abandoning the siege, and took on in the *Khalif's* service. However, the *Arabs* are said to have violated their agreement with the *Tyaneans*, by sending many of them into remote deserts, and making the greatest part of the remainder slaves. A synod was held in the monastery of *St. Silas*, at *Sarug* in *Mesopotamia*, over which the patriarch *Julian*, *Thomas* the bishop of *Amida*, and *James* the bishop of *Edessa*, presided, about the beginning of the second year of *Al Walid's* reign¹.

Abbás
makes an
incursion
into the
imperial
territories.

In the 91st year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 710, *Abbás*, one of the *Khalif's* generals, made an incursion into the imperial territories, and carried off with him a vast number of that prince's subjects prisoners, who of course were by the *Arabs* made slaves. The same commander founded a city near *Hopolis* this year; but neither the precise situation of that city, nor the time when it was finished, has been told us by any good author².

Othmân
penetrates
into Cili-
cia.

THE following year, *Othmân*, an Arab general, penetrated into the very heart of *Cilicia*, and obliged several cities, seated in that province, to surrender to him. Others he likewise made himself master of by treachery and surprize; tho' it does not appear, that he long kept possession of his conquests

¹ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 315. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 105. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

² THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

there.

there. With regard to the new mosque at *Damascus*, the building of which went on this year, we must beg leave to observe, that *Al Walid* was the first who erected there those elevated towers, or steeples, called by the *Arabs* *Menârats*, and by the *Turks* *Minârets*, from whence the *Mueddhins*, or criers, give public notice of the times of prayer. The *Persian* geographer, to whom we are obliged for this article, also relates, in agreement with what we have already extracted from some of the *Arab* historians, that *Al Walid* adorned, with several additional buildings, the mosque erected at *Jerusalem* by the *Khalif Omar* ¹.

IN the 93d year of the *Hejra*, answering to the year of our *Tarik* *LORD 712*, *Tarik Ebn Zarka* made a descent in *Spain* with *Ebn* a body of the *Moslem* troops, defeated *Roderic*, the last king *Zarka* of the *Goths* there, reduced the city of *Toledo*, and over-ran ^{conquers} a considerable part of that kingdom. *Tarik* was sent to ^{parts of} *Spain* by *Mûsa Ebn Okair*, or *Okail*, who seems to have commanded the *Khalif's* forces in the western parts of *Africa*, and to have been the person who projected this expedition. *Mûsa*, being informed of *Tarik's* success, soon followed him with a body of auxiliary troops, composed of *Arabs* and *Africans*; and, after the junction of these two *Moslem* generals, the *Arabs* made themselves masters of a great number of fortresses in *Spain*; subjugating in a manner the whole country, and obliging it to become tributary to the *Khalif*. The *Moslems* acquired spoils of immense value in these expeditions, and, amongst other things, an exceeding rich table, called by the *Arab* writers the table of *Solomon*, the son of *David*. Those writers pretend, that this table consisted intirely of silver and gold, and was adorned with three borders of pearls; but *Roderick* of *Toledo* represents it as consisting of one intire stone, of a green colour, and an immense size, having no less than 365 feet. He also relates, that it was found in a certain village, or town, denominated from it the city of the table, near the mountain called in his days *Jibel Solimân*, mount *Solomon*, or the mountain of *Solomon*. *Roderic* is, however, inconsistent with himself, when he asserts, that *Mûsa* had first the possession of this famous table, and yet, almost in the same breath, is pleased immediately after to affirm, that *Tarik* made a present of it, with many other valuable effects, to *Mûsa*. It will, therefore, be more safe to adhere, in this point, to the testimony of the *Arab* historians; who relate, that *Tarik* either brought it, or took care to

¹ Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art *Valid*, p. 906, 907. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 201. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 372, 373.

have it conveyed, to *Al Walid* himself. After *Músa* and *Tarik* had committed dreadful devastations in *Spain*, they were recalled from thence by the *Khalif*. However, *Músa* sent his son *Abd'alaziz* into that country, who fixed his residence at *Seville*, and afterwards married *Egebo*, or *Egibon*, king *Roderic's* widow; but, being persuaded by his wife to wear the diadem after the *Gothic* manner, he was assassinated by the *Arabs*, who from thence concluded that he had become a convert to *Cbristianity*, whilst he was performing his devotions. *Abd'alaziz*, after a reign of three years, was succeeded by *Ayub Ebn Haleb*, by whose advice his predecessor had been murdered, and who was looked upon by the *Arabs* as the most prudent *Moslem* in *Spain*. *Ayub* is said to have built a city, called *Calatayub*, and to have transferred the royal seat from *Seville* to *Corduba*. Some authors relate, that the two sons of *Vitiza*, *Roderic's* predecessor, and count *Julian*, whose daughter *Roderic* had ravished, applied this year to *Músa* for a body of troops, which they offered to conduct into *Spain*, and put that kingdom into the hands of the *Khalif*. But *Al Walid*, say they, suspecting treachery in this affair, ordered *Músa* to send over first with *Julian*, and the two princes attending him, only a small detachment of his forces, and to form a notion of that count's sincerity from the reception those *Arabs* should meet with in *Spain*. Upon which, continue they, he assigned *Julian* only a body of 400 foot and 100 horse, under the command, as should seem, of *Tarik*, or, as he is called by the *Spanish* historians, *Tarif*, who passed the straits of *Hercules*, now known by the name of the straits of *Gibraltar*, was joined by a good number of *Julian's* friends, and ravaged the maritime coast of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. Soon after which, the *Arabs* returned loaded with spoil and plunder to *Africa*. The *Moslems* also this year extended their conquests in other parts; *Maslamas*, *Moslema*, or *Moslem*, one of their generals, reducing the city of *Amasia*, and seizing upon a considerable part of *Pontus* and *Armenia* ^u.

He undertakes a second expedition into that country. THE next year, being the 94th of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 713, the city of *Antioch* was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake, the shocks of which were extremely violent, and continued, tho' with intermission, forty days together. The same year died *Zein Alabaddin Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Táleb*, who was pious, devout, and held in great veneration amongst many of the *Moslems*. He performed every day a thousand genuflexions, or ingeniculations. He left behind

^u AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. ix. p. 8, 9. ISIDOR. PACENS. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 320.

him two sons, *Zeid* and *Mohammed Abu Jaasar*, who were highly esteemed by those of the *Shiite* persuasion. This year likewise *Tarik*, or *Tarif*, assembled a body of twelve thousand men, which he put privately on board some merchant-men, collected for that purpose by count *Julian*, and transported them to the rock or mountain *Calpe*, denominated afterwards from this general *Jibel Tarif*, that is, *the rock or mountain of Tarif*; from whence the word *Gibraltar*, the name of a city erected at the foot of this rock since that event, has been formed. *Tarif*, soon after his arrival in *Spain*, made himself master of an antient city, that stood at no great distance, in a western direction, from the spot on which *Gibraltar* was afterwards built, and from him received the name of *Tarifa*, or *Tariffa*, by which it is also at present known. This town was undoubtedly the *Julia Traducta* of the old geographers, and neither the *Mellaria* nor the *Carteia* of the antients, as some of the *Spanish* historians pretend. After the reduction of this place, the *Moslem* general marched to *Seville*, which he easily possessed himself of, as it was not in a state of defence. Many other towns of considerable note likewise surrendered to him; which enabled him to plunder the whole province of *Bætica*, and a very considerable part of *Lusitania*. *Roderic*, receiving advice of these depredations, sent his cousin-german *Eneco*, *Enecon*, or *Inach*, called by some writers *Sanctius*, with a raw undisciplined rabble of an army, drawn together in haste, against the *Arabs*. But the *Goths* were soon put to flight, and left a great number of their men dead upon the field of battle. This so animated *Tarif*, that he resolved not to lay down his victorious arms till he had made an absolute conquest of *Spain*. Some of the *Christian* writers pretend, that *Al Walid* died this year; but this, as running counter to the concurrent testimony of all the best *Arab* historians, we must by no means admit. About the same time that *Tarif* made so rapid a progress in *Spain*, *Abbās*, another *Moslem* general, fell into *Pisidia*, with a powerful army, took the city of *Antioch* there, and, after he had ravaged the whole province, retired into the *Khalif's* territories with very inconsiderable loss *.

THE *Arab* authors of best repute place the death of *Al Hejāj Al Hejāj's Ebu Yusef Al Thakfi* in the month of *Ramaddān*, and the 95th death, and year of the *Hejra*, answering to the year of our LORD 714. *extreme severity.*

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. LUCAS TUDENS. RODERIC. TOLE-
TAN. ubi sup. Philosoph. Transact. n. 359. p. 903. & JONES's
abridgm. of the Philosoph. Transact. vol. v. par. ii. p. 83—95.
Lond. 1721. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & JOS. SEM. ASSEMAN. ubi
sup. p. 105. THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

When he died, he was fifty-four years of age, and had presided over *Irâk* about twenty years. He is said to have killed 120,000 men, and to have suffered 50,000 men, and 30,000 women, to perish in prison. In order to excuse his extreme severity, or rather cruelty, he used frequently to say, that a severe, or even violent, government is better than a weak and too indulgent, or rather indolent, administration; because the former hurts only some particular persons, whereas the latter injures the whole body of the people. He did not scruple to say, that the obedience due to princes is more absolute than that which men owe even to GOD himself; since they are enjoined by the *Korân* only to obey GOD as far as they are able, whereas that book requires of them an unconditional and unlimited obedience to all earthly rulers. Some persons, once hearing him talk after this extravagant manner, told him, that nothing could equal either his envy or ambition, as he assumed to himself such a monstrous degree of authority. To which he replied, *that man is still more envious and ambitious than me, who says to GOD, Give me, O LORD, such a state of life as no person can enjoy after my death.* We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Al Hejâj* destroyed 120,000 persons of rank and distinction, besides those that fell in war through his means, and others of a lower degree; as also, that he was only fifty-three years old at the time of his death, and had then presided over *Hejân*, as well as *Irâk*, about twenty years*.

A remarkable story of Al Hejâj. AL HEJAJ, being one day in the country, met an *Arab* of the desert, who was a perfect stranger to him, and asked him what sort of a man this *Al Hejâj* was, of whom people talked so much? The *Arab* answered, that he was a very wicked man. *Don't you know me, then?* said *Al Hejâj*. *No*, replied the *Arab*. *I am*, said the other, *Al Hejâj, of whom you give so bad a character.* Upon which, the *Arab*, without the least emotion or concern, demanded of *Al Hejâj*, in his turn, whether he knew him? *No*, answered the other. *I am*, said the *Arab*, *a member of the family of Zobeir, whose posterity all become fools three days in the year, and this is one of them.* *Al Hejâj* could not forbear laughing at, and admiring, so ingenious an evasion; so that, notwithstanding his natural fierceness, he pardoned the *Arab*, whom he esteemed for his wit and courage. As he was a man of fine parts and great eloquence, as well as a military genius, and not much advanced in years at his death, he was both a judge and an admirer of every thing that appeared smart and brilliant in others, even to the very last. He is

* AL MAKIN et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegijah Ebn Yusuf Al Thakifi*, p. 442.

said to have expired in the 95th year of the *Hajra* not only by the best *Arab*, but likewise by some of the *Persian*, historians.

It has been already observed, that *Al Hejáj* at last intirely ~~Another~~ defeated *Abd'alrahmán*, and killed 4000 of his men. To which we must here beg leave to add, that he took a great number of officers prisoners in that decisive action; all which he resolved to put to the sword. One of them, going to the place of execution, said, he had a piece of justice to demand of *Al Hejáj*; as he had reproved his general *Abd'alrahmán* for speaking with great acrimony against him. *Al Hejáj* asked him whether he could produce any one to attest this point of conduct? To which he replied, that one of his comrades, now condemned to die as well as himself, heard every thing that passed between him and *Abd'alrahmán* on this occasion. *Al Hejáj*, being satisfied with of the truth of the fact, asked the other why he did not behave in the same manner? This undaunted man answered him fiercely, *I did not do it, because you are my enemy*. Upon which, *Al Hejáj* gave both of them their lives; the one, in order to acknowledge the obligation he was under to him, and the other, for having confessed the truth with so much frankness and courage. Hence it may seem to appear, that *Al Hejáj* was not quite void of generous sentiments, and that what some of the *Arabs* termed in him enormous cruelties were, in reality, to be considered only as wholesome severities, adapted to the nature of the people he governed. This may possibly be farther evinced by an extemporary speech he once made to the *Moslems* under his inspection, after he had been taxed with barbarity by them; which was to the following effect: GOD, said he, *has at present given me the power over you; and, if I exercise it with some severity, don't imagine that you will find yourselves in a better situation after my decease. You will always hereafter meet with at least as ill treatment from my successors, as you have hitherto experienced from me. When I shall be dead, GOD will send you another of his servants, who may possibly execute his commands against you with greater severity than I have done. Would you have a prince sweet and moderate? Follow justice, and obey his orders. Your own conduct will be the principle and source of the good or ill treatment you will receive at your governor's hands. The prince, or his lieutenant, may justly be compared to a mirror: all that you see in the glass is only the return of the objects you present to it. Nor can any piece be drawn more to the life than the portrait here given of the people of Irák by Al Hejáj, as sufficiently appears from the best Arab authors, who have already*

been cited on this head in the preceding part of this history*.

*Another
story of
him.*

THIS general, as he was hunting, being once separated from his retinue, found himself very thirsty in a solitary place, where an *Arab* was feeding his camels. As soon as *Al Hejáj* appeared, those animals were scared away; which made the *Arab*, then attentive to something else, lift up his head in a great passion, and say, *Who is this with his fine cloaths that comes here into the desert to fright my camels? the curse of GOD light upon him!* *Al Hejáj*, without taking notice of what he had said, made up to him, saluted him very civilly, and, after the *Arab* manner, wished him peace. But the other, instead of returning his salutation in proper terms, answered him roughly; telling him, that he neither wished him peace, nor any blessing of GOD. *Al Hejáj* seemed not to understand him, and begged of him, with great humility, a little water to drink. The *Arab* told him, that he might alight and help himself, for he was neither his companion nor his servant. *Al Hejáj* did as he bad him; and, after he had drunk, asked him whom he took to be the most noble and excellent of all men? *The prophet sent by GOD, burst you!* answered the *Arab*. *And what think you of Ali?* added *Al Hejáj*. *His excellency cannot be sufficiently expressed by words,* replied the other. *Al Hejáj*, continuing his discourse, then asked him what an opinion he entertained of *Abd almálec*? To which at first he made no answer; but, being pressed, he at last dropped some words which seemed to imply, that he believed him to be a bad prince. *Why so?* answered *Al Hejáj*. *Because,* replied the *Arab*, *he has sent us for a governor the most wicked man under the heavens.* The words were scarce out of his mouth, when a bird flew over their heads, making at the same time a sort of noise, which the *Arab* had no sooner heard, than he looked stedfastly upon *Al Hejáj*, and demanded of him who he was? *Al Hejáj*, not chusing to give him a direct answer, desired to know the reason of that question. *Because,* said the *Arab*, *this bird assured me, that a company of people draws near, and that you probably are the chief of them.* *Al Hejáj's* attendants then came up, and, by his order, carried the *Arab* along with him; who, the next day, was admitted to *Al Hejáj's* table, and commanded by him to eat. The *Arab* then said his usual grace, *GOD grant that the end of this meal may be as fortunate as the beginning.* Whilst they were eating, *Al Hejáj* asked him

* AL MAKIN & ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. OXON. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Poc. num. 137. in Bibl. Bodl. OXON. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, pass. &c.

if he remembered the discourse that had passed between them the day before. The Arab answered him immediately, *God prosper you in every thing; but as for yesterday's secret, take care you do not divulge it to-day. That I most certainly shall*, replied *Al Hejáj*; but you must chuse one of these two things, either to acknowledge me your master, and then I will retain you in my service; or else to be sent to the Khalif Abd'almálec Ebn Merwán, to whom I shall give an account of all that you have said of him. The Arab, having heard *Al Hejáj's* proposal, answered him instantly, *There is a third way you may take, which seems to me to be much better. What is that?* said *Al Hejáj*. *Send me home*, replied the Arab, *and let I and you never see one another more*. Upon which, *Al Hejáj*, not a little pleased to hear the poor man talk with so much spirit and vivacity, made him a present of ten thousand *dirbems*, and dismissed him, according to his desire. With regard to the language of birds, such as that mentioned here, the Arabs pretend, that several of their nation have all along understood this, even from *Solomon's* time. They affirm, that this science has been known amongst them ever since the reign of that prince, when *Balkis*, the queen of *Sheba*, or *Saba*, had a bird called *Hudhud*, that is, the hoop or lapwing, which she dispatched to *Solomon* on several occasions, and which was the messenger of their amours. We are told by *Jallal'oddin*, that *Solomon*, having notice of the embassy designed to be sent him by *Balkis*, by means of the lapwing, even before the persons that composed it set out, ordered a large square to be inclosed with a wall built of gold and silver bricks, wherein he ranged his forces and attendants to receive them ^a.

KUMEIL, the son of *Ziyád*, was a man of fine wit. He *Kumeil* lived in the time of *Al Hejáj*, and did by no means approve of *saved by* his conduct. One day that governor ordered him to be brought *his wit*. before him, and reproached him, because, in a certain garden, before some persons that he named, he had uttered several imprecations against him, some of which were to the following effect: *The LORD blacken his face!* that is, *fill him with shame and confusion*; and *may his neck be cut off, and his blood shed!* To which *Kumeil*, who had an exceeding ready wit, answered instantly, *'Tis true, I did speak these words in the garden you mention; but then I was under a vine-arbour, looking upon a bunch of grapes not yet ripe, and I wished that they would turn black soon, that they might be cut off, and made wine of*. This ingenious explication so pleased *Al Hejáj*, that he sent *Kumeil* home, and re-established him in his favour ^b.

^a D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage Ebn Rufes Al Thakefi*, p. 442, 443, & in art. *Balkis*, p. 182. JALLALO'DDIN.

^b D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 443.

Ebn Korrah's evaluation.

ABU AYAS EBN KORRAH AL BASRI, a person celebrated for his piety and learning, whose father had been one of the COMPANIONS, being once with *Al Hejāj*, the porter told them, that a secretary was at the gate; upon which, *Ebn Korrah* said, *These secretaries are the worst of all sorts of people*. However, the secretary was introduced, and well received by *Al Hejāj*; who, after he had dismissed him, assured *Ebn Korrah*, that, had not the title of *Companion of the prophet* been in his family, he would have ordered his head to be struck off, because the *Korān* says, *Honour the writers*. *Ebn Korrah*, finding what imminent danger he was in, answered immediately, *I spoke of the secretaries of the Divān, and not of the angels that are called writers in the Korān*. To which he likewise thought fit to add, that the latter merited the appellation given them in that book, because they write down the actions of men, in order to produce them at the general judgment. This *Ebn Korrah* was the master of *Kotādah*, *Shabab*, and *Aāmas*, and made a very considerable figure amongst the *Moslems* ^c.

A religious Moslem's prayer for *Al Hejāj*. *SADI* relates, that *Al Hejāj* once recommended himself to the prayers of a religious *Moslem*; upon which, he instantly prayed that *GOD* would please to kill him quickly; for nothing, said he, can be more advantageous either to himself or the people. By which it in some measure appears, that the *Khatif's* subjects he was sent to govern entertained a very disagreeable, and even shocking, idea of him ^d.

Al Hejāj, before his death, orders his astrologer to be dispatched. *MIRKHOND* writes, that, when he was upon his death-bed, he consulted his astrologer, to know of him, if he had not found in his *Ephemerides*, that some great captain was near the end of his days. The astrologer answered him, that a certain great lord, named *Kolāib*, was threatened with speedy death, according to his observations. *Al Hejāj* replied, *that is the very name my mother gave me when I was a child*. Then, said the astrologer, with great imprudence, *you must certainly die; there is no room to doubt of it*. *Al Hejāj*, offended at this discourse, said instantly to him, *If that be the case, and you are so dexterous in your predictions, I will send you before me into the other world, that I may make use of you there*; and at the same time gave an order to have him dispatched. We must here beg leave to remark, that the word *Kolāib*, in Arabic, signifies a little dog; and that we meet with an account of this astrologer's fate, similar to that handed down to us by *Mirkbond*, in *Abu'l-Faraj* ^e.

^c D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Cerrah*, p. 272.

^d SADI. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 44; . ^e MIRKHOND. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 200, 201. MOHAMMED. AL FIRAUZABAD. in *Kam*.

THE former of those writers, also relates, that this general *Some far-*
 was born shut up at the bottom; so that his parents found it *ther par-*
 necessary to have him opened with surgeons instruments, lest *ticulars*
 a stop should be put by this natural impediment to the exer- *relating to*
 cise of the animal functions. The latter of them informs us, *bim.*
 that he fell sick by eating dirt; which he afterwards abstained
 from, by the advice of *Theodunus*, an eminent physician, who was
 cotemporary with him. The same author adds, that he died
 of a phthisis, or consumption, which, for a considerable time,
 deprived him of his natural rest. The dirt mentioned by this
 historian was a sort of medicinal clay, called by the *Latins*
Terra Lemnia, and by the *Arabs* *Thîn*, and *Thîn Mekhtowm*,
Lutum, *Lutum sigillatum*, & *Terra sigillata*, being prescribed
 in several cases by the most eminent physicians. We are told
 by a writer of some note, that *Al Hejâj* was extremely mag-
 nificent in his entertainments; insomuch that he furnished, on
 some occasions, no less than a thousand tables. He also, ac-
 cording to the same author, sometimes made very valuable
 presents to his friends; it having been known, that certain
 of them received of him 1,000,000 *dirhems* at once. *Al*
Hejâj left behind him a son, who erected a little principality,
 consisting of only seven small towns in *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian*
Irâk; which gradually going to decay, a city was at last
 formed out of them all, called *Kom*. This town stands at
 almost an equal distance from *Ispahân* and *Cazbin*, and about
 twenty-one parasangs from *Raya*. Between this last place
 and *Kom* there is a frightful desert, in which there was for-
 merly a very large and strong castle, called *Gerdesfir*; a par-
 ticular description of which we meet with in *Yâkût*. This
 city was raised out of the ruins of the seven others, in the
 203d year of the *Hejra*. *Abd'alrahmân*, the son of *Al Hejâj*,
 having been defeated by his enemies, and his country ruined,
 the inhabitants of the seven original towns gradually deserted
 them, and their descendants built the city of *Kom*; which
 was divided into seven parts, that retained the names of those
 towns. The principal of these was called *Kommedan*, a
 name apparently formed of *Kom*. The city of *Kom* is
 at this day justly celebrated for its manufactures of silk,
 called in the *Turkish* and *Persian* languages *Komash*, in the
 same manner as velvet is denominated in the east *Katîfah*,
 from the town of *Katîf*, situated in the province of *Ba-*
brein, on the *Persian* gulf, about two days journey from
Abfâ, where it is made. *Abd'almogni Ali*, a famous astro-
 loger, who left behind him an astrological treatise, intituled,
Ekthiarat, was a native of *Kom*, and from thence surnamed
Al Komi, or *Al Kommi*. *Abu Obeidah Mâmar Ebn Al Mothâni*
 writ the life of *Al Hejâj*, under the title of *Al Akbâr Hejâj*.

That author was a native of *Baghdād*, and died in the 209th year of the *Hejra*†.

The Moslems still victorious in Spain, and other parts.

THE same year in which *Al Hejāj* died, that is, the 95th of the *Hejra*, *Al Walid Ebn Abd'almālec* banished *Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbās* from *Damascus* to *Honsin*, a valley which lies about three miles from *Mecca*, towards *Al Tāyef*, where he begot twenty sons. The *Khalif* also ordered this *Ali* to receive seventy stripes, for meditating the murder of *Salit*. The *Arabs* gained this year a complete victory over the *Goths* in *Spain*, which paved the way to the absolute conquest of most of the provinces of that kingdom. *Roderic*, being informed, that the *Moslems* had landed a powerful army in *Spain*, and made terrible havock in several parts of his dominions, assembled his whole force, and resolved to bring the enemy to a general action, that should determine his fate as well as that of his subjects. Coming up with them, therefore, at *Affidona*, he attacked them with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the *Goths* had been enervated by a long peace, the victory hung in suspense for eight whole days. The king himself, dressed in his royal robes, with a golden crown upon his head, in an ivory chariot, after the manner of the *Gothic* princes, appeared at the head of his army, and so animated his troops by his presence and valiant behaviour, that they really performed wonders; though at last the *Arabs*, being continually reinforced with fresh troops, forced them to give way, and even betake themselves to a precipitate flight. To this the sons of *Vitiza*, according to some writers, not a little contributed. For, *Roderic* committing to their conduct the wings of the army, though they had already manifested their sinister intentions towards him, they went over to the enemy in the heat of the action; upon which, a total rout immediately ensued. The *Arabs* pursued the flying *Goths* with so much ardour, that the greatest part of them were killed either in the battle or the pursuit. In this fatal engagement, which ended on *Sunday* the fifth day of *July*, according to some of the best *Spanish* historians, all the *Gothic* nobility were slain; so that all the *Spaniards*, except the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*, who were the last that submitted to the *Romans*, were obliged, within a short time, gradually to receive the *Moslem* yoke. As for *Roderic* himself, it is not certainly known whether he was killed in the action, or survived the destruction of his army. Some affirm, that he fell in the battle; but others deny this. However, we are told for cer-

† MIRKHOND & GREG ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. Aut. Lib. AO-VAIL, YAKUT, EBN HAWKAL, HAMDALLA, ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 218—220, & alib. D'HARBEL. ubi sup. p. 263, 264, 271, 443, 444.

tain, that his horse *Orelia*, and ensigns of royalty, were found in a miry place, frequented by swine and other filthy animals, tho' the enemy sought for his body in vain. With regard to count *Julian*, he is said to have soon met with the proper reward of his villainy; the *Arabs*, according to a proverb received amongst us, loving the treason, but hating the traitor. His wife they stoned to death, threw his son headlong from the top of the castle of *Ceuta*, and stript him of all his possessions. After which, according to some, he miserably expired in irons in a fort or citadel belonging to the territory of *Osca*; tho' others, it must be owned, are of a different opinion. Be this, however, as it will, the *Arabs*, who lost sixteen thousand men in the battle of *Affidona*, reduced the whole kingdom of *Spain*, except the provinces occupied by the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*, as has been already observed, within the space of eight months, or, according to others, fourteen months, or, lastly, as others will have it, about two years. Nay, there are not wanting those who assert, that the *Arabs* spent five years in the conquest and intire reduction of the most considerable part of this region. *Tarif*, who now commanded in *Spain*, acquired an immense treasure, during this successful campaign; which not only enriched him, but likewise enabled him to reward all his officers, and even the troops themselves, for their bravery in this war. Nor did the *Moslem* commanders fail afterwards of amassing prodigious riches, with which they were supplied by this most opulent country; tho' these, if we will believe a certain historian, soon occasioned such dissensions amongst them, and so incensed them one against another, that several of them came to violent deaths, insomuch that, within the space of twenty years, there were no less than fifteen *Moslem* princes, or governors, in *Spain*. The *Arabs* were this year likewise formidable in the eastern parts of the world. *Masalmes*, *Moslema*, or *Meslem*, an *Arab* general that we have formerly mentioned, made several incursions into the imperial territories, and ravaged the whole province of *Galatia*, carrying off with him many rich spoils, and a great number of prisoners, when he retired into the *Khalif's* dominions. The *Greek* emperor, being informed, that *Al Walid* was making vast preparations to attack him both by sea and land, sent some of his nobles, and, amongst the rest, *Daniel Sinopenfis*, to treat of a peace with that prince. Amongst other instructions with which *Daniel* was charged, the emperor ordered him to procure as exact an account as possible of the force with which *Al Walid* proposed to invade the *Greek* empire. Upon his return from the *Moslem* court, that nobleman represented both the naval and military preparations of the *Arabs* against the *Christians*,

Sians, and particularly the capital city of the empire, as so stupendous, that it would be next to impossible to oppose them. The emperor therefore finding, that the *Khalif* intended to lay siege to *Constantinople*, he caused a very large number of light ships to be built, the walls to be repaired, and, having filled the public granaries, ordered such of the citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years to depart the city. He likewise added some new works to the place on the sea-side, and disposed his military engines on the towers in such a manner as might enable him to give the enemy a proper reception, whenever they should think fit to appear. In the mean time, *Al Walid* continued his warlike preparations with the utmost vigour, being determined to make himself master of *Constantinople*, if possible, in one campaign ^s.

The death and character of Al Walid. IN the 96th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 715, *Korrah Ebn Sharik*, *Al Walid's* governor of *Egypt*, died at *Mesr*, where he had erected a large and stately mosque, about three years before his death. He was succeeded by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Refa'a*, who presided over the *Egyptians* till the accession of *Selimân Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân* to the *Moslem* throne. As for the *Khalif Al Walid*, he died this year, about the middle of the latter *Jemâda*, and was buried at *Damascus*. He reigned about nine years and eight months; being at the time of his death, according to some, forty eight, or, as others will have it, forty-three, years of age. He was very tall, swarthy, flat-nosed, and pitted with the small-pox. He had a large beard, with some grey hairs in it, was of a strong robust constitution, and a very choleric temper. He was subject to intemperate sallies of passion, being by no means capable of bridling his anger. According to *Al Makin*, he married sixty-three wives, the greatest part of whom he divorced; which, as that author says, was attended with a very considerable expence. He laid out large sums of money upon public buildings, such as the magnificent mosques at *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, and *Medina*; all which were either erected or enlarged and beautified in his reign. This *Khalif* appointed *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* his commandant of *Medina*, and was the first of the successors of *Mohammed* who founded an hospital for sick people, and a *Caravansera*, or public house of entertainment, for poor travellers and strangers. His secretaries, who succeeded one another in the order they are mentioned here, were *Korrah Ebn Yezid*, *Kabida Ebn*

^s AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. liv. p. 112. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ANTONIUS A GUEVARA, in epistola ad Alfons. Burg. Episc. FERDINAND. NUM. PINCIAN. ISIDOR. PACENS. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. p. 696, 697. THAOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 321, 322.

Dawib, Dabak Ebn Zerik, Yezid Ebn Abikefba, and Abd'al-lah Ebn Mâlec; his chamberlains, *Kbâled* and *Saad*, the first his servant, and the other his freed-man; and the captain of his guards *Caab Ebn Hazem Al Abâfi*. The inscription of his seal was, O AL WALID! you are to die, and to give an account of your actions. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Friday*, and the last *Saturday*. He is said to have had some skill in architecture, but to have been a very indifferent linguist. The accounts of the public treasury he ordered the clerks, or secretaries, to write in *Arabic*, and not in *Greek*, as was the custom before his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Al Walid*, as has been already observed, was more powerful than any of his predecessors; having subjugated, according to the eastern writers, *Spain, Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca*, part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, the vast province of *Mawarâ'nahr*, *Little Bukhâria*, or the kingdom of *Kashgar*, and *Turkestan*. He likewise, if we will believe those authors, rendered that part of *India* on this side the *Ganges* tributary to him. The greatest part of the *Moslem* historians differ widely from those of *Syria* in their accounts of this prince. The latter represent him as the greatest *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*; whereas the former have transmitted him down to posterity as naturally cruel and violent, of much the same disposition with *Pharaoh* king of *Egypt*, called also *Al Walid* by some of the eastern writers. *Khondemir*, one of the principal of the *Persian* historians, tells us, that *Katiba Ebn Moslem*, *Al Walid's* governor of *Khurasân*, after he had passed the *Jihûn*, advanced to *Samarkand*, where *Magourek*, the king, or *Khân*, of *Mawarâ'nahr*, was shut up, and laid siege to that place; that, after having sustained several very vigorous attacks, it surrendered to him by capitulation; the principal article of which was, that *Magourek* should pay the *Khalif* annually, by way of tribute, 2,000,000 *dinârs*, and at the same time make him a present of 3000 slaves; and that, after he had possessed himself of the place, he ordered all the idols therein to be destroyed, and constructed in it one of the most superb mosques to be met with in all the *Moslem* empire^a.

^a AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 73. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 201, 202. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 376, 377. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Valid*, p. 907. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 314. KHANDEMIR. Vide etiam ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univers. Aut. LEB TARIKH, MIRAT CAINAT, EBN SHOHNAH, alioque kriptor. orient. plur.

S E C T. XIII.

He is succeeded by his brother Solimân. SOLIMAN EBN ABD'ALMALEC, surnamed *Abu Ayub*, succeeded his brother *Al Walid*, and was inaugurated the very day on which that *Khalif* died. His mother was *Waladab*, the daughter of *Al Abbâs Ebn Harbi Al Abbâsi*. He was a prince of fine parts and surprizing eloquence, having been educated amongst his mother's relations in the desert. He redressed all grievances that had happened before his accession, put an end to all disorders, encouraged trade, and released all the prisoners in his extensive dominions, except such as had been incarcerated for capital crimes. In the 96th year of the *Hejra*, or the first of his reign, *Katiba Ebn Moslem*, the governor of *Khorasân*, rebelled against him; but the people of that country were so far from joining with him in his defection, that they rushed upon him with one accord, cut him to pieces, and elected for their leader one *Wâki Ebn Abu Sawid*, who presided over them till *Solimân* appointed *Yezid Ebn Moballeb Ebn Abu Saфра* his lieutenant of *Khorasân*. *Yezid* greatly extended the *Moslem* conquests on that side, reducing *Taberistân* and *Furjân*, *Georgiana*, or *Giurgiana*, under the dominion of the *Khalif*. In this war he gained many glorious victories, ravaged the enemies territories, killed a vast number of the infidels, and imposed an annual tribute upon the rest. Soon after, *Solimân* began to make the necessary dispositions for putting his troops in march against *Constantinople*, and appointed his brother *Moslema* to command in that expedition. *Asamah Ebn Zeid Al Tannukhi* collected the tribute at this time for *Solimân* in *Egypt*. Nothing very material passed this year in *Spain*. However, the *Arabs*, by the assistance of the *Jews*, surprized the city of *Toledo* on *Palm-Sunday*, which had returned from them to the enemy. *Mûsa* also, the prefect of *Africa*, hearing of the great success of *Tarif*, and of the immense riches he had acquired, landed again with a large body of the *Moslem* troops in *Spain*, assumed to himself the spoils taken by that general from the *Goths*, and then in conjunction with him, notwithstanding the mutual hatred and animosities that subsisted between them, reduced *Cæsaraugusta*, known at this time by the name of *Saragoſa*, or *Saragoſſa*, and several other towns. The inhabitants of those places the *Arabs* treated with cruelty enough; plundering and pillaging them all without distinction, and even putting many of them to the sword¹.

¹ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 73, 74. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 202. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 376, 377. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 190—197. Fortalit. Fid. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. p. 697.

THE following year, being the 97th of the *Hejra*, beginning September 5th, 715, *Solimán* ordered a *Mikeas*, Nilescope, built by or pillar to measure the increase of the Nile, to be erected on an island between *Geeza*, or *Al Fiza*, the antient *Memphis*, according to Dr. *Shaw*, and *Al Fostát*; he having been before informed by *Asamah Ebn Zeid Al Tannúkhi*, his collector of the tribute and customs in *Egypt*, that the *Mikeas* built at *Holwán* by *Abd'alaziz Ebn Merwán* was become intirely usefess. This Nilescope may possibly be still remaining, as that seen and described by the learned Dr. *Shaw* stands upon the point of an island that lies between *Kairo* and *Geeza*; which situation exactly corresponds with that assigned *Solimán's Nilometer* by *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*. For a full and ample description of this column, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. *Shaw's* observations in *Egypt*; where they will meet with the best and most entertaining account of it, that has hitherto been communicated to the world ^k.

THIS year, the *Arabs* rather lost than gained ground in *Moslema Spain*. *Pelagius*, or, as the *Spaniards* call him, *Pelayo*, the son begins his of *Fasla*, or *Favila*, duke of *Cantabria*, was proclaimed king of march for the *Asturians*; and *Garfias Ximinius*, known amongst the *Spaniards* by the name of *García Ximenes*, of *Gothic* extraction, founded a kingdom in the *Pyrenean* mountains, whither many of the *Christians* had fled from *Saragosa* and other towns of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, when they were taken by the *Arabs*. Nor could the *Khalif's* forces in *Spain* reduce these two new princes. The army sent against *Pelayo* returned, without having effected any thing, to *Corduba*; and that destined to act against *Ximenes*, who distinguished himself in several sharp actions with only a body of 600 horse, was not able to seize upon any part of his territories. On the contrary, the latter of these *Christian* monarchs advanced his frontiers into the enemy's country, and died after a reign of forty-two years. The first of them likewise reigned about nineteen years, as our readers will find more particularly related in the modern history of *Spain*. About this time, *Moslema*, who is called by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus Masalmas*, begun his march for *Constantinople*, with an army of 120,000 men, advanced first to *Amorium* in *Phrygia*, and afterwards to *Pergamus* in *Myfia*, which he surprized; and then took up his winter-quarters in the *Lesser Asia*. *Theophanes* seems to intimate, that either *Solimán* himself, or a general of the same name, commanded a body of the *Moslem* forces in this expedition; tho' not the least foundation for such a notion is to be met with in the ori-

^k AL MAKIN & EUTYCH. ubi sup. SHAW's physic. and miscellan. observat. in *Egypt*, p. 433—439.

ental historians. *Ebn Shohnah* writes, that this prince was at *Ramla*, or *Rama*, when his brother died, from whence he went to *Damascus* as soon as he had received advice of that event, in order to take possession of the *Khalifat*; and that, after a short residence there, he commanded his troops to advance to *Marj Dabek*, near *Aleppo*, from whence his brother *Mosleme* marched directly to *Constantinople*, that he might form the siege of that important place. These are the most material transactions of the 97th year of the *Hejra*, both according to the *Christian* and the *Moslem* historians¹.

and be-
sieges that
capital.

THE next year, that is, the 98th of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 25th, 716, several remarkable events happened in those parts of the world, that were the theatres of the war between the *Christians* and the *Moslems*. The *Christians* of *Spain*, who submitted to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*, and chose to reside in the *Moslem* territories, were not disturbed either in the possession of their properties, or the free exercise of their religion. As they were intermixed, and in a manner incorporated, with the *Arabs*, they obtained on that account the name of *Mozarabes*; and the missal then in use amongst them, drawn up by *St. Leander* and *St. Isidore*, and which was followed by all the *Christians* of *Spain* till the time of *Alphonfus VI.* was called the *Mozarabic* missal. This year, *Músa* and *Tarif* were recalled by *Solimán*, and not *Al Walid*, as we find asserted by some of the *Spanish* historians, to give an account of their conduct. *Músa* left his son *Abd'alariz* behind him, to govern *Spain* in his absence, who married *Egibon*, *Egilon*, or *Egilena*, *Roderic's* wife, and fixed his residence at *Seville*, as has been already observed. As for *Tarif*, before his departure, he appointed *Al Khamán*, an excellent officer, to command the *Moslem* forces destined to act against *Pelagius*, whom he thought it a scandal to him not to have reduced. *Al Khamán*, before he proceeded directly to hostilities, sent *Oppa*, or *Oppas*, the archbishop of *Seville*, to prevail upon him, if possible, to take the oath of allegiance to the *Khalif*. This *Oppa* attempted, and had a conference with *Pelagius*, who had taken post with 1000 chosen men in a cave on mount *Aufena*, having disposed his other troops, on which he could not so much depend, to the best advantage, upon the precipices of that mountain; but without effect, that prince being still determined to assert his independency against the *Arabs*. *Al Khaman*, therefore, finding pacific measures in-

¹ IOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 697, 698. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 325, 326, 327. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. 449, 450. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Solimán Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 821.

effectual,

effectual, marched against him with a powerful army, but could not meet with an opportunity of attacking him before the following year. In the mean time, *Moslema*, having in vain waited for *Leo's* performance of certain engagements he had last year entered into with him, when he persuaded him to assume the purple, and promised to support him, left his winter-quarters in the *Lesser Asia*, and resumed his march for *Constantinople*. Upon his arrival at *Abydus*, he made the necessary dispositions for passing the *Hellespont*, and transporting his forces into *Thrace*; which having done, and sent orders to *Solimán*, the *Khalif's* admiral, to appear with the fleet, he defeated the imperial army that covered *Constantinople*, made himself master of the enemy's camp, and caused the city to be invested on the 15th day of *August*. *Moslema*, or, as the *Greek* writers call him, *Masalmas*, having soon after opened the trenches in form before the city, and drawn a line of circumvallation round his camp, pushed on the siege with great vigour. On the 1st of *September*, *Solimán*, according to *Theophanes*, in pursuance of the orders he had received, appeared, with the *Arab* fleet, consisting of men of war of a monstrous size, besides merchant-men and light vessels, amounting in all to about 1800 ships, before the town, in order to block it up by sea, and forward the operations of the land-forces. Twenty of the merchant-men, or transports, that, by reason of their heavy lading, sailed slower than the rest, arriving a few days after the grand fleet, were set on fire by some fire-ships sent against them from the citadel, and reduced to ashes; which proved a very considerable loss to the *Arabs*, as every one of them had 100 soldiers on board, armed with coats of mail; all which were either consumed by the flames, or swallowed up by the waves. This greatly animated the garison, and struck the enemy with terror and consternation. It likewise prevented an attack on the sea-side of the city, which the enemy proposed to have made with a great part of their forces the very day on which this action happened. The following winter was so severe in *Thrace*, that the ground was covered with the snow frozen upon it an hundred days; inso-much that almost all the enemy's horses, camels, and other beasts of burden, perished with the cold. They lost likewise a vast number of men by the inclemency of the season, and were reduced to great straits for want of provisions. They found themselves, therefore, incapable of making any considerable progress in the siege before the return of the spring; when two fleets, one of 800 ships, with a vast quantity of corn on board from *Egypt*, under the command of *Sofian*, and another of 360 merchant-men, or transports, laden with arms, baggage, and provisions, from *Africa*, under the conduct of *Yezid*,
approached

approached to their relief. But both those admirals having received intelligence of the fatal effects of the liquid or sea-fire, so called because it burnt under water, being the invention of one *Gallinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, that had destroyed the twenty transports above-mentioned, they were obliged for some time to stand off to sea. However, at last they ventured to draw nearer the city; but were soon, for the most part, consumed by the artificial fire discharged upon them from certain swift vessels and biremes, on board of which a proper quantity of it had been lodged for that purpose. All the land as well as the naval forces brought by those fleets, to reinforce the *Moslem* army incamped before *Constantinople*, and enable it to carry on the siege of that capital with more vigour, were either drowned or reduced to ashes in this action; and the *Greeks* carried off with them all the enemy's baggage, money, and provisions, that had escaped the flames, triumphantly into the town. About the same time, a detachment of the imperial forces cut to pieces a body of the *Arab* troops, commanded by one *Merdasan*, that had ravaged the coast as far as *Nicaa* and *Nicomedia*; which cleared the opposite shore of the enemy's parties, and enabled the emperor's subjects to supply the besieged with necessaries from thence; the communication between *Thrace* and the neighbouring parts of *Asia* being now as open as before the commencement of the siege. The fishing vessels likewise followed their occupation in the *Bosporus* and the *Propontis*, without any disturbance from the *Moslems*; so that the city, at this juncture, enjoyed a plenty of every thing that was necessary for the support of human life. The *Arabs*, on the other hand, were so grievously distressed for want of provisions, that a famine ensued amongst them; which obliged them to feed upon horses, asses, and other unclean animals, that died of themselves; nay, upon human excrements, and even at last upon one another. This introduced the plague amongst them, which swept away an infinite number of men; and, to crown all their misfortunes, the *Bulgarians* attacked their camp, and put 22,000 of them to the sword. However, the people of *Constantinople*, according to some of the *Arab* historians, were reduced to such straits, that they offered *Moslema* a large sum of money, if he would retire. They also intimate, that *Leo* outwitted *Moslema*, and deprived him, by one of not the most refined stratagems, both of his ships and provisions. Notwithstanding which, that general, expecting a reinforcement from *Soliman*, then at *Marj Dabek*, near *Kin-nisrin* and *Aleppo*, obstinately persisted in his resolution to continue the siege ^m.

SOME

^m JOAN. VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 698, 699, 700. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 329—333. CROKEN. ubi sup. p. 451. AL MAKIN, ubi

SOME authors affirm, that *Solimân* began to build the city *Solimân's* of *Ramla*, or *Rama*, in the 98th year of the *Hejra*; but this ^{son} *Ayub* runs counter to what has been advanced by *Ebn Shohnah*, who ^{dies}. relates, that he was there at his brother's death, as we have already observed. It seems more probable, that he only fortified this city, in order to secure it from the insults of the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, who at this time made frequent incursions into *Palestine*. However, *Solimân* is said by the *Arab* writers to have been the first who adorned *Ramla* with a fine palace, a stately mosque, a proper number of aqueducts, and other public buildings; which might not improbably have induced some to think, that he was the founder of that city. This year died his son *Ayub*, whom he had obliged the *Moslems* to acknowledge the heir apparent to the crown; after which, he nominated *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, a prince of exemplary piety, to succeed him. But this last event is more properly to be ranked amongst the transactions of the following year ⁿ.

THE 99th year of the *Hejra*, part of the 717th and 718th *The Arabs* of the *Christian* æra, proved very unsuccessful to the *Moslems*. met with *Al Khamân* ascended mount *Ausena* at the head of a powerful *bad success* army, and attacked the cave on the summit of that mountain, in *Spain*. where *Pelagius* had posted himself with 1000 men, being the flower of his troops; but was repulsed with the loss of 20,000 men, according to some of the *Spanish* historians. This so animated the *Christians* under *Pelagius*, that they sallied out of the cave, fell upon the *Arabs* in their turn, and overthrew them with very great slaughter. *Al Khamân* himself was killed in the action, and *Oppa* taken prisoner; tho' it is not certainly known what afterwards became of him. As for the *Arabs*, who escaped the carnage on this occasion, they were either obliged to throw themselves down headlong from the precipices of the mountains, or fell into the hands of the *Christians*, who put them immediately to the sword. In the mean time, *Tarif*, arriving first at the *Khalif's* court, accused *Mûsa* of such enormous crimes, and supported with such convincing proofs his accusation, that the latter was not only ill received by *Solimân*, but likewise fined by him in a very large sum of money; which so affected him, that he soon after pined away with grief. One of the crimes laid to *Mûsa's* charge was, that he had secreted most of the riches

ubi sup. p. 74. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 202, 203.
D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 821. ⁿ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 74.
GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. 204. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.
ip art. *Solimân Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 821 ISM. ABULFED. in Pa-
læst. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 140, 141. ALBERT. SCHULT.
iad. geographic. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Ramala*.

acquired in *Spain* for his own use, and reserved but a small part of them for the *Khalif*; upon which, he was not only deprived of the honourable post to which he had been advanced, but likewise obliged him to pay down 2,000,000 *dirbems*. And because *Ayub*, of whom we have spoken above, was related to *Músa*, the *Khalif* recalled him from *Spain*, and substituted *Alabor*, or *Alabor*, *Ebn Abd'alrahmán* in his room. All which events are placed by the *Spanish* writers in the 97th year of the *Hejra*; whereas, in truth and reality, they happened in the 99th of that æra; and consequently in the *Khalifat* of *Solimán*, and not of *Al Walid*, as those writers pretend. *Alabor*, upon his arrival in *Spain*, being informed of the terrible havoc made amongst the *Arab* troops by *Pelagius*, imputed this to the treachery of *Julian*, and the sons of *Vitiza*; whose effects he therefore confiscated, and afterwards put them all three to death. Others, however, affirm, that those traitors met with this fate before *Músa's* departure out of *Spain*. Be that as it will, the *Moslem* throne was occupied by *Solimán*, the brother of *Al Walid*, the 97th, 98th, and part of the 99th, years of the *Hejra*, as we certainly learn from the best of the *Arab* historians °.

Moslema
raises the
siege of
Constantinople,
and returns
home.

THE *Khalif's* forces before *Constantinople* having been so weakened by sickness, desertion, the attack of the *Bulgarians*, the various assaults they had made, and the sallies of the garrison, that they despaired of taking the city either by storm or capitulation; *Moslema*, the *Arab* general, found himself at last obliged to raise the siege. The army, therefore, by his order, decamped, and returned into the *Lesser Asia*, in the 99th year of the *Hejra*, after having sustained an incredible loss. The soldiers, for a considerable time, were forced to live upon hides, the roots and leaves of trees, the most noisome animals, their own excrements, and even some of their own dead bodies, as has been already observed, before they abandoned the enterprize in which they had been so long embarked. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* relate, that the *Arab* fleet, with the shattered remains of the land-forces on board, set sail for the coast of *Asia*, on the 15th of *August*, the present year; and that, on this very day, that fleet was almost totally destroyed by a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, and the artificial fire of the *Greeks*, ten ships only escaping the common destruction: in which, however, those writers are not supported by the concurrent testimony of any *Moslem* historian. The calamities suffered by the inhabitants during

° RODERIC. TOLETAN. *histof. Arab.* c. x. RASES, ISIDOR. PACENS. JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 700, 701. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ; et EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in *hist. univ.* EBN SHOHNAH, AUL. LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, &c.

the siege, which continued, according to some, thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years, or, lastly, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, two years and an half, are not to be described; 30,000 of them having perished with hunger, and the like number been swept away by the plague. As for the *Arab* troops, scarce any of them returned home, tho' the general himself seems to have arrived safe at the *Moslem* court; so that the *Khalif* must have lost near 120,000 men in this fatal expedition^p.

THE same year, *Solimân Ebn Abd'almâlec*, emperor of the *Solimân's* faithful, on the 21st day of the month *Safar*, departed this ^{death and} life at *Marj Dabek*, in the district of *Kinnisrin*, to the inexpressible regret of his subjects. He had so endeared himself to them, by releasing from their confinement all the prisoners in his dominions, and other acts of clemency, that they gave him the surname of *Mestah Al Khaîr*, or *the key of goodness*; by which it plainly appeared what a high regard they had for him. When he was on his death-bed, he sent for *Raja*, his *Wazîr*, or *Vîsir*, and ordered him to write down on a piece of paper, that he had nominated *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, his cousin-german, to succeed him, on condition, nevertheless, that *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, his brother, should, after that prince's decease, be called to the succession. This writing having been signed and sealed in form, *Raja*, by his command, assembled all the nobles and grandees of his court, and made them take an oath to recognize the authority of the person named *Khalif* therein after his death. The *Moslem* lords then, in pursuance of another order, came all to *Solimân's* bed's head, and confirmed in his presence, by word of mouth, what they had before obliged themselves by their own hand-writing, as well as by oath, to perform. *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, one of them, soon after meeting *Raja*, desired him to inform him who the *Khalif* designed for his successor; telling him he might safely do this, as he knew himself to be excluded from the succession, as he was perfectly easy in that matter, and as he should sincerely congratulate the new *Khalif* upon his nomination. But *Raja*, being a man of great prudence and discretion, begged to be excused from revealing that secret, reassembled the noblesse, as soon as the breath was out of *Solimân's* body, and made them all, without exception, repeat the oath they had formerly taken: after the conclusion of which ceremony, he opened the paper wherein the successor's name was written, by *Solimân's* order, and immediately pro-

^p THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 334. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 451, 452. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. p. 204. EBN AMID, KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

claimed *Omar Ibn Abd'alaziz* emperor of the faithful. *Solimán* was forty-five, or, as others say, thirty-nine, years old at the time of his death, and reigned two years and eight months, wanting only five days. As to his person, he was tall, of a fair complexion, had a black beard, and seemed to tread upon his heels. With regard to his disposition, he was mild and merciful, as appears from what has been already observed of him, and a great lover of women. He died, according to some, of a pain in his side, or, as others will have it, of an indigestion. Nor is this to be wondered at, if what some of the *Arab* writers relate of him be true, viz. that he could eat three lambs roasted for breakfast, and afterwards dine very heartily in public; or if, according to others, he used to devour no less than an hundred pounds weight of meat every day. However, an historian, followed by *Al Makin*, seems to intimate, that he lost his life by drinking a draught of milk, into which some poison had been infused, given him by an *Arab*, sent by his brother *Yezid* out of *Palestine* for that purpose. Which, if it be true, seems to imply, that this prince knew, or at least suspected, and was displeased with, *Solimán's* manner of settling the succession; as taking himself to have an incontestable right to the *Khalifat*, after his brother's decease. We are told by some of the eastern historians, that *Jaasar Al Barmeki*, one of *Solimán's* principal counsellors, advised him to coin money of a better alloy, and a higher standard, than that struck in the reign of his father *Abd'almálek*; so that the finer gold and silver money, ever current amongst the *Moslems* after this event, from this *Jaasar* received the name of *Jaasarian*. In confirmation of which article, it may be observed, that the writer of this history has a *dirhém*, consisting of silver, sufficiently fine, struck at *Cúfa* in the 134th year of the *Hejra*, being the 3d of *Abu'l Abbás Al Saffab*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbás*, of which we shall give our readers hereafter a more particular account. That article will, however, perhaps, render suspicious the antiquity of the *dirhém* above-mentioned, belonging to the university of *Oxford*, supposed to have been coined at *Wáset* upon the *Tigris* about nine or ten years before the elevation of *Solimán* to the *Moslem* throne (that also exhibits another mark of a later date) the silver of which is likewise sufficiently fine.

⁹ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 74, 75. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 378, 379. THEOPHAN. et CEDREN. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, AL ZAMAKHSHAR. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. et alib. & COSTARD's two dissertations on the signification of the words *Kisfáb* and *Hermes*, p. 33, 34, 35. Oxford, 1750.

THE *Arab* writers inform us, that *Solimân* had many *Some other* wives; and that one of these predicted his death not long be- *particu-* fore it happened. *Yezid Ebn Mohalleb*, *Abd'alaziz Ebn Al lars relat-* *Hâretb Ebn Al Hakem*, and *Fadl Ebn Mohalleb*, served that *ing to him,* prince in the capacity of secretaries of state; *Mohammed Ebn Hdram* in that of *Kâdi*, or judge; *Caab Ebn Khâled 'Al Ab. fi.* in that of captain of the guards; and *Abu Obeidab*, his freed-man, in that of chamberlain. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Sunday*, and the last *Friday*. His successor, *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, said the funeral prayers over him, at the time of his interment. The inscription of his seal was, *I believe in GOD our Saviour*. Many particulars relating to him may be met with in the *Persian* writers, that have been wholly omitted by all the *Arab* historians †.

S E C T. XIV.

IN obedience to *Solimân's* will, *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* was *He is suc-* proclaimed *Khalif* the day on which his predecessor died, *ceeded by* that is, the 20th, or 21st, of the month *Safar*, in the 99th *Omar* year of the *Hejra*, answering to the month of *February*, in the *Ebn Ab-* year of *CHRIST* 718. The *Greek* writers likewise make this *d'alaziz.* event to have happened about the same time; so that their authority, in the present case, supports the concurrent testimony of *Al Makin*, *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, *Abulfeda*, *Abul-Faraj*, *Ebn Arrabeb*, *Eutychius*, and all the other best *Arab* historians. His mother *Omm Afem* was the daughter of *As*, the son of the *Khalif Omar*. He suppressed the solemn malediction pronounced by the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, after the conclusion of divine service, from the accession of *Moâwiyah I.* to the death of *Solimân*, against the name of *Ali*, and that of all his family; every member of which was cursed and excommunicated, during that interval, in all the mosques throughout the empire. *Omar*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, made a speech to the people from the pulpit, which he ascended immediately after his inauguration, on this occasion; wherein he endeavoured to inspire them with sentiments of piety and moderation; telling them, that he bore not the least ill-will to any *Moslem*; and that the wicked only had reason to be apprehensive of meeting with any severity from him. After which, he gave the robe he had on to the poor, and came down from the pulpit. But the abolition of this custom, however right in itself, by no means pleased many of his subjects; who, after the dismissal of the assembly, cried out, *The law is ne-*

† *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 75. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. *AUT. LEB* *TARIKH*, *KHONDEMIR*, &c. *D'HERBEL.* ubi sup. et alib.

glected! the law is neglected! He likewise caused fruits of various kinds to be distributed amongst his servants, being afraid of an assassination. We are told by *Khendemir*, that, as soon as *Omar* was saluted *Khalif*, the most beautiful and finest horses were brought him out of his predecessor's stables; all which he refused; and that, mounting the horse he usually rode upon, when a private person, he went directly to his own house; being unwilling to incommode, in any respect, the last *Khalif*'s family, which then resided in the palace. Nor could he, according to that author, be prevailed upon to take possession of any of the apartments assigned him as *Khalif*, till *Soliman*'s domestics and relations, shamed by his superior modesty, had withdrawn themselves from thence. However, notwithstanding his virtuous disposition, if we will believe the *Greek* historians, he persecuted the *Christians* this and the following year; putting to death those who persisted in the profession of their religion, and remitting the tribute of those who became converts to *Mohammedism*. He is also said to have written, about the same time, a letter to the emperor *Leo*, containing an exposition of his faith, in order to make a proselyte of that prince. About this time, that is, the 100th year of the *Hejra*, *Alahor*, or, as *Roderic* of *Teledo* calls him, *Alahor*, sent a body of troops to ravage *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the hither part of *Spain*, into which great numbers of the *Christians* had retired, where they committed dreadful devastations; and, according to the last-mentioned author, imposed an annual tribute upon those provinces, as well as some other parts of *Spain* that had not yet been plundered by the *Arabs*. *Alahor* also treated with extreme severity the *Christians* settled at *Corduba*, and even the *Moslems* themselves that first came into *Spain*; whom he oppressed with famine, imprisoned, and put to various kinds of tortures, to compel them to discover the treasures they were supposed to have concealed. *Abd'alaziz*, the son of *Musa*, who married *Roderic*'s widow, and fixed his residence at *Seville*, is also said to have been assassinated this year. It is likewise intimated by some of the *Spanish* historians, that, before the conclusion of it, there happened a very remarkable solar eclipse, which continued three hours, and was visible all over *Spain*; during a considerable part of which, the stars, as in the night, very clearly appeared.^{*}

Tho'

* THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 334. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 452. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 75, 76. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 204. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. BEN ARRAHER, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 105. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 378, 379. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. Omar Ben Abd'alaziz, p. 689.

RODERIC

THO' Omar did not distinguish himself in a military capacity, he discovered a most humane and benevolent disposition, covered on and a remarkable affection for the house of Ali, on several occasions. The suppression of the solemn malediction above-mentioned was the first incontestable proof of this. The great principal circumstances preparatory to, and attending, that fiction for unexpected event, have been related in the following manner the family by Khondemir, the Persian historian. Omar, having some of Ali, conversation with a Jew, said to him, amongst other things, *Ask of me one day or other in public my daughter in marriage.* This the Jew did, and was answered by the Khalif, *How can such a thing be, since you and I are of different religions.* To this the Jew replied, *Did not Mohammed give his daughter in marriage to Ali?* The case there, said Omar, was quite different: for Ali was a Moslem, and has been the commander of the faithful. Why then, returned the Jew, do you curse him publicly in your mosques? Upon which, the Khalif, turning his face towards the principal of his courtiers then present, said to them, *Answer this Jew.* But finding them greatly embarrassed, and that they had no answer to make, he declared, that, for the future, that malediction should be suppressed; and that, in the room of it, there should be pronounced the following verse of the Korán: "Forgive us, LORD, our sins; pardon likewise all our brethren, who make profession of the same faith that we do ourselves." Ebn Shohnah relates, that the verse substituted in the room of the malediction was, "God commands us to observe justice, and do good." Which formula, however, according to that author, did not fully take place before the 100th year of the Hejra. That year likewise Omar constituted Ayub Ebn Serjabil governor of Egypt. This Khalif also, about the same time, as a mark of his regard for the race of Ali, ordered restitution to be made to his descendents of the territory of Fidak, given Ali by Mohammed, when he bestowed his daughter upon him in marriage; and appointed a particular receiver to collect the revenues of that district, and distribute them amongst those that deduced their origin from the children Ali had by Fátéma, from time to time, by equal portions. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that many of the Moslems, at this juncture, should have declared openly, that the house of Al Abbás had more right to the Khalifat than that of Ommiyah; as being descended in a direct line from Abd'almotaleb, the grandfather of Mohammed, as well as that of Ali himself, which had no other advantage over them, than that their great progenitor had espoused Fátéma, the daughter of the prophet. For, that the subjects of the Moslem em-

RÓDERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. x. RASES, JOANNES V. 1245, in Hisp. chron. p. 701,

pire began actually to talk after this manner, in the 100th year of the *Hejra*, we learn from some of the best oriental historians *.

Omar
Ebn Ab-
d'alaziz's
death.

THE following year, being the 101st year of the *Hejra*, and commencing July 24th, 719, one *Shâzib* having revolted against *Omar*, under divers religious pretexts, the *Khalif* wrote to him, that, if his intention was only to reform religion and the state, whose interests he took to be inseparable, he might come to court, where they would concert together the most proper measures for settling all points according to his desire. Soon after *Shâzib* received the *Khalif*'s letter, he sent two deputies to represent to him, that he had no subject of complaint against his person, as he could not but acknowledge him to be a very just and equitable prince; but that since, by his own conduct, he had visibly condemned that of the *Khalif* of his house and family, he ought to cause them to be cursed publicly in the mosques, as they had done to *Ali* and his posterity, during their respective reigns. The deputies having executed their master's orders, *Omar* answered them in the following terms: "As what you require of me relates to another world, " and not to this, I should think myself guilty of a very " great sin, if I complied with your request. For, we do " not find, that GOD has commanded his prophet to curse " any one; nor are we authorized by his word to treat a per- " son in that manner, on account of his wicked life; since " *Pharaoh* himself, who, with so much impudence arrogated " to himself divine honours, was never formally cursed for his " enormous crimes. Much less can I order a solemn male- " diction to be publicly pronounced against the house of *Om- " miyah*, my relations, who pray constantly at the usual times, " observe the stated fasts, and perform all the other religious " duties of the *Moslems*." The deputies, not being able to make any reply to so obvious a truth, opened to him another of their griefs, and said, " But, Sir, ought so just and equi- " table a prince, as your majesty is, to leave his crown to an " impious and abandoned successor?" The *Khalif* told them, that such a case as this might possibly happen, and perhaps not; and that therefore they ought to leave to Providence the disposal of future events. To which they instantly replied, that " they knew *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who had been de- " clared his successor, to be possessed of all the bad qualities " that could be inherent in the most flagitious prince." At these words, *Omar* could not forbear shedding tears, and de-

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. KHONDAMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

fired three days time to think of a proper answer to what on this occasion they had suggested to him. The members of the house of *Ommiyah*, having been apprized of the particulars of this conference between *Omar* and *Sbāzib*'s deputies, were afraid lest the *Khalif* should change the order of succession, and transfer the *Khalifat* to another family. For this reason, they resolved to dispatch him; and therefore bribed a slave to poison him; which villainous design was carried into execution this present year. He died the 25th of *Rajeb*, after a short reign of two years five months and fourteen days, being then either 33, 37, 39, or 40, years of age, and was interred in the monastery of *St. Simeon*, situated near the little town of *Mabarāt*, one of the dependencies of *Hems*; tho' his sepulchre was in the monastery of *The Cow* at *Maarra Noomani*, according to the common opinion. We must here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Maarra Noomani*, or *Maarra Al Nooman*, was a very large city of *Syria*, between *Hamath* and *Aleppo*, in the province of *Hems*, that derived its name from *Al Nooman Ebn Bashir Al Sababi*, and had annexed to it a territory of a very considerable extent. This district abounded with olives, figs, pistachos, and various other kinds of fruits. It stood near the river *Kewaik*, that washes the suburbs of *Aleppo*; and a little to the south of it there was formerly a sepulchre, in which some of the *Syrian Arabs* ridiculously imagined the remains of *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, to have been deposited; which might possibly have occasioned the vulgar error mentioned by *Al Makin*, relating to the situation of the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*'s tomb. But, for a particular description of *Maarra Al Nooman*, or *Marra Noomani*, and its territory, we must refer our curious readers to the oriental geographers, who, in this point, will give them full and ample satisfaction^u.

THE *Christians* of *Damascus* being perfectly well acquainted with the mild and equitable disposition of this *Khalif*, complained to him of the violence offered them by his predecessor *Al Walid*, when he took from them by force the church of *St. John* in that city; and at the same time shewed him the instrument signed by *Khāled Ebn Al Walid*, when *Damascus* was taken; by which the free exercise of their religion, and the possession of all their churches, was to be effectually secured to them and their posterity. They, therefore, humbly petitioned *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, that the said church of *St. John* might,

^u D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Omar Ben Abd'alaziz*, p. 689, 690. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. ISM. ABULFED. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ABULFED. in Syr. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 276. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Maara*. Lugd. Batavor. 1732.

in consequence of that writing, be then restored to them. But the *Khalif*, apprehending that such a restitution might excite commotions amongst the *Moslems*, begged, that, in lieu of their church, they would accept of the sum of money that had been offered them by *Al Walid* on the same occasion, namely, 40,000 *dinârs*, and with it build a new church in some other part of the town. The *Christians* absolutely refusing this, they were told by *Abu Edris Al Holwâni*, that, by virtue of the instrument mentioned, they were, indeed, intitled to the possession of all their churches in that part of the city, which was taken by capitulation; but that all those in the other part, which was carried by storm, by right of conquest, belonged to the *Moslems*. In order, therefore, to settle this affair to the satisfaction of both parties, he proposed, that the church of *St. John*, which the *Khalif* had ordered to be restored to them, upon their refusal of the money offered, should be ceded by the *Christians* to the *Moslems*; and that, upon this condition, the former should remain in possession of all the churches in that part of the town, and the territory belonging to it, laid claim to by the latter. This, after much wrangling and altercation, was agreed to on both sides, and confirmed by *Omar*, who wrote out an instrument, or schedule, with his own hand, to prevent any future incroachments. But, notwithstanding the uprightness and integrity of the *Khalif*, this must be allowed to have been an iniquitous decision. For, as *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who took one part of *Damascus* sword in hand, granted by the aforesaid schedule, that he signed, and which was the result of the *Khalif's* own particular decision, the possession of all the churches in that quarter to the *Christians*, and their posterity, through every future period of time; so the validity of this schedule ought not to have been denied, nor even called in question by any succeeding *Khalif*, or *Moslem* power, whatsoever.

His behaviour in his last sickness.

WE are told by *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandshah*, that when the poison taken by *Omar* began to operate upon him, and he was very ill in bed, his friends represented to him, that he ought to make use of some remedy for the recovery of his health. But he told them, that he was so perfectly resigned to the will of GOD, and so firmly persuaded of the fatal and inevitable term of human life, that he would not so much as rub the tip of his ear with a little oil, in order to be cured of his present indisposition. The same author adds, that he was so extremely frugal, that he took no more than two *dinârs* a day out of the royal treasury, for the subsistence of himself

* AL MAKIN, p. 77. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 378—383. AL WAKED.

and

and his domestics; that he never wore any rich or sumptuous apparel; and that his *Divan* was generally held in a place but little illuminated, where he sat always upon the ground *.

As a farther instance of this *Khalif's* great humility, it has been observed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that when he was visited by *Moslema Ebn Abd'almalec*, in his last sickness, he lay upon a bed made of palm-tree leaves, supported by a pillow formed of beasts skins, and covered with a common ordinary garment. His lips appeared flaccid and of a livid colour, and he had on a dirty shirt. *Moslema* could not forbear blaming his sister *Fatema*, who was *Omar's* wife, for suffering the emperor of the faithful to be exhibited to any person's view in so mean and fordid a condition. But, in order to justify her own conduct on this occasion, she assured *Moslema*, that the *Khalif* had never another shirt to put on; which, after thanks had been returned to GOD, for enduing so great a prince with such a meek and humble disposition, drew tears from that general. This writer has farther remarked, that the daily expence of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* did not amount to above two *dirhems* †.

ONE of the principal *Moslem* doctors, named *Majashûn*, *Majashûn* falling into a trance, and being looked upon as dead by all the people about him, was accosted by an angel, that carried his soul to the gate of the first heaven; which was immediately opened to them. From thence they continued their journey to the seventh heaven, where *Mohammed* is supposed to reside. Upon their entrance, the angel, that conducted *Majashûn's* soul thither, being asked who he had brought with him? answered, *Majashûn*. He is not, said another angel, to be admitted into this place, before the expiration of a certain period of time. The *Moslem* doctor, therefore, was reconducted to the planet from whence he came by his celestial guide. However, *Majashûn* informed his friends (for he himself, it seems, published this account of his pretended vision) that he had a transient view of the inhabitants of the seventh heaven, and particularly of *Mohammed*, who had on each side of him *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, and held *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* in his bosom, and between his arms. *Majashûn*, being surprized that the latter should have a more honourable situation assigned him in heaven than the former, asked the reason of this, and received for answer, that *Abu Becr* and *Omar* had been eminent for their justice and good works at a time when the *Moslems* were distinguished by their piety and zeal for the true religion; but that *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* surpassed them in this,

* MOHAMMED EBN EMIR KHOANDSHAH.
ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 205.

† GREG.

that he possessed all their virtues in an age of injustice and corruption ^z.

Omar's character. WITH regard to his person, *Omar* was swarthy, as most of the *Arabs* are, lean, had a handsome face, and in it the scar of a wound he had received from a wild beast in his younger years. Notwithstanding his youth, he had a considerable number of grey hairs, which probably made him appear something older than he really was. As to his disposition, he was extremely just, religious, and devout; and had fixed his mind, in a manner from his infancy, intirely upon the other world. He seems to have been the brightest ornament of the *Moslems* in that wicked and degenerate age. After his death, the house to which he used frequently to retire, being then shut up, was opened; the *Arabs* hoping to discover a considerable treasure in it: but, upon examination, they found only there a close thick riding vest, that he sometimes wore, and a sort of rope or cord hung up, with which he now-and-then amused himself, after his spirits had been exhausted by long and fervent prayer. His secretaries of state were *Raja Ebn Yahya Al Kendi*, *Solimân's* visir, and *Ebn Abi Rakia*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id Al Ansâli*; the captain of his guards, *Rawah Ebn Yezid Al Sakfâki*; and his chamberlains, *Hobaisb* and *Raja*, his servants. The inscription of his seal was, OMAR the son of ABD'ALAZIZ believes in GOD. The first day of his *Khâkfat* was Saturday, and the last Friday. The reason why *Solimân* preferred him to his own children was, because they were too young to ascend the *Moslem* throne, as may be inferred from *Abu'l-Faraj*. The authors followed by *Al Makin* make his mother to have been the daughter of the second *Khalif Omar*; who, they say, before his death, declared, that his daughter should bring forth a son, who would fill the world with justice. We have a particular history of the life and actions of this *Khalif*, composed by *Mohammed Ebn Hosein Al Ajari*, a writer of considerable note, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 360 ^a.

S E C T. XV.

Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec succeeds Omar.

AS *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, by his brother *Solimân's* late settlement of the succession, was to ascend the *Moslem* throne after the death of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, he was saluted *Khalif* the same day that his predecessor died. His mother *Atecah* was the daughter of *Yezid Ebn Moûwiyab Ebn*

^z AUT. RABÎ AL AKYAR. ^a ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, KHONDEMIR, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

Abu Sefân, and the surname usually applied to him *Abu Khâled*. 'Tis worthy observation, that the *Arab* historians have transmitted down to posterity the names of their emperors mothers, in the same manner as some of the sacred writers have done those of the mothers of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. Nor is this to be wondered at; the customs of the *Arabs*, as well as their phrases, proverbs, and manner of expression, having all along, in most particulars, agreed with those of the *Hebrews*, who flourished even in some of the earliest periods of the world ^b.

As soon as *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec* came to the crown, he *Moslema* removed all the governors of provinces, who had been promoted to their respective posts by his predecessor *Omar*; which undoubtedly excited several commotions in the empire. These, *Yezid*, however, were probably soon extinguished, as we scarce find any mention made of them in history. But the rebellion of *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra*, which happened in the year of the *Hejra* 101, created a good deal of trouble to the *Khalif*. *Yezid*, knowing that this prince, by his ill qualities, had rendered himself extremely disagreeable to the *Moslems*, renounced his allegiance to him; and, having drawn together a strong body of troops at *Basra*, advanced to *Cûsa*, the capital of the *Arabian Irâk*, where he met with a considerable reinforcement. *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, being informed of *Ebn Al Mohalleb's* defection, sent his brother *Moslema* and *Al Ablâs Ebn Al Walid* against him, at the head of a powerful army; who, coming up with the rebels, fell upon them with such fury, that they slew a great number of them upon the spot, and put the rest to flight. *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb* himself having been killed in the action, *Moslema* ordered his head to be cut off, and sent it immediately to the *Khalif*. However, *Ebn Al Mohalleb's* son *Mo'wiyah*, with some of his father's troops, made his escape to *Hormûz*, where the rebel *Yezid* had before built a fortress, that was deemed impregnable, in order to serve him for a retreat, in case any misfortunes should happen to him. But his governor there refusing to open the gates to *Mo'wiyah*, he was pursued by the *Khalif's* generals, after several other successive defeats, as far as the *Indus*. The writers followed by *Al Makin*, however, give us a different account of *Mo'wiyah's* motions. After his father had been overthrown, according to them, he fled with great precipitation to *Wâset*,

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 78. GREG. ABU'I FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 205. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 382, 383. 2 KING. xxi. 1. xxii. 1. xxiii. 31. xxiv. 8. 2 CHRON. xxii. 2. xxiv. 1. xxv. 1. xxvi. 3. et alib. pass. Univ. hist. vol. xviii. p. 356, 376, 392—395.

where he found *Adi Ebn Artah*, the *Khalif's* governor of *Basra*, whom he ordered, with thirty-two of his men, to be put to the sword. From *Wāset*, if we will believe these authors, *Moāwiyah* and his troops made the best of their way to *Basra*, and afterwards endeavoured to reach *Sindia*; but, being overtaken by a body of the *Khalif's* forces, under the command of *Halal Ebn Akhār Al Mazāni*, sent in pursuit of them by *Moslema*, they were all either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and the latter being conducted to *Damascus* by the general's order, *Yezid* caused them all to be put to death. *Moslema*, for his eminent services, was appointed by the *Khalif* governor of *Irāk*, and had the lieutenancy of *Khorasān* also conferred upon him: but, upon some disgust, as it should seem, he was soon deprived of both those posts, and succeeded in them by *Omar Ebn Habira Al Fozari*; tho', according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Omar* presided over *Khorasān*, as well as both the *Persian* and *Arabian Irāk*, before the extinction of the late rebellion. Nor does it appear from that author, that *Moslema* had ever the direction or management of affairs in any of those provinces. *Omar*, being settled in his government, sent a body of the *Moslem* troops, under the conduct of *Al Jarab Ebn Abd'allah*, either to make an irruption into the *Turkish* territories, or to force the *Turks* to abandon the *Moslem* provinces. *Al Jarab* executed his orders with great bravery, made himself master of a fortress called *Meltahar*, or *Meltahara*, placed in *Al Turk*, or *Turkestan*, by *Al Makin*, and drove *Ebn Hāf*, the *Turkish Khān*, or *Kbākān*, before him from place to place. But notwithstanding this, the *Khān*, having received a reinforcement, waited for *Al Jarab* at *Ardehīl*, in the province of *Aderbijān*, engaged him there, and, after a vigorous action, intirely defeated him, putting both him and the greatest part of the troops he commanded to the sword. However, *Moslema*, in a short time, advancing against *Ebn Hāf* with another *Arab* army, at last came up with him, overthrew him in a pitched battle, and forced the enemy to abandon not only the province of *Aderbijān*, but every other part of the *Khalif's* dominions. About the same time, *Yezid* deprived *Ayub Ebn Serjabīl* of the government of *Egypt*, to which honourable post he had been advanced by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, and substituted in his room *Bashar Ebn Safwān Al Calbi*; who was afterwards sent to *Africa*, and succeeded by his brother, *Handalab Ebn Safwān*, in *Egypt*. But, upon his being deposed in the 104th year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almalek Ebn Merwān*, by the *Khalif's* appointment, assumed to himself the lieutenancy of that country. All which events, according to the eastern historians, were some of the transactions

actions of the 101st, 102d, 103d, and 104th, years of the *Hejra* ¹.

WE find little said of this *Khalif* by the Greek writers. Little said *Theophanes* only observes, that *Izid*, the name he gives *Yezid*, of this succeeded *Umar*, or *Omar*, who reigned but two years and *Khalif* by four months; that this *Izid*, at the instigation of a *Jew* of the Greek *Laodicea*, who promised him a reign of forty years, - as a reward for his impiety, published an edict against images, in-joining his subjects to destroy all those erected by the *Christians* in their churches throughout the *Moslem* empire; that he slew *Izid*, the son of *Mualab*, that is, *Yezid Ebn Al Moballeb*, who had rebelled against him, and reduced the provinces he had seized upon to his obedience; and, lastly, that he died, after he had sat upon the *Moslem* throne about four years, before his infernal edict, relating to the destruction of images, could either be sufficiently promulged, or put in execution. *Cedrenus* speaks of him in much the same terms. *Dionysius Telmarensis* relates, that this *Khalif* commanded his subjects to exterminate white dogs, white pigeons, white cocks, and, in short, all other animals of the same colour; and that he issued the decree relating to this extermination in the year of our LORD 725. He also raised a persecution against the *Christians*, forbade a *Christian* to be admitted an evidence against a *Moslem*, and fixed the value or price of the latter at double that of the former, according to this author, the same year ⁴.

ABOUT the time of *Yezid Ebn Moballeb*'s defection in *Irak*, *Account of* one *Zama* had the command of the *Moslem* forces in *Spain*. *the Mos-* He introduced some innovations, relating to the disposition of *lem af-* the tribute exacted of the *Christians* in that country; which *sairs in* probably rendered him more unacceptable to many of the *Arabs* *Spain du-* there than even the worst of his predecessors. *Zama*, having *ring this* received orders to extend the *Moslem* conquests in those wes- *Khalif's* tern parts of the world, passed the *Pyrenees* with a powerful *reign* army, took the city of *Narbonne*, the capital of *Gallia Nar-* *bonensis*, and laid siege to *Tolosa*, at present known by the name of *Tholouse*, or *Toulouse*. But here he was deserted by the good fortune that had hitherto attended him. *Eudo*, called by some

* ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 78, 79. EBN SHONNAH, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 119. YAKUT, ISM. ASULFED. EBN HAWKAI, NASSIR AL TUSI, five NASSIR ETTUSÆUS, op. et trad. Johan. Gray. Oxon. 1711. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid Bin Abd'almalek*, p. 486.

⁴ THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 336, 337, 338. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 453. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 105. Romæ, 1721.

of the *French* writers count *Eudes*, general of the *Franks*, or the *French*, came to the relief of the beleagued, attacked *Zama* in his camp, killed him and a great number of his men upon the spot, and forced the rest to abandon the siege. Not content with this victory, he marched afterwards to *Narbonne*, retook that place, and of course obliged the enemy to retire out of the province to which it belonged. *Yezid*, having received advice of what had happened, sent *Azam*, or *Adbam*, *Ebn Mulec*, with a body of troops, into *Spain*, to protect the *Arab* conquests there from the insults of the *French*, and enable the *Moslems* to repair the loss they had sustained. He reduced several fortified places in *Spain*, that had not before submitted to the *Arabs*, extended the tribute to be paid into the *Khalif's* coffers, built the famous bridge at *Corduba*, in the 102d year of the *Hejra*, and was at last assassinated by his own people at *Tortosa*. Some of the *Spanish* writers make *Zama* and *Azam* to have been the same person; nor does such a notion appear to us at all improbable. Be that as it will, after the defeat and death of *Zama*, the *Arabs* chose one *Abd'alrahmán* for their leader, who presided over them in *Spain* till the arrival of a new governor from the *Moslem* court. The *Khalif*, being informed of the murder of *Azam*, constituted one *Ambiza* his lieutenant in *Spain*, about the year of the *Hejra* 103; who made several incursions upon the territories of the *French*; tho' he rather meditated, than was directly engaged in, a war against that people. Towards the conclusion of his government, he proposed to invade that part of the enemy's country bordering upon the frontiers of *Spain*: but soon after he had begun his march; in what manner we have not been told by any of the *Spanish* writers, a period was put to his days; and, before his death, he resigned to one *Odra* the command of the *Moslem* army destined to act against the *French*, which, after that unexpected event, immediately returned home. We must not forget to observe, that, during this interval, *Pelagius* wrested the city of *Leon* out of the hands of the *Arabs*, and gained several other very important advantages over them. This prince is said to have been the first who took for his coat of arms a red lion in a white field, in which he was afterwards followed by his successors in the kingdom of *Leon*. Some of the *Spanish* writers inform us, that, at this time, there were several *Arab* princes, or *Emirs*, in *Spain*; and that the chief of these, who was properly the *Khalif's* governor, or viceroy, had the title of the king of *Corduba*. But those writers have by no means given us, in their relations of what happened during the period immediately following the first settlement of the *Arabs* in *Spain*,

a clear and distinct account either of their own or the *Moslem* affairs.

As *Yezid Ebn Abd'almôlec* was much addicted to pleasure, *Yezid's* even in the *Khalifat* of his brother *Solimân*, he then bought a *death and* singing girl, named *Hababah*, of whom he was passionately *character.* fond, for 4000 *dinârs*; but *Selimân*, thinking this a disgrace to him, obliged him to part with her, and she was afterwards purchased by an *Egyptian*. *Saada*, *Yezid's* wife, being desirous of ingratiating herself in a more particular manner with her husband, once asked him, when he was *Khalif*, whether there was any thing in the world that he yet desired, after his elevation to the *Moslem* throne? He answered, *Yes*, *Hababah*. Upon which, *Saada* procured her for him; which wonderfully conciliated his affections to her. He had likewise another concubine, called *Selamah*, that he tenderly loved. Being in that part of *Palestine*, called *Belad al Arden*, or *Belad al Ordonna*, that is, the country, or plain, of *Jordan*, and diverting himself in a garden with *Hababah*, whom he loved to distraction, there; he was served at his collation with some of the most excellent fruits of that charming country. During this little repast, he threw a grape at her, which she immediately took up, and put to her mouth, in order to eat it; but being too large, and passing across her throat, it stuck in the passage without a possibility of being removed; so that she lost her breath, and was suffocated in an instant. So we find this matter related by *Khondemir*. But the grape stuck some time in her gullet, and only occasioned a disorder that at last terminated in her death, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. Be that as it will, this melancholy accident so affected *Yezid*, that he fell into an excess of grief, and was inconsolable for the loss of so amiable an object. Nay, the transport of his love and of his sorrow carried him so far on this occasion, that he would not suffer the body of his deceased mistress to be interred for a week, according to *Khondemir*, or three days, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*. Nor would he have permitted it then to be inhumed, had it not been for the repeated instances of his domestics, who could no longer bear the intolerable stink of the dead carcase. However, the sepulchre itself was not able to cure his frenzy. He ordered that to be opened, and the body to be exposed once more to his view. In fine, being incapable of moderating his grief, he survived his dear *Hababah* only fifteen days; and, before he expired, he ordered his remains to be deposited in a grave near her tomb. This sor-

• RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xi. RASES, Chronic. reg. Alfons. JOANNES VASÆUS, in Hispan. chronic. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid Ben Abd'almalek*, p. 486, 487.

rowful event happened in the 105th year of the *Hejra*, after he had reigned a little above four years. With regard to his person, he was a man of a fair complexion, had good features, and a round face. As for his character, he was extremely indolent, squandered away vast sums of money upon his wives, concubines, and diversions of various kinds, and was a slave to his passions; as in some measure appears from what has been already observed, and might be farther confirmed by other stories related of him, were it in any manner necessary. His secretaries were successively *Omar Ebn Habira*, *Ibrahim Ebn Habla*, and *Asama Ebn Zeid Al Selibi*; his judges, or *Kâdis*, *Abd'alrahmân Al Hoshabash* and *Saï'd Ebn Abu Wafad*; the captain of his guards, *Caab Ebn Khâled Al Abâsi*; and his chamberlains, *Saï'd*, his servant, and *Khâled*, his freedman. He died, according to some of the eastern writers, in *Palestine*; or, as others will have it, at *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*, on the 23d day of the month *Shaaban*; being then about 29, 31, 33, or 37, (for so much do authors differ amongst themselves) years of age. Nay, some historians write, that he died of a consumption, after he had declared his brother *Heshâm Ebn Abd'almâlec* his successor, when he was about forty years of age. *Yezid*, a little before his death, sent one *Yahya Ebn Solimân* to take upon him the command of the *Moslem* forces in *Spain*. This *Yahya* was a person of great sagacity, discernment, and penetration; but had something of cruelty in his temper. However, he was a lover of justice, and obliged the *Arabs* to restore to the *Christians* all the effects of which they had unjustly deprived them in time of peace. It may not be improper to remark, that the name, or surname, *Miramolin*, or *Amiramomen*, frequently applied by the *Spanish* writers to the *Khalifs*, is only a corruption of the words *Amiro'l Mumenin*, *Amiro'lmumenin*, or *Emir Al Mumenin*, emperor of the believers. The most exact of the *Moslem* authors inform us, that the first day of *Yezid's* reign was *Saturday*, tho' in this they are not perfectly consistent with themselves, and the last *Tuesday*; and that the duration of his *Khalifat* was precisely four years and twenty-nine days^f.

S E C T. XVI.

*Heshâm
succeeds
Yezid.*

HESHAM EBN ABD'ALMALEC, upon his brother *Yezid's* decease, was elevated to the *Khalifat*, towards the close of the month *Shaabân*, in the year of the *Hejra* 105. He

^f ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 77, 78, 79. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 205, 206. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 382—385. KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. JOANNES VAZÆUS, &c. ubi sup.

was surnamed *Abu'l Walid*, and his mother was *Fâtema*, surnamed *Omm Hâsbem*, the daughter of *Hâsbem Ebn Ismael Ebn Hâsbem Ebn Al Walid Al Mokhzumi*. His uncle *Yezid* nominated *Heshâm* his successor a little before his death, on condition that his own son *Al Walid*, after the demise of that prince, should be called to the succession. When *Yezid* died, *Heshâm* was at *Rusâsa*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*; but as soon as he received advice of his advancement to the *Khalifat*, he mounted his horse, and came directly to *Damascus*. Soon after his promotion, he appointed *Khâled Ebn Abd'allah Al Karî* his lieutenant of *Irâk*, and removed his brother, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alenâlec*, from his government of *Egypt*; substituting in his room his cousin, *Hasan Ebn Yusuf Ebn Yahya*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who continued in that post till the year of the *Hejra* 108. Nothing very material happened in the *Moslem* empire, an account of which has been handed down to us by the *Arab* historians, during the first year of *Heshâm's* reign &c.

It seems, however, to be intimated by *Theophanes*, that *Heshâm's* *Heshâm* planted gardens and orchards, cultivated the fruitful parts of his territories contiguous to the emperor's dominions, and built palaces in several of the provinces subjugated by the *Arabs*, in the 105th and the 106th years of the *Hejra*. This writer likewise gives us to understand, that, about the same time, he undertook an expedition against the *Greeks*; but was obliged to retire with shame, after he had lost a great number of men, into *Syria*. *Cedrenus* is silent as to the *Arab* affairs, during the 106th year of the *Moslem* æra. *Dionysius Telmarenensis* only observes, that *Heshâm* succeeded *Yezid*; and that the following year, or the 106th of the *Hejra*, *Abib*, bishop of *Edessa*, whose successor was named *Constantine*, departed this life. Nor does it appear, from the *Spanish* historians, that any thing remarkable, during the latter of those years, happened in *Spain* ^h.

HOWEVER, before we conclude our account of the events of the year 105, it may not be improper to observe, that some *dirhems* were coined in the mint that had been set up either at *Rusâsa*, or *Rusaka*, this year; as may be inferred from one of those *dirhems* found at *Stegen*, a village near *Dantzick*, the 2d day of *June*, 1722. On the reverse of this piece is ex-

^g *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 384, 385. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 206. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. Heshâm Ben Abdalmalek, p. 450.*

^h *THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 338. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 105, 106. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.*

hibited the following inscription, in the *Cûfic* character, MOHAMMED is the apostle of GOD, he is the perfect gift; and, on the other side, these words, *Ber Rusakata*, or *Rusafata*, the letters of which the second word here is composed being but indifferently preserved, *chamsan wameaten*; i. e. at *Rusaka*, or *Rusafa*, in the year 105. By which we are informed, that this *dirhém* was struck either at *Rusaka*, or *Rusafa*, in the 105th year of the *Hejra*, and, as it should seem, the first of the *Khalif Hejhâm*. This we learn from M. *Kebr*, who, tho' he is not able precisely to determine in which of those places the piece was coined, is inclined to think, that it must have been sent out of the mint erected in the latter of them; as such a notion is not only countenanced by the letters themselves, but likewise by that part of the *Arab* history we are now upon, which informs us, that *Hejhâm* was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Rusafa* the very year in which this *dirhém* was struck. To what has been advanced on this occasion by M. *Kebr*, we must here beg leave to add, that the piece in view could not have been coined at *Rusaka*, or, as 'tis called by *Goliis*, *Rasika*; because that city was founded by *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, who did not mount the *Moslem* throne till the 136th year of the *Hejra*, and consequently did not exist 31 years before. M. *Kebr* must, therefore, have been mistaken, when he supposes, that the *dirhém* might have been struck at *Rusaka*, as well as *Rusafa*, in the year of the *Hejra* 105; and that it is something difficult to determine to which of those cities it belongs. *Rusafa* and *Rusaka* were both of them cities of *Mesopotamia*, seated at a small distance from *Rakka*, upon the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. The former of them seems to be the *Rhesiphia* of *Ptolemy* (*Ῥεσιφία*) and is frequently mentioned by the *Syriac* writers ^b.

The Arabs
make several
irruptions
into
the imperial
territories,

In the 107th year of the *Hejra*, beginning May 19th, 725, *Moslema*, or *Masalmas*, as he is called by the *Greek* writers, took *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*; and *Moâwiyah Ebn Hejhâm*, another of the *Arab* generals, made an irruption into the *Christian* territories, doing irreparable damage in the provinces through which he moved. This year likewise, *Amer*, one of the *Moslem* commanders invested *Nicæa* in *Bithynia* with a body of 15,000 men; after which, *Moâwiyah*, coming up with an army of 85,000 men, formed the siege of that city. The *Arabs* battered the walls with such fury, that they levelled a great part of them with the ground, and made several general assaults; but were every time beaten off with incredible loss, and at last forced to abandon the siege. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* relates,

^b GEORG. JAC. KEHR, in monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c. p. 21. Lipsiæ, 1724. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 253, 254. PROUL. geograph. lib. v. c. 18. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. diff. de Monophys. that

that *Moslema*, or *Masalmas*, made himself master of *Neocæsarea* this year, and carried away all the inhabitants with him prisoners, except the *Jews*, who betrayed the place into his hands. The *Spanish* writers make no mention of any military operations this year in *Spain*; but only inform us, that *Heshâm* permitted both the *Arabs* and *Christians* in that country to enjoy the sweets of peace, and sent one *Ibahea*, or *Yahya*, an *Arab* of note, to govern his subjects thereⁱ.

THE following year, being the 108th of the *Hejra*, commencing *May* 8th, 726, the *Arabs*, under the conduct of *amassas Moâwiyab*, invaded the imperial territories, carried a fortress immense there by assault, and then returned home. About the same time, *Hafas Ebn Al Walid*, upon the abdication of *Hasan Ebn Yusuf*, was appointed governor of *Egypt*. Nothing material passed this year in *Spain*; the *Moslem* commanders there being wholly employed in amassing treasures for *Heshâm*, who was richer, as well as more covetous, than any of his predecessors. According to *Eutychius*, one *Constantine* was constituted patriarch of *Constantinople* either this or the preceding year^k.

THE next year, being the 109th of the *Hejra*, beginning *Moslema* April 28th; 727, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec* attacked the *Turks*, drives the or, as they are called by some of the eastern writers, the *Huns*, *Turks* out that is, the subjects of the *Khâkân*, who had made an irruption into *Armenia*, and forced them to conclude a treaty of peace with him. He also penetrated the same year to the defile called the *Portæ Caspiæ* by the ancients, not far from the *Caspian* sea; which had served as a sort of barrier to the *Moslem* empire on that side, before the late irruption; the *Turks*, or *Huns*, having been long shut up by it in the country that properly appertained to them. This affair is, however, differently related by *Theophanes*, who tells us, that the son of the *Khâkân* invaded *Armenia* and *Aderbijan* with a powerful army, overthrew *Garab*, or *Al Jarab*, the *Arab* general, who pretended to oppose him, committed dreadful devastations in that province, and then returned home. But *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, to whom we are indebted for the former relation, living at no great distance from the scene of action, not much above forty years after this campaign, and agreeing better with what we find recorded of the reign of *Heshâm* by the *Arab* historians than the *Greek* writers, we shall not scruple to prefer his authority to that of

ⁱ THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 338, 339, 340. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 106. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN in hist. Arab. c. xii. ISIDOR. PACENS. Chronic. reg. Alphonsi. JOANNES VASÆUS, in Hispan. illustrat. p. 701. Francof. 1603.

^k THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 340.

RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 384, 385.

Theophanes, whose inaccuracy with regard to the *Moslem* affairs has already been touched upon, in the point before us¹.

The Arabs invade France; SOME of the *French* and *Spanish* authors maintain, that *Eudo*, duke of *Aquitain*, called by the later *French* writers count *Eudes*, being about this time defeated and put to flight by *Charles Martel*, demanded assistance of the *Arabs*, who had possessed themselves of *Spain*, against that conqueror. The *Moslems*, continue the same authors, accepting of this invitation, passed the *Pyrenees*, and advanced into *Gascogn*, to the number of 400,000 souls; women, children, and slaves, included, under the command of one *Abd'alrahman*; imagining, that they should make themselves masters of that province without striking a stroke. They committed dreadful ravages in their march; pillaging every place, both sacred and profane, without distinction, through which they moved. This expedition is, however, placed some years later by *Roderic of Toledo*, who seems to have reason on his side. He also gives us to understand, that, about the year we are now upon, this prince's avarice occasioned commotions in several parts of the empire; which were not without great difficulty, and a very copious effusion of human blood, appeased².

and are defeated by Charles Martel. IN the 110th year of the *Hejra*, beginning April 17th, 728, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almalec* advanced with a body of *Arab* troops to the coast of the *Caspian* sea, restored the fortifications of the aforesaid defile that had been destroyed by the *Turks* in their late irruption into *Armenia*, seized upon *Derbent* at the foot of mount *Caucasus*, together with the district belonging to it, and obliged the *Turks* to take an oath never to pass their own frontiers, in order to disturb the repose of the *Moslem* territories. But they soon violating that oath, and invading *Armenia*, he attacked them with such bravery, that he forced them to retire into their own dominions. After which, he appointed *Merwán Ebn Mohammed* governor of *Armenia*, and then returned into *Syria*. *Theophanes*, therefore, deserves little regard, when he intimates, that *Moslema* was worsted this year by the *Turks* in a general action, and, after having sustained a very great loss, obliged to fly into the *Khalif's* territories with the utmost precipitation. About this time, *Abd'almalec Ebn Resa'a* succeeded *Hafas Ebn Al Walid Al Hadrami* in the government of *Egypt*. Some of the

¹ DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. at et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. ABU JAABAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 341. STRAB. lib. xi. ARRIAN. lib. iii. DIONYS. perieg. vers. 1039. ISIDORUS CHARACENUS, p. 6. de urb. Charac. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 15. ² Annal. Francor. JACOBUS MEYERUS, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. Jexid Ben Abdalmalek, p. 486. JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xii, xiii, xiv. French

French and *Spanish* writers relate, that *Eudo*, being vastly terrified at the approach of such a multitude of *Arabs*, as that above-mentioned, who laid waste the country through which they marched, joined *Charles Martel* with all his forces, and, in conjunction with him, attacked the infidels this year near *Tours* with so much courage, that they were overthrown with incredible slaughter; no less than 375,000 of them, amongst whom were *Abd' alrahman*, the *Arab* general himself, and almost all the officers and persons of distinction that served under him, having been killed in the action. Of the *Christians* no more than 1500 are said to have been missing, after the end of the engagement. This blow, however, was not given the *Moslems*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, so early as the 110th year of the *Hejra*. That author scruples not to affirm, that not only *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gascoign*, but likewise *Calabria* and part of *Apulia*, if not *Sicily* itself, about this time, tho' before the overthrow at *Tours*, acknowledged the sovereignty of the *Khalif*.

THE following year, being the 111th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 6th, 729, one *Cosmas*, of the *Melchite* persuasion, was constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*; who, if we will believe *Eutychius*, could neither write nor read. Be that as it will, upon his arrival at *Damascus*, he met with a gracious reception from *Heshâm*, who, after he had had a conference with him, wrote to *Abd' allah Ebn Al Jibân Al Sakwi*, his lieutenant of *Egypt*, to put the *Melchites*, under *Cosmas*'s government and direction, in possession of all the churches that had been occupied by the *Jacobites* in *Alexandria* for the space of ninety-seven years; that is, from the third year of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* to the seventh of the *Khalif Heshâm*; during which interval, the *Jacobites* had remained masters of all the *Christian* churches in *Egypt*, except that of *St. Saba* at *Alexandria*, and that of *St. Michael* in *Kafr Al Shama*', to which the *Melchites* had been confined. Nor did the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria* only supply *Egypt* with bishops for so long a term, but he likewise sent many others into *Nubia*; the people of which kingdom, till the seventh year of *Heshâm*, were almost intirely of the *Jacobite* persuasion. This uncommon favour was, however, not granted *Cosmas* by the *Khalif* without the interposition of several learned men, and even many valuable presents, which he brought with him to *Damascus*, to facilitate the execution of his project, according to *Al Makin*. That historian, nevertheless, seems to advance

The Jacobites dis-
possessed of
their
churches
in Egypt.

DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup.
D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Heshbiam Ben Abdalmalik*, p.
451. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 341, 342. JACOBUS MEYERUS, JO-
ANNES VASÆUS, et RODERICUS TOLETANUS, ubi sup.

this last particular without proper authority to support it, as not the least mention has been made of it by *Eutychius*, the author followed by him on this occasion; tho' he represents *Cosmas* as a maker of needles before his elevation to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and altogether illiterate; which seems to imply, that either a rich present, or a good round sum of money, was necessary to influence the *Khalif* in his favour. Be that as it will, the former author is most certainly mistaken, when he affirms this event to have happened in the third year of the *Khalifat of Heshâm*; since the latter, whom he pretends to have transcribed on this occasion, asserts, in express terms, that *Cosmas* was advanced to the patriarchal dignity in the seventh year of that prince's reign. As this point of conduct in the *Khalif*, whatever was the motive to it, produced a sort of ecclesiastical revolution amongst the *Christians* in *Egypt*, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit inserting an account of so remarkable a transaction, tho' not immediately relating to the history of the *Arabs*, here °.

The Moslems in the Trade Capadocia. ABOUT the same time, as we are told by an eastern writer, *Heshâm* ordered several towns and villages to be built on the river *Zaitan*, which seems to have derived its name from *Zaita*, or *Zeita*, a town about sixty stadia, or furlongs, from *Karkisia*, or *Kirkisa*, the *Cercusum*, or *Circesum*, of the ancients, in that part of *Mesopotamia* called by the *Arabs* *Diyar Rabia*, or rather *Diyar Modar*, according to *Golius*. This place has been taken notice of by *Zosimus*, the historian. *Moslema Ebn Abd'almalek*, the *Khalif's* brother, and general, is also said to have erected at this time some towns and castles on the river *Beth-Calas*; but with what view or design the *Arabs* built any forts there, we are not told by any author. That general afterwards, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and reduced there a fortress of considerable strength. This year the *Khalif's* governor of *Africa* sent a new lieutenant, named *Odeysa*, into *Spain*; who, being a person of great levity and inexperience, by no means proved acceptable to the *Arabs* there. H.m, therefore, *Heshâm* thought fit soon to remove from that post, and to substitute *Yaman Ebn Abinaza* in his room. *Yaman* continued in his government about five months, and, after the expiration of that short term, was succeeded by one *Autuman*, or *Othmân*, of whom we scarce find any thing said by the *Arab* historians; so that nothing remarkable, through the whole course of this year, seems to have happened in *Spain* P.

• EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 384—389. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 83, 84. P DIONYS, TELMARENS. ubi sup. ZOZIM. lib. iii. c. 17. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 255, 256. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 343. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 457. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xii. JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 702. THE

THE next year, being the 112th year of the *Hejra*, the first day of which was March 26th, 730, *Moslem*, according to *Theophanes*, undertook an expedition against the *Turks*, ^{fairs in} and penetrated to the coast of the *Caspian* sea; but, being in- ^{Spain,} timidated by the forces of the *Khakun*, returned home, with- ^{during the} out effecting any thing. That this was really the case, we are ^{year of the} more inclined to believe, from the silence of the *Moslem* writers ^{Hejra} in relation to any advantage gained by the *Khalif's* army this ^{112.} year in those parts, than from the authority of *Theophanes*, which, in such points as this, is frequently not to be depended upon. *Autuman*, or *Othmân*, *Hejbâm's* lieutenant in *Spain*, was displaced, after he had remained at *Corduba* about four months, and succeeded by *Al Haytam Ebn Obeid*. Against this new governor a conspiracy was soon formed; several of the principal *Arabs*, holding private cabals, in order to discover a proper method of deposing him. But they being seized, before they could carry their design into execution, he ordered some of them to be publickly whipt, and others to be beheaded. Amongst the former there was one *Zath*, or *Zeid*, an *Arab* of great eloquence and noble extraction; who, after he had been treated in a very ignominious manner, made his escape out of *Spain*, and took a journey to *Damascus*, where he and one *Mahimen*; another *Moslem* of distinction, gave the *Khalif* a full account of every thing that had happened. They also desired, that *Al Haytam* might be recalled, and *Abd alrahmân* appointed king of *Corduba*, or governor of *Spain*, in his room; which *Hejbâm* readily granted. Upon their arrival in *Spain*, *Mahimen*, who had been invested with full power and authority by the *Khalif* for that purpose, ordered *Al Haytam* to be publickly whipped, carried with his hands bound behind his back, and loaded with irons, upon an ass, through the streets of *Corduba*, and then to be imprisoned for life. As for *Abd alrahmân*, he not being then to be found, *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah* was constituted governor of *Spain*, and acted in that capacity about two months; at the end of which term, *Abd alrahmân* himself appeared. The *French* annals, according to *Joannes Vascus*, pretend, that, about this time, the *Arabs*, at the instigation of *Hunold* and *Waisar*, *Eudo's* sons, made another irruption into *France*, and penetrated as far as *Burgundy* with a numerous army, laying waste all the country through which they moved; but were driven again by *Charles Martel* into their own dominions, after they had lost a very considerable part of their troops. In the mean time, *Pelagius* still maintained himself in the possession of all the posts he had so long occupied upon the *Moslem* frontiers; nor could he be dislodged from thence by all the efforts of the enemy.

¹ THEOPHAN. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. Hist. Arab. c. xii, xiii.

Heshâm's IN the 113th year of the *Hejra*, *Moslema* marched at the *troops gain* head of a powerful army against the *Khakân*, took several of that prince's towns, and carried off with him a great number of his subjects into slavery, together with an immense quantity of plunder. *Moâwiyah*, the *Khalif's* son, also penetrated into *Paphlagonia*, took many of the *Christians* in that province prisoners, and returned home loaded with the spoils he acquired in this expedition. *Solimân*, another of *Heshâm's* sons, advanced with a body of troops into another of the imperial provinces, reduced the castle of *Pelozonium*, laid waste the neighbouring tract, defeated a *Greek* army that pretended to make head against him, and then returned home with inconsiderable loss. Some of the *Arab* writers affirm, that the *Greek* emperor himself, whom they call *Constantine*, was present in the action, and fell into the hands of *Solimân*; but, as *Leo Isaurus*, or *Isauricus*, sat then upon the imperial throne, and was probably at *Constantinople* when that engagement happened, this last article merits not the least attention.

Abd'Al-rahmân ABD'ALRAHMAN, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, was this year constituted the *Khalif's* lieutenant in *Spain*; but *was scarce settled in his government*, when one *Muniz* assembled a body of troops, in order to depose him. *Muniz*, however, not being able to take the field against *Abd'Alrahmân*, was obliged to shut himself up in the principal city of the *Carretani*, where he was straitly besieged by the governor's forces. At last, finding himself incapable of defending the place any longer, he endeavoured to make his escape; but, being closely pursued by one of *Abd'Alrahmân's* detachments, he was forced to throw himself headlong from off a precipice, and miserably perished. His wife, who was count *Eudo's* daughter, and one of the most celebrated beauties of the age, fell into the hands of the victors, and was sent by *Abd'Alrahmân* to *Damascus*, as a present to the *Khalif*. The death of *Muniz*, whose head was cut off, and brought to the governor, proved the total extinction of this rebellion; which, had *Muniz* been reinforced by a body of *French* troops, *Eudo* at first seeming to favour him, might have been attended with fatal consequences, both to *Abd'Alrahmân* and all the *Khalif's* other subjects in *Spain*. It seems to be intimated by some of the *Spanish* writers, that the famous *Pelagius*, who had so signalized himself in his wars against the *Arabs*, died either this or the following year.

xiii. Annal Francor. apud Joannem Vaszum, ubi sup. ¹ APJ
JAAPAR AL TABAR AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80. THEOPHAN.
ubi sup. p. 343 DIONYS. TEIMARENS. ubi sup. p. 106.

* RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xiii. JOANNES VASZUS,
ubi sup. p. 702.

THE

THE next year, being the 114th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimán The Arabs Ebn Heshám* penetrated, with an army of 90,000 men, into over- the imperial territories. He advanced as far as *Tyana* in *Cap- thrown by padocia*, and had four generals to serve under him in this expe- the dition. *Málec Ebn Shabib* and *Abd'allah Ebn Batal*, two of *Greeks*, those generals, being arrived at *Synnada* in *Phrygia*, with 50,000 men, were met and engaged there by an imperial army, under the conduct of the emperor *Leo* himself, and his son *Constantine Copronymus*, according to *Theophanes*, which gave them so complete an overthrow, that they had above 45,000 of their men killed upon the spot, and the rest with great difficulty made their escape. That author affirms this glorious event to have happened in the 23d year of *Leo's* reign, about the 122d of the *Hejra*; but *Dionysius Telmarenfis* seems to place it in or near the present year; and him we chuse to follow, for the reasons above assigned ¹.

ABOUT the same time, an impostor appeared in *Syria*, who *An im-* gave out, that he was *Moses* risen from the dead, and seduced *postor ap-* great numbers of the *Jews*, whom he defrauded of consider- *pears in* able sums of money, and then fled into another province. *Syria*. But being pursued and taken, he was brought before the *Khalif*, who delivered him up to the *Jews*, that they might inflict what punishment they should think fit upon him. Which event is placed by *Theophanes*, wrongly, as we apprehend, in the fifth year of *Leo Isauricus's* reign; but by *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, with greater accuracy and precision, as we believe, in or about the present year ².

ABD'ALRAHMAN, suspecting that count *Eudo* had favoured *The Arabs* his son-in-law *Muniz's* rebellion, which he had so happily ex- *defeated* tinguished, resolved to follow his blow, and carry the war into *by the* the heart of *France*. Having, therefore, assembled a powerful *French*. army, he entered that kingdom, and advanced to *Arles* upon the *Rhofne*; where he attacked and defeated a large body of the *Franks*, or the *French*, that attempted to obstruct his march, killed many of them upon the spot, and pushed a great number of them into the *Rhofne*, who not being able to gain the opposite bank, were every one of them drowned. He afterwards passed the *Garonne* and the *Dordonne*, overthrew count *Eudo*, who endeavoured to stop the progress of his arms, and penetrated into the interior part of *France*. In fine, he pursued that count through several provinces, ravaged the country through which he moved, in a dreadful manner, and at last arrived with his numerous forces at *Tours*. That city

¹ THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 345. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 106.

² THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 336. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 106, 107.

likewise he made a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion, reducing to ashes the church and all the palaces there, and laying waste the whole district belonging to it with fire and sword. *Charles Martel*, being informed of these devastations, and reinforced by a body of *Germans* and *Gepidae*, came up with those plunderers near *Tours*, engaged them for seven days together, and at last gave them a total overthrow; making himself master of their baggage, and took from them spoils of an inestimable value. The shatter'd remains of *Abd al-rahmân's* army, after this memorable defeat, with great difficulty, reached the frontiers of *Spain*, and left the *French* in peaceable possession of the whole tract that had been delivered by their victorious general. This is the account of *Abd al-rahmân's* fatal *French* expedition handed down to us by *Roderic* of *Toledo*; which, as our curious readers will at first sight perceive, differs not only in point of time, but likewise in several other particulars, from that already given. Some authors tell us, that the *Moslem* general took *Avignon* by surprise this campaign; and that it was afterwards retaken by the *French*. They also relate, that, the following year, *Charles Martel* overthrew the *Arabs*, marching, under the command of one of their generals, to the relief of *Narbonne*, then besieged by a body of the *French* forces, at *Illiberis*, with incredible slaughter; scarce any of them escaping into *Spain*. Which of these seemingly jarring relations approaches the nearest to truth, we shall not take upon us to determine, as a certain author, with very little judgment, has done; but leave it to our more sagacious and intelligent readers to chuse which of them they please.

The Khalif's forces routed by Atikh. ABOUT the 115th year of the *Hejra*, *Heshâm* sent an army under the command of *Kaliu* and *Zobair*, two of his generals, to reduce *Atikh*, who had rebelled against him, and drawn together a considerable force to support him in his defection. *Atikh*, receiving advice of their approach, advanced to *Sigara*, fell upon them there by night, intirely defeated them, and put many of their men to the sword. However, as we find nothing afterwards said of him by any good author, 'tis probable that, in a short time, he thought fit to submit to the *Khalif*. About the same year, according to *Theophanes*, *Mu'wiyah Ebn Heshâm*, with a body of the *Moslem* troops, ravaged several of the imperial provinces in *Asia*, without any considerable loss. A very large and resplendent comet, if we will believe that writer, likewise appeared at this time there.

THE

* *RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xiii. xiv. Annal. Francor.*
JACOBUS MEYERUS, JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. x DIO-
NYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 107. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 344.
GEORG.

IN the 116th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* ad-^{His arms}vanced into the imperial *Armenia*, committed some ravages ^{successful}there, and then returned into the *Moslem* territories. This ^{against}we learn from *Theophanes*, who gives us no account of any far-^{the Khâ-}ther operations during the remainder of the campaign. How-^{kan.}ever, there is some reason to believe, that, about this time, *Affad Ebn Abd'allah*, another of the *Khalif's* generals, gained several victories over the troops of the *Khâkân*, and killed that prince himself in single combat. We are told by an author often cited here, that *Heshâm* sent one *Abd'almâlec*, an Arab of noble extraction, in the 116th year of the *Hejra*, to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain*; who, by his tyranny, rendered himself extremely disagreeable to them. He found himself incapable of protecting the country under his government from the insults of the *French*; and having once attempted to pass the *Pyrenæus*, in order to take vengeance of that nation, he was driven back into the plains of *Celtiberia* with very great slaughter. *Cedrenus* seems to intimate, that *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* took many prisoners in his *Armenian* expedition; mentioned by *Theophanes*; but neither of those historians has handed down to us the particulars of that expedition.

THE following year, *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm* made an ir-^{Moâwi-}ruption into the imperial territories; but the *Greeks* soon as-^{yah makes}sembling a considerable force, he could not long maintain himself there. He, therefore, returned into *Syria*, without ^{an inroad}having effected any thing considerable; and, according to ^{into the}*Theophanes*, in his march, was killed by a fall from his horse. ^{imperial}Nothing material happened this year in *Spain*, under *Abd'almâlec's* oppressive administration there. We must not forget to observe, that *Ali Ebn Abd'allah*, the grandfather of *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâb*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, died in the 117th year of the *Hejra*, in the 78th year of his age, and left two-and-twenty children behind him.

ABOUT the 119th, or the 120th, year of the *Hejra*, *Soli-*^{Solimân}*mân Ebn Heshâm* ravaged some of the imperial provinces *Ebn Heshâm* contiguous to the *Khalif's* dominions, and carried off with ^{him ra-}him a vast number of prisoners. Amongst these there was ^{vages}a *Pergamenian*, who pretended to be *Tiberius*, the son of ^{some of the}the emperor *Justinian*. This pretended prince *Heshâm*, in ^{imperial}order to do his son *Solimân*, who had taken him prisoner, ^{provinces.}the greater honour, as well as to strike a terror into the

GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 457.

* THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. C. XV. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ compend. p. 457.

* THEOPHAN. et RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80.

imperial court, treated with the highest marks of distinction, as though he had been really a member of the imperial family; sending him to *Jerusalem*, and all the other principal cities of *Syria*, escorted by a numerous body of troops, and attended by a very splendid retinue. But however his subjects might be pleased with such ostentation and parade, it does not appear, that the *Khalif* himself reaped any remarkable advantage from this preposterous conduct. In the 118th year of the *Hejra* died *Abd'almâlec Ebn Fesô'a*, *Heshâm's* governor of *Egypt*, and was succeeded by *Abd'alrahman Ebn Khâled Ebn Mojaffir Al Fahâmi*. The following year, the *Khalif* removed the tyrant *Abd'almâlec*, to the unspeakable joy of the *Moslems* there, from his government of *Spain* ^a.

Account of
the Arab
affairs in
Spain.

THE next year, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* fell again into the imperial territories, where he committed dreadful depredations. Amongst the captives he carried into slavery, there was one *Eustathius*, the son of *Marianus*, a *Greek* of distinction, whom he took with him to the *Khalif's* court, in order to set off the success that had attended him in this expedition. After *Heshâm* had dismissed *Abd'almâlec*, to the great joy of the *Arabs* there, from the honourable post he had so unjustly enjoyed a considerable time in *Spain*, he appointed one *Ocha*, or rather *Okba*, to preside over the *Arabs* of that province in his room. *Okba*, upon his arrival at *Corduba*, imprisoned his predecessor, loaded him with irons, and deprived of their offices all the judges and governors of cities, that owed to him their elevation. He likewise obliged the *Arabs* under his government to observe strictly the ceremonies, as well as the moral duties, enjoined by their religion, collected the tribute exacted of the *Christians* with the utmost rigour, took all opportunities that offered of filling the *Khalif's* coffers, and brought all the most enormous offenders to condign punishment. However, as he governed exactly according to law, the *Moslems* could not with any colour of reason complain of the iniquity of his administration. He meditated an expedition against the *French*, but was not able to carry his design into execution. Being arrived at *Saragosa* with his fleet, he received advice from the coast of *Africa*, that the *Moslems* of *Spain* had an intention to depose him; upon which, he posted away with all possible celerity first to *Corduba*, and afterwards to the continent of *Africa*, where he assembled a body of troops, with which he returned to *Spain*, put the ringleaders of the projected revolt to death, and settled himself once more in his former post. Afterwards growing very

^a THEOPHAN. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. historiæ. compend. p. 457. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80.

infirm, he resigned the government to his predecessor *Abd'almâlec* in the 124th year of the *Hejra*, with the unanimous approbation of all the *Khalif's* subjects in *Spain*, a little before he died. We must not forget to observe, that *Abd'abrah-mân Ebn Khâled Ebn Mosaffir Ebn Tabit Al Fabâmi* was removed from the government of *Egypt*, after he had resided there about a year, and *Handala Ebn Safwân Al Calbi* substituted in his room ^b.

IN the 120th year of the *Hejra*, *Heshâm* removed *Khâled Abnak-Al Karli* from the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, and appointed *Yusef hayyal Ebn Omar Al Tbakisi* to preside over that province. It appears from some of the authors followed by *Al Makin*, that one patriarch *Abnakhayal* was about this time constituted patriarch of *Ale- of Alexandria*, and afterwards persecuted by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Mûsa Ebn Nafr*, originally a Jew, at that time governor of *Egypt*; who first imprisoned him, and then extorted from him a large sum of money, which he was obliged to beg of the *Christians* settled in *Egypt* and some of the neighbouring provinces. But as the facts touched upon in this relation have not been mentioned by *Eutychius*, or *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, who has written the fullest and most particular account of the affairs of the church of *Alexandria*, during this period, we will not take upon us to determine whether *Al Makin*, or rather the authors he followed, are absolutely to be depended upon in the point before us ^c.

THE following year, being the 121st of the *Hejra*, *Zeid Zeidrebel Ebn Ali Ebn Husein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* assembled an army of 14,000 men at *Cûsa*, and obliged the inhabitants of that city to take an oath of fidelity to him. But, upon the approach of *Yusef Ebn Omar*, the governor of *Basra*, with a body of troops to extinguish this rebellion, they asked him what were his sentiments of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*? He replied, he had always entertained a good opinion of them. Upon which, they renounced their allegiance to him, rescinded their former oath, and immediately deserted him; so that he found himself obliged to stand an engagement with only fourteen men. He could not, therefore, forbear observing, that the *Cûsans*, by their infamous conduct on this occasion, had acted in character, and played over again the game of *Husein*. In fine, *Yusef* easily defeated him, pierced his brain with an arrow, and consequently killed him upon the spot. Of the few *Cûsans* that attended him, not one escaped.

^b THEOPHAN. et CEDREN. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xv. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 80.

^c ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 80, 82, 83.

After the end of the action, *Yusef* ordered his head to be cut off, and sent it to the *Khalif*; by whose command it was fixed upon one of the gates of *Damascus*. His body was deposited in a sepulchre the same night he died, out of which it was taken the next morning, and affixed to a cross or gibbet erected for that purpose; but soon after reduced to ashes, by an express order of the *Khalif*. His son, in order to avoid meeting with the same fate, fled to *Balkh*, the metropolis of *Khorasan*, said to have been built by *Loraspes*, the father of *Hydaspes*, king of *Persia*, about the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* made himself master of *Jerusalem*. Some believe that it was built by *Alexander the Great*, and from him at first denominated *Alexandria*; but *Goli*us, with a greater degree of probability, takes it to answer to the *Bactra* of the antients. Be that as it will, it is situated in a very pleasant and fertile country, upon the *Dehâsh*, a fine river that passes by its suburbs, and, about twelve parasangs from the city, discharges itself into the *Oxus*. Soon after the extinction of the preceding rebellion, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec*, the *Khalif's* brother, penetrated into the imperial territories, and made himself master of *Catamana*, a city of considerable note. *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân*, surnamed *Himar*, subdued also this year *Serir Al Dheheb*, or rather *Serir Al Theheb*, that is, the throne of gold, a province situated between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, in which the city of *Derbent* stands, called by the *Turks* *Demir Capi*, the iron gate; and imposed upon the *Khân*, or prince of that country, after he had plundered and pillaged the inhabitants of it, an annual tribute. *Theophanes* also seems to intimate, that *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* conquered that tract this very year; which not a little supports what has been advanced on this head by the *Arab* historians ^d.

THE next year, being the 122d of the *Hejra*, *Moslem Ebn Moslema* *Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, *Heshâm's* brother, departed this *lives.* life. He was the greatest general of the age, and had distinguished himself on many occasions above the other *Arab* commanders, both by his courage and conduct. This year the *Khalif* ordered a bridge to be built over the *Euphrates*, the construction of which began on the *Syrian* bank of that river, opposite to the city of *Callinicum* in *Mesopotamia* ^e.

^d ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 81. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 207. YAKUT, EBN HAWKAL. GOLI not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176. SHARIF AL EDRISI, KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 344. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Heshbiam Ben Abdalmâlek*, p. 451.

^e ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 107.

IN the 123d year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November A blazing* 26th, 740, the *Khalif Heshâm*, as we find asserted by *Theo-star ap-phanes*, ordered a very considerable number of *Christian cap-tives*, taken by his generals in their irruptions into the imperial territories, to be put to the sword. Which article, however, seems too repugnant to the civil and religious constitution of the *Moslems*, as here before described, to be admitted as a certain and indubitable truth. Either this or the following year, about the beginning of *January*, a remarkable comet, or blazing-star, is said to have appeared †.

THE next year, being the 124th year of the *Hejra*, *Heshâm A rebel-* sent *Handala Ebn Safwân*, the governor of *Egypt*, into *Africa*, lion in and appointed *Hafas Ebn Al Walid* to preside over the people of *Africa*. *Egypt*. In this post *Hafas* continued till the death of *Heshâm*; but was removed from it by *Al Walid Ebn Yezid Ebn Abd almâlec*, the *Khalif's* successor, who substituted *Isa Ebn Abi Atâ* in his room. This year the bridge over the *Tigris* at *Amida* having received great damage from an inundation, *Heshâm* ordered it to be repaired, or rather rebuilt, and procured a considerable number of architects, who met together at *Amida* for that purpose. The construction of this bridge was, however, a work of so much difficulty, that it was not finished before the *Khalif's* death. About the same time, according to *Dionysius Telmarenus*, most of the inhabitants of *Edeffa* were destroyed by an inundation of the *Desanes*, which laid almost all the houses there under water; tho', if we will believe *Theophanes*, that inundation happened on the 28th day of the month *Peritius*, or *February*, in the preceding year. About the year we are now upon, if *Roderic of Toledo* may be attended to, there was a rebellion in the western part of *Africa*, which probably extended itself into *Nigritia*, or at least to the frontiers of that country, as the rebel army, according to him, consisted of *Moors*, some of whom, in their complexions and frizzled hair, resembled the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*; and were men of such determined courage and resolution, that they defeated an army of 100,000 men sent against them by the *Khalif*. Nay, their general, flushed with this success, if that author may be credited, meditated the conquest of *Spain*; which excited even many of the *Khalif's* subjects there to a revolt. However, *Abd almâlec*, *Heshâm's* governor of that province, proved superior to the rebels, drove a large body of them from *Toledo*, after they had besieged that city twenty-six days, cut many of them to pieces, dispersed the rest, and obliged two other bodies of them to return to their duty. But, notwithstanding this, the rebel general, who had set up for himself in *Africa*,

† DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. THEOPHANES, ubi sup. p. 347.

according to *Roderic*, still continued to assert his independency there. Nay, he not only baffled all the *Khalif's* efforts to reduce him, but likewise found himself in a condition to extend his frontiers. For, he sent an army, under the command of *Abd'alrahmân*, one of his generals, to invade *Spain*; which advanced to *Corduba*, reduced that place, took *Abd'almâlec* alive in it, and put him to a cruel death. Could this relation of *Roderic* be intirely depended upon, it would seem to imply, that, before the commencement of this rebellion, the *Khalif's* arms had penetrated into the interior part of *Africa*, and reduced at le it a considerable part of the country of *Gatulia*, if not *Nigritia*, to the obedience of that powerful prince; tho' the time when that conquest was made has not been clearly pointed out to us by any of the *Arab* historians.

Heshâm's IN the 125th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November*
death and 4th, 742, on the sixth day of the latter *Rabi*, *Heshâm Ebn*
character. *Abd'almâlec* died at *Rusâfa*, after he had sat nineteen years seven months and eleven days upon the *Moslem* throne. He was fifty-three, or, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, fifty-five, or, as others will have it, fifty-six, years of age, at the time of his death. With regard to his person, he was of a fair complexion, though his hair was of a reddish, or sandy, colour. Some of the *Arab* historians relate, that he was squint-eyed, and had a very ugly face; tho', according to others, that blemish, or defect, in him was not at all unbecoming. He tinged his beard with *Al Henna* and *Al Catam*, in the same manner as did the prophet himself, and his immediate successors. In relation to his character, it has been observed by some of the eastern writers, that he governed without any prime minister; tho', being of a covetous and rapacious disposition, he greatly harassed his subjects. He had many wardrobes, which cannot be said of any of his predecessors, and therein an infinity of garments; tho', having sealed them all up, his successor *Al Walid* could not find a winding-sheet to wrap his body in after his decease, till a servant brought him one for that purpose. His secretaries of state were *Sa'id Ebn Al Walid Al Abrash Al Calbi*; his principal favourite, and *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hârîta*; the captain of his guards *Caab Ebn Hâmed*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Mohammed Ebn Safwân Al Jamjami*; and his chamberlain *Gâleb*, his freed-man. The inscription of his seal was, *Wise judgment is a fat beast of burden*. The first and last days of his reign are said to have been *Wednesday*. One of his sons assigning once as a reason for not attend-

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 81, 84.
RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. ad calc. Al Mak. hist. Saracen.
ab Erpenio edit. Lugd. Batavor. 1625. c. xvi.

ing divine service in the mosque, that he had no beast to carry him thither; the *Khalif* forbade him the use of either horse or camel for a whole year. One of his subjects having been accused of drinking wine, as well as keeping singing girls, and playing on a lute, and brought before him with the instrument he was so much delighted with, the *Khalif* said, *Beat that drum about the rascal's ears.* Upon which, some of his domestics beat the fellow with the lute, and he shed tears plentifully. Being then advised to take his punishment patiently, and not disgrace himself by weeping, he said, *I weep not because I am treated in this manner, but because he so contemptuously calls my lute a drum.* We are told by *Theophanes*, that *Heshâm* permitted the *Christians* of *Antioch* to chuse for their patriarch, after they had been deprived of one forty years by the *Arabs*, *Stephen*, a monk of uncommon sanctity and austerity of life, and one with whom he had contracted a particular intimacy; which they considered as a blessing derived to them immediately from heaven. This article, though passed over in silence by other *Christian* writers, has likewise been handed down to us by *Cedrenus* in almost the same terms. *Heshâm* has been represented by *Khondemir*, who tells us, that he would not trust any person with the keys of his coffers in which his treasures were deposited, as one of the most avaricious princes that ever lived; which, indeed, perfectly agrees with the character given of him by other historians. Nevertheless, he loved horses extremely, of which he kept at least 4000 in his stables. After his death, 700 coffers full of moveables, linen, and garments, or habits, of various kinds; amongst which 1000 breeches and 10,000 shirts were found, locked and sealed up with his proper seal. The distemper of which he died was the quinsy, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. His body was interred at *Rusâsa*, a city supposed to have been either founded or rebuilt by him; and, for that reason, in order to distinguish it from other places of the same name, some of the eastern writers stile it the *Rusâsa* of *Heshâm*. But, notwithstanding what may have been insinuated to the contrary by several of the *Moslem* authors, *Rusâsa* could not have been founded by *Heshâm*, as he resided there before he was *Khalif*, and consequently before he was capable of attempting such a foundation. However, he afterwards probably repaired and enlarged this city, which was the *Resciph* (*Peskiz*) of *Ptolemy*, as has been remarked above, and is frequently mentioned by the *Syriac* writers. It has been already observed, that *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*, *Leo Isauricus's* son, was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner, according to the authors followed by *Al Makin*, by one of *Heshâm's*

Abu's sons; but that this was utterly inconsistent with what has been related of that prince by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. We must beg leave farther to remark, that *Abu Abdallah Mohammed Ebn Sirin*, who wrote a treatise concerning the interpretation of dreams, upon the principles of the book composed by *Abu Ishak Al Kermâni*, flourished in the reign of this prince; and that *Heshâm* had two small lordships, called *Al Haba* and *Al Mara*, in the district of *Rakka*, that brought him in an annual revenue of 10,000 *dirbems* ^b.

S E C T. XVII.

He is succeeded by
Al Walid.

UPON the death of *Heshâm*, *Al Walid*, in pursuance of his father *Yezid's* last will and testament, mounted the *Moslem* throne. He was surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs*, and proclaimed *Khalif* the very day that his uncle *Heshâm* died; being then about forty years of age. His mother *Omm Al Hejâj* was the daughter of *Mohammed Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Hakem Ebn Abu Okail Al Thakifi*. He had been treated with great kindness, and even marks of distinction, by *Heshâm*, till he had totally given himself up to a most dissolute course of life. But at last, by spending his time in drunkenness, and discovering an absolute disregard for all the religious observances and institutions of the *Moslems*, he incurred the displeasure of that prince; who, finding his nephew's life to be little better than one continued scene of debauchery, first reproved him for the enormities he was guilty of, and then, upon his remaining still incorrigible, altered the whole course of his conduct towards him. *Al Walid*, not being able to bear the rigorous treatment he met with from *Heshâm*, retired, with his friends and domestics, to *Azrak*, where he remained till his uncle's death; of which being apprized by two couriers, he posted away with the utmost celerity to *Damascus*, in order to take possession of the *Khalifat*. During his residence at *Azrak*, according to some of the eastern writers, *Al Walid* behaved not only in an irreproachable, but even an exemplary manner; tho', after his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, he soon relapsed into his former ex-

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 81, 82, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 207, 208. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 388, 389. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. lxx. p. 143. JOAN. GAGN. not. in Abulfed. ibid. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 349. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 460. KHONDEMER, EBN SHOHNAH, Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 451. YAKUT, GOSLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 253, 254. PTOL. geograph. lib. v. c. 18. GEORG. JAC. KEBER, ubi sup. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit.

cesses, and abandoned himself to all sorts of debaucheries. Upon the arrival of the aforesaid courier, he immediately issued an order to those who presided over *Heshâm's* treasures, which were immense, to secure every thing for his use: upon which, *Ayyad*, *Al Walid's* secretary, being released out of the prison where he had been confined by *Heshâm*, affixed the new *Khalif's* seal to all the doors of the treasuries, and would not suffer any person to approach them before his master had taken upon himself the government. Hence, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, it came to pass, that *Gâleb*, *Heshâm's* freed-man, was obliged to wrap up that prince's corpse in a winding-sheet, nothing better being at that time to be found. *Al Walid* is said to have treated his predecessor's friends and domestics with extreme severity; telling them, that this was the very same treatment he and his adherents had met with from their master. The lame and the blind of *Damascus* he clothed and supplied with plenty of provisions, and distributed a vast quantity of perfumes and costly apparel amongst the women of that city, soon after his accession. In fine, he was prodigal to a surprizing degree; never refusing any favour to a person who put up a petition to him. Having increased with a tenth part the pay of all the troops within his vast and most extensive dominions, he wonderfully conciliated the affections of the soldiery to him; so that he easily prevailed upon them, and of course the whole body of his subjects, to agree to the settlement of the succession upon his two sons *Al Hakem* and *Othmân*, in such a manner that the survivor was destined, after the death of the other, to ascend the *Moslem* throne. It appears from the eastern writers, that *Tabya Ebn Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Husein*, who, after his father's death, had made his escape to *Balkh*, the metropolis of *Khorasân*, was defeated and put to the sword by a body of *Al Walid's* troops at *Furjân*, *Furjâna*, or *Georgiana*, in the 125th year of the *Hejra*, not long after *Heshâm's* death. The body of this *Imâm* (for so he is called by the followers of *Ali*) was first affixed to a gibbet, or cross, and afterwards reduced to ashes, which were thrown into the *Euphrates*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. But this last particular seems to be a mistake, as the city of *Georgiana*, the metropolis of a province of the same name, is said by some to belong to *Khorasân*, by others to *Taberistân*, and by others to *Khwarazm*, not far from the coast of the *Caspian* sea, and consequently at a very considerable distance from the *Euphrates*. This year, that is, the 125th of the *Hejra*, the repose of the *Arab* dominions in *Spain*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, was disturbed by civil dissensions. *Al Walid* sent one *Abu'l Katar* to take upon himself the government of that province; but he was opposed by the

Arabs

Arabs there, under the conduct of *Ismael* and *Toban*, two of their countrymen, who at last found an opportunity of cutting him off: after which event, *Toban* was unanimously declared the commander in chief of the *Moslems* in *Spain*. The same year the *Khalif's* forces made an irruption into the imperial territories, where they committed dreadful depredations, and carried off with them an incredible number of *Christians* prisoners. About the same time, the emperor *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*, sent *Andreas Spatharius* his ambassador to *Damascus*, to solicit succours of *Al Walid*; and *Artabasdus*, his competitor, dispatched *Gregorius Logotheta*, as his minister, on the same occasion, to the *Khalif's* court. It has been remarked by *Theophanes*, that *Peter*, the metropolitan of *Damascus*, had his tongue cut out out, for reflecting upon the *Mohammedan* tenets, by *Al Walid's* order, and was afterwards banished to *Yaman*; as also, that both he and another *Christian* of the same name, at *Maruma* in *Palestine*, suffered martyrdom the same year¹.

Al Walid's death and character.

THE following year, being the 126th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 25th, 743, *Al Walid* openly professed *Zendicism*, a species of infidelity nearly resembling *Sadducism* amongst the *Jews*, and perhaps not very remote from the *Deism* of some of our modern unbelievers, if we will believe the *Persian* historians; which, together with his flagitious and abandoned course of life, the genuine consequence of the impious principles he maintained, gave such offence to the people of *Syria*, that they unanimously resolved to depose him. In order to which, they chose *Yezid*, the son of *Al Walid* I. his cousin-german, for their leader, and inaugurated him *Khalif*. *Yezid* was no sooner placed on the throne, than he assembled a body of troops, and marched against *Al Walid*, who then resided in the territory of *Boheira*, at a small distance from *Damascus*. The mutineers easily dispersed the *Khalif's* forces, and besieged him in his palace. At their first appearance before the gates, he expostulated with them, and reproached them with ingratitude; telling them, that "he had eased them of their taxes, relieved their needy, and been more generous to them than any of his predecessors." To which they replied, that "tho' they were by no means stran-

¹ *ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR.* *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 84. *EUTYCH.* patriarch. *Alexandrin.* annal. ubi sup. p. 388, 389. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. p. 209; 210. *EBN SHOHAN*, *KHONDE-MIR*, *GOLII* *BOI.* ad *Alfragan.* p. 190, 191. *ABULFED.* in geogr. *HAMDALLA*, *SAID EBN ALI AL JURJANI*, *YAKUT*, *ALBERT. SCHULT.* ind. geograph. ad vit. *Salad.* in voc *Georgia.* *RODERIC. TOLETAN.* ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16. *THEOPHAN.* chronograph. p. 349, 350.

gers to his good qualities, yet they at the same time knew, that his bad ones vastly preponderated; that he had frequently inebriated himself with wine, kept up an illicit commerce with his father's concubines, and been guilty of almost every kind of criminal excesses." After which, ten of the most resolute of them forcing their way into the palace, *Waja Al Fanin*, their leader, or, according to others, *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'almâlec*, or, lastly, as others will have it, *Wahmal Ebn Al Walid*, dispatched him with very great ease; he not attempting to make the least resistance. After his death, one of his hands and his head were cut off, carried in triumph thro' the streets of *Damascus*, and at last affixed to one of the gates of that city. The funeral prayers were said over him by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, at the time of his interment, in the usual manner. His two sons, *Al Hakem* and *Othmân*, surnamed the *Rams*, were immediately imprisoned, as soon as *Yezid* had communicated to the *Moslems* the news of his assassination. With regard to his person, *Al Walid* was of a middle stature, had a handsome face, tho' his hair began to grow grey, and a fair complexion. He was of a very wicked disposition, being extremely addicted to gaming, drunkenness, and every species of sensuality. He kept company only with the younger and more abandoned part of his subjects. He ravished a girl in one of his drunken fits, and afterwards obliged her to repeat some prayers to the multitude, with a veil over her face. He is likewise said to have carried wine and dogs with him to *Mecca*, being vastly fond of hunting, and to have ordered an iron tomb to be made for him, which he proposed to have placed in a certain part of the *Caaba*. Notwithstanding his life was one continued scene of debauchery, he had quick parts, and was a tolerable good poet; tho' he exercised his genius chiefly on the most obscene and lascivious subjects. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by *Al Makin*; who informs us, that he ordered *Ma'bad*, a singer in favour with him, to repeat two or three verses, and then precipitated himself thrice into a sort of basin, or reservoir, formed of wine and water for that purpose; which proved a great diminution of his authority, and paved the way to his destruction. *Eutychius* represents him as a person of considerable eloquence, though this did not turn out of the least advantage either to himself or his subjects. To his other enormous crimes he added that of gluttony, according to *Al Makin*. He was assassinated towards the close of the latter *Yemâda*, after he had reigned a year and three months, being then about forty-two years of age. He had thirteen children, some of which were boys, and others girls. His secretary of state was *Al Abbâs Ebn Moslema*; his judge, or *Kâdî*, *Mohammed*

Mohammed Ebn Safwân Al Jamjami; the captain of his guards *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Homaïd Al Calbi*; and his chamberlain *Katri*, his freed-man. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*; and the inscription of his seal was, *O WALID, fear death!* The untimely end of this *Khalîf* proved a mortal wound to the house of *Ommiyah*, and of course not a little contributed to the advancement of the family of *Al Abbâs* to the *Moslem* throne. *Al Walid* is farther said, by the *Persian* historians, to have been so impious a prince, that he tore to pieces, and trod under foot, several copies of the *Korân* ^k.

§ E C T. XVIII.

He is succeeded by Yezid, the son of Al Walid I.

YEZID, the son of *Al Walid I.* who succeeded *Al Walid II.* in the *Khalîfat*, was, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, a just and virtuous prince. He was generally surnamed *Abu Khaled*, and sometimes, by way of derision, *Al Nakes*, the diminisher, and *Ebn Al Nakes*, the son of the diminisher, or the son of the diminished, because he found himself obliged, by the emptiness of his coffers, to diminish the pay that had been allowed the soldiery by the *Khalîfs*. His mother was *Mah Afrid*, or *Shabferend*, according to the *Arab* historians, the daughter of *Firâz*, the son of *Yazdeجرد*. He became, therefore, sovereign of *Persia* by hereditary right; and was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him from his mother, even after he was *Khalîf*, that he constantly styled himself the son of *Khosrâ*, king of *Persia*, the descendant of the *Khalîf Merwân*, and a prince amongst whose ancestors, of the mother's side, were the *Roman* emperor and the *Khâkân*. Soon after his inauguration, he caused the *Moslems* to acknowledge his brother *Ibrahim* the heir apparent of the crown, and, after him, the succession legally to devolve upon *Abd'alazîz Ebn Al Hejâj Ebn Abd'almâlec*; and then obliged them to take the oath of allegiance, or fidelity, to those princes. Upon the divulgation of the news of *Al Walid's* violent death in the provinces, great commotions happened there. The people of *Hepts* demanded the blood of the *Khalîf*, or, in other words, insisted that vengeance should be taken of his murderers for the effusion of that blood. To extinguish this rebellion, *Yezid* sent an army against them; which they soon defeated,

^k AUT. LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAN, AL MOS-TATRAF, apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 136. ut et ipse Poc. ibid. RELAND. de relig. Mohamm. p. 270. MILLIUS de Mohammedism. ante Mohammed. p. 311. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 210, 211. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 85, 86. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 388—391. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 351. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 461.

and put 300 of his men to the sword. *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, who had been loaded with irons, made an irruption into the district of *Al Maarra Al Nooman*, or *Maarra Nomani*, ravaged it, and then advanced to *Damascus*. The people of *Palestine* rose against their governor, and killed him. During these troubles, *Yezid* removed *Yusef Ebn Omar* from the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, and substituted *Mansûr Ebn Jambûr* in his room. About the same time, *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Himar*, rebelled against *Yezid* in *Armenia*; giving out, that his design was to revenge the death of *Al Walid*. He assembled a very considerable force, but was pacified by *Yezid*, who conferred upon him the government of *Mesopotamia*, *Marusel*, *Armenia*, and *Aderbijân*, on condition that he should take the oath of allegiance to him. The Greek writers seem to intimate, that he was a friend to the family of *Al Walid II.* and desirous of taking the sons of that *Khalîf* under his protection; which is likewise confirmed by some of the Arab historians. We are told by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, that a comet appeared in the northern part of the hemisphere towards the close of the *Khalîfat* of *Al Walid*; and that the people seated on the coast of the *Caspian* sea were greatly alarmed by several violent shocks of an earthquake about the same time. It cannot be inferred from *Roderic of Toledo*, that any thing remarkable happened, during the reign of *Yezid Ebn Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, in *Spain*¹.

SOON after the conclusion of the pacification between the *Yezid Khalîf* and *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Himar*, at *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*, the former died of the plague at *Damascus*, on *Wednesday* the 18th of the month *Dhu'lhajja*, in the 126th year of the *Hejra*, after he had reigned five or six months, and was, at the time of his death, forty, or, as others say, forty-six, years of age. His funeral service was said by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid* his brother, who succeeded him. As to his person, he was of a thin habit of body, a moderate stature, and a swarthy complexion. His mustaches, or whiskers, were not so thick and large as those of the *Arabs* generally are. With regard to his disposition, he is said to have been ostentatious, eloquent, and proud. He was, however, after his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, looked upon as an honest, just, and good-natured prince. He hath been represented as a favourer of the *Kadarians*, a sect denying absolute predestination; say-

¹ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 211, 212. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 86, 87. RUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 390, 391. KHONDÉMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid Ben Valid*, p. 487. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 351. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. Vide ROMERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16.

ing, that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to GOD, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which GOD has granted him power either to do or to let alone. Some, therefore, imagine, that they are denominated *Kadarians*, because they deny *Al Kadr*, or GOD's absolute decree; tho' others, thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it to come from *Kadr*, or *Kadrat*, i. e. power, because they assert man's power to act freely. Some pretend, that the *Kadarians* are the *Magians* of the *Moslems*, as admitting a good principle, viz. GOD, and an evil one, viz. man; and that the first author of this sect was *Mabad Ebn Khâled Al Jobni*, who was put to death by the famous *Al Hejâj at Basra* ^m.

Some farther particulars relating to him.

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that the body of *Yezid*, which, as well as that of his predecessor *Al Walid*, seems to have been buried at *Damascus*, was dug up, and affixed to a cross, or gibbet, by order of *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Himmar*, the last *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*, after he had ascended the *Moslem* throne. *Yezid's* secretary of state was *Tâbit Ebn Solimân*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Othmân Ebn Omar Eln Mûsa Al Timi*; the captain of his guards, *Yezid Ebn Al Shammakh Al Lakhmi*; and his chamberlain, his servant, *Fatan*. The first day of his reign was *Friday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The inscription of his seal was, O YEZID, persist in that which is right! The *Greek* writers inform us, that he was surnamed *Leipsos*, or diminished; which pretty nearly corresponds with the *Arabic* *Nakes*, or *Al Nakes*, a nickname sometimes given him by the *Moslems*. We must not forget to observe, that *Ebn Arraheb* and *Abu'l Walid*, as well as *Euty chius*, or *Ebn Batrik*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, assert *Al Walid II.* to have reigned precisely one year and three months. It appears from *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, that *Yezid*, who succeeded him, his brothers *Ibrahim* and *Abbâs*, together with *Alid'alaziz Ebn Al Hejâj Ebn Abd al mâlec*, contrived and effected the destruction of that *Khalif*; and that he was assassinated at the city of *Care*. *Dionysius* likewise relates, that *Yezid* sat six whole months upon the *Moslem* throne. It may be inferred from *Abu'l-Faraj*, that the friends of the house of *Al Abbâs*, at *Merâ* in *Khorasân*, began to put themselves in motion this year ⁿ.

S E C T.

* AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, II. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 235. 238, 240, &c. ut et ipse Poc. ibid. D'HÉRBEU. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Cadaria*, p. 224.

ⁿ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 87. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 390, 391. THEOPHAN. et GREG.

CEDRÉN.

S E C T. XIX.

IBRAHIM EBN AL WALID EBN ABD'ALMALEC EBN MER-
 WAN EBN AL HAKEM, in consequence of the settlement of
 the succession in the preceding reign, was declared *Khalif* the
 same day that his brother *Yezid* died. His mother's name was
Naama, or, as others will have it, *Hafsa*. His subjects
 sometimes dignified him with the title of *Khalif*, sometimes
 with that of *emperor of the faithful*, and sometimes they con-
 sidered him only as a private person. His reign was so short,
 that it has scarce been mentioned by *Eutychius*; nor have
Dionysius Telmarenfis and *Theophanes* taken any farther notice
 of him, than barely to observe, that he succeeded his brother
Yezid. According to the former of those writers, about the
 time that this prince first took upon himself the government,
 a grievous famine and pestilence raged all over the east °.

IN the beginning of the year of the *Hejra* 127, commenc-
 ing *Oktber* 13th, 744, *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mer-*
wân Ebn Al Hakem, surnamed *Himar*, the governor of *Me-*
sopotamia, *Mawsel*, *Armenia*, and *Aderbijân*, who had re-
 belled against *Yezid*, under the pretext of revenging the
 murder of *Al Walid II.* marched first to *Edeffa*, and af-
 terwards to *Kinnisrin*, with a powerful army, in order to
 lay siege to *Damascus*, and depose *Ibrahim*. *Basfar* and
Mafrûr Ebn Al Walid, who then commanded the *Khalif's*
 forces at *Kinnisrin*, being apprized of *Merwân's* approach,
 advanced at the head of their troops to give him battle; but
 they were deserted by their men, who went over in a body to
 the enemy, and delivered up their generals into *Merwân's*
 hands. *Basfar* and *Mafrûr* were therefore thrown into pri-
 son, and there for some time straitly confined; after which,
Merwân advanced to *Hems*, the inhabitants of which city
 immediately took the oath of allegiance to him. Here he re-
 inforced his army with such an additional number of troops,
 that he found it to consist of 80,000 effective men. With
 this force he marched against *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, *Ibrahim's*
 general, who was in motion with an army of 120,000 men.
 As soon as the two armies came in sight, *Merwân* invited the
Khalif's forces to join him, in order to take vengeance of the
 murderers of *Al Walid II.* But this they refusing to do, a fierce
 and bloody conflict ensued; in which *Solimân* was overthrown,

CEDREN. ubi sup. EBN ARRAHEB et ABU'L WALID, apud Jos.
 Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 107. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos.
 Sim. Asseman. ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 211.

• AL MAKIN et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN.
 chronograph. p. 351. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 107.

with

with incredible slaughter, and forced to fly with the remains of his shatter'd troops to *Damascus*. *Merwân* took many prisoners likewise in this decisive action; all which he released, upon their taking the oath of fidelity to *Al Hakem* and *Othmán*, *Al Walid's* sons, who had remained in a state of confinement ever since their father had met with his tragical fate, at *Damascus*. But this, in reality, proved not of the least service to those unfortunate princes. For, *Solimán* being well assured of *Merwân's* intention to fix one of them upon the *Moslem* throne, he no sooner arrived at *Damascus*, than he and *Ibrahim* ordered both of them to be put to death; after which, he plundered the imperial treasury, and then, notwithstanding the measures concerted to intercept him, made his escape. However, *Al Hakem* and *Othmán*, foreseeing what would happen to them, before their deaths, took care to transfer their right to *Merwân*, and declared to their fellow-prisoner *Abu Mohammed Al Sheibáni*, that, in case they should be destroyed, *Merwân* ought to be considered by all the *Moslems* as lawful *Khattf* and *Imám*. Soon after *Solimán's* departure, the citizens of *Damascus* opened their gates to *Merwân*, who caused the bodies of the two young princes to be decently interred, and was saluted *Khattf* by *Abu Mohammed Al Sheibani*, now released from his confinement, in consequence of the declaration that to him had been formerly made. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, the deposed *Khattf*, and all the people of *Syria*, at the same time recognized his authority; so that there was no person in the empire capable of disputing his title, or in any respect of standing in competition with him ^P.

Ibrahim survives the revolution, and lives to the year of the Hejra 132.

As *Ibrahim* so readily acknowledged *Merwân* emperor of the *Moslems*, he survived this revolution, and lived to the year of the *Hejra* 132; when, as some say, he was assassinated by one *Nú'ún*; or, according to others, was drowned; or, lastly, as others will have it, was murdered by *Merwân's* son, who is said afterwards to have affixed his body to a gibbet, or cross; so that we have no certain account of the circumstances attending the death of this prince. With regard to his person, he had small whiskers, or mustaches, not unlike those of his predecessor *Yezid*, and two pretty remarkable locks of curled hair. He was, according to the authors followed by *Al Makin*, of a stupid and imprudent disposition. His secretary of state was *Dukas Ebn Sarah Al Lakhmi*; his judge *Othmán Ebn Omar Al Timi*; and his chamberlain, *Katri*, *Al Walid's*

^P AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 87, 88. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 212. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ibrahim Ben Valid*, p. 48c. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup.

servant.

servant. The inscription of his seal was, *I trust in the living God*. He reigned, according to *Al Makin* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, only sixty-nine or seventy days; so that, by some writers, he is not ranked amongst the *Khalifs*, or *Moslem* emperors, as has been already observed. The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Thursday*, and the last *Tuesday*. We are told by *Ebn Shoh-nah*, that this *Ibrahim* was surnamed *Al Makblû*, or *the deposed*. He has likewise been mentioned by *Khondemir*, as a person intirely reduced to a private station. Another of the *Persian* historians relates, that he was cut off about three months after he was driven from the throne; tho', in our opinion, a greater degree of credit is due to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who extends his life, as has been hinted above, to the 132d year of the *Hejra* 1.

S E C T. XX.

SOON after *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al He is fac*
Hakem's accession, he took his predecessor *Ibrahim Ebn Al ceded by*
Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec, and *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, at their *Merwân*
 request, under his protection; tho' the latter, with several *Ebn Mo-*
 others of the house of *Ommiyah*, not only refused to assist at *ammed*.
 his inauguration, but even at first opposed, to the utmost of
 his power, every step taken by the people of *Damascus* in fa-
 vour of the new *Khalif*. His mother's name, according to
Abu Jaafar and *Al Makin*, who make her the daughter of one
Ibrahim Ebn Afir Al Nakha'i, was *Liana*. She was, as *Eu-*
tychius informs us, *Mosab Ebn Zobeir's* widow, when *Moham-*
med, Merwân's father, took her to wife. This *Khalif* was
 surnamed *Abu Abd'almâlec*, and denominated, from his un-
 daunted courage, by some of his subjects, *Himar Al Jezz-*
rah, i. e. *the ass of Mesopotamia*, or *the warlike ass*; the
 asses of that country being, in his days, remarkable for their
 unparalleled fortitude and intrepidity. He had likewise the
 appellation of *Al Jaadi*, which is said to have been derived
 from his uncle *Al Jaad Ebn Darham*. He was scarce settled
 on his throne, when he conferred the government of *Egypt*
 upon *Hasan Ebn Abahia*; whom he removed from that ho-
 nourable post in about sixteen days time, and substituted *Ha-*
fas Ebn Al Walid in his room 1.

1 AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 88. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.
 p. 212. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, ANT. LEB TARIKH, ABU
 JAAFAR AL TABARI, D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. art. *Ibrahim Ben*
Valid, p. 480. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH.
 ubi sup. p. 392, 393. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN,
 ubi sup. p. 89. THEOPHAN. et CEDREN. ubi sup.

The people
of Hems
rebel
against
Merwân.

THE same year, that is, the 127th of the *Hejra*, the people of *Hems* rebelled against *Merwân*; who marched against them at the head of a powerful army. Upon his arrival before the town, he desired to know what could excite them to such a defection, and summoned them to surrender. In answer to which, they assured him, that they were disposed to obey his orders; and, opening one of their gates, immediately admitted him, with 300 of his men, into the town. The troops that entered with him they instantly cut to pieces; and the *Khalif* himself escaped, with great difficulty, out of the gate of *Tadmor*. However, he afterwards overthrew them in a pitched battle, put a great number of them to the sword, dismantled their city, and affixed to crosses, erected for that purpose, the bodies of about 600 of those who had been the most active in this rebellion.

The *Damasce-
nenses*
likewise
declare
against
him.

THE people of *Damascus*, following the example of the citizens of *Hems*, soon after declared against the *Khalif*, and deposed the governor he had left to preside over them. But, after the extinction of the former rebellion, *Merwân* moved with great celerity towards *Damascus*, entered the city by force, and brought to condign punishment the ringleaders who had excited the *Damasce-nenses* to a revolt. This effectually appeased all commotions, and restored the capital of the *Moslem* empire to its former tranquillity.

The *Ba-
sra*ns also
revolt.

SOON after the re-establishment of the public tranquillity at *Damascus*, in the 127th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* set up for himself at *Basra*, where he was proclaimed *Khalif* by the people of that city. In order to support his pretensions to the imperial dignity, he raised an army at *Basra*, consisting of 10,000 effective men; with which he advanced to *Kinnisrin*, where he was joined by a vast number of the *Syrians*, who flocked to him from all parts. *Merwân*, receiving advice of the rapid progress made by *Solimân*, marched against him with all the forces he could assemble at *Damascus*, and in the neighbourhood of that city; and, at last coming up with him, gave him battle, and intirely defeated him, with the loss of 30,000 men. *Solimân's* affairs being in a manner ruined by so terrible an overthrow, he fled to *Hems*, and was joined there by a body of 900 men, who engaged themselves by oath to stand by him to the last drop of blood. With these troops he posted himself in ambuscade at *Telmair*, on mount *Al Zaitûn*, in the district of *Al Maara Al Neoman*, in order to surprize *Merwân*; who, he knew, must pass over that mountain in his way to *Hems*, to which place he took for granted the *Khalif* would pursue him without de-

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.*
dem *ibid.*

lay.

lay. As soon as *Merwân's* forces appeared, the rebels rose out of their ambuscade, and fell upon them with incredible fury. But *Selimân*, after a very vigorous action, was again overthrown, had the greatest part of his men killed upon the spot, and found himself obliged to retire with precipitation to *Hems*. But, being closely pursued by the victors, he constituted his brother *Sa'id Ebn Hesbîm* commandant of the place, leaving with him the shattered remains of his troops that survived the late carnage, and fled to *Tadmor*. Soon after his departure, *Merwân* appeared before the town, invested it, and besieged it seven months; during which term, he battered it incessantly with above eighty catapults. The inhabitants, as well as the garison, being at last reduced to the last extremity, surrendered to the *Khalîf*, and delivered up *Sa'id Ebn Hesbîm* into his hands. In consideration of which submission, *Merwân* pardoned the rebellious inhabitants of this city, and took them all under his protection ^u.

ABOUT the same time, *Abd'allah Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Ab- A revolt
d'allah Ebn Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb* asserted his right to the *Kha- likewise
lîfat* at *Cûfa*. But *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Abd'alazîz*, *Mer- intended at
wân's* governor of that city, having been apprized of the in- *Cûfa*.
tended revolt, took his measures so well, that he dispersed *Ab-
d'allah Ebn Moâwiyah's* adherents without any great effusion
of blood, drove him into the mountains, and found means to
extinguish this rebellion before it could arrive at any consi-
derable height ^w.

BUT notwithstanding the success *Merwân* hitherto had met *The parti-
with*, in rendering abortive all his enemies designs and machi- *fans of the
nations*, the partisans of the house of *Al Abbâs* began now to *house of Al
grow* powerful in some of the interior provinces of the em- *Abbâs be-
pire*. The first of that family, who made any considerable *gin to be
figure*, was *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, *in motion*.
who flourished in the time of *Omar Ebn Abd'alazîz*, and was
nominated the chief of that house in the 100th year of the
Hejra. When this honourable post was offered him, he resided
at *Al Homaima*, and his father *Ali* was still living. Amongst
the persons who formed the deputation sent him on this occa-
sion, by those who were inviolably attached to the interests of
the house of *Al Abbâs* in *Khorasân*, the principal were *Solimân
Ebn Kothair*, *Malec Ebn Al Hatim*, and *Kabtaba*; who brought
many valuable presents with them, and a sum of money
amounting to 400,000 *dirhems*. At the first conference be-
tween them and *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al
Abbâs Ebn Abd'almo'talleb*, the latter is reported to have said,

* Ibidem ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.
JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 90.

W ABU

“ I shall soon die, and my son *Ibrahim* will be your leader,
 “ till he shall be slain. After his death, my other son *Abd'al-*
 “ *lah*, surnamed *Abu'l Abbās. Al Saffāh*, shall preside over
 “ you, and settle the government of the *Moslems* upon a solid
 “ and lasting foundation. He shall likewise cut off all the
 “ members of the house of *Ommiyah*; a family that have
 “ maintained themselves so long on the throne by repeated
 “ acts of violence, and an incredible effusion of *Moslem*
 “ blood.” They were then introduced to *Abd'allah*, as their
 future sovereign, and had the honour to kiss his hands and his
 feet. As for *Mohammed*, he departed this life in the 125th
 year of the *Hejra*, and was succeeded in the honourable post
 assigned him by his son *Ibrahim*; who, immediately after his
 father's death, dispatched *Abu Hāshem*, a person he could in-
 tirely confide in, to *Merū* in *Khorasān*, then the residence of
 the principal friends of the house of *Al Abbās*, to notify to his
 adherents there that tragical event, and to animate them to
 a perseverance in their attachment to his person and family.
Abu Hāshem succeeded in the execution of his commission,
 according to his desire, and received from the *Moslems* at *Merū*
 a large sum of money, collected there for his master's service.
 It appears, however, from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Abu Hāshem* was
 not the first ambassador sent to the people of *Khorasān* in the
 interest of the house of *Al Abbās*; since, if any credit may be
 given to that author, *Ziyād* was dispatched in that capacity to
Khorasān by *Mohammed Ebn Ali* himself, in the 109th year of
 the *Hejra*. To which he adds, that this *Ziyād*, upon his ar-
 rival at *Merū*, probably the *Maruca* of *Ptolemy*, a city of *Khōra-*
sān, for a description of which we must refer our curious readers
 to the eastern geographers, made great complaints of the dis-
 solute lives and iniquity of the members of the house of *Om-*
miyah; and that he was put to death by *Asad*, *Heshām's* go-
 vernor of *Khorasān*, who had received a full and ample ac-
 count of the whole affair, together with ten of the *Cāsans*,
 who were privy to his intrigues. The same author likewise
 relates, that, in the 118th year of the *Hejra*, *Ammān Ebn*
Yezid, a person of very loose and impious principles, came into
Khorasān, and engaged great numbers of the people there to
 declare for *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Abbās*. It
 must here be observed, that this *Mohammed Ebn Ali* was sixty-
 three; or, as others will have it, sixty-seven years of age at
 the time of his death; and that he left eleven sons; besides his
 successor *Ibrahim*, behind him *.

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 9*, 92.
GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 208, 209, 211. *GOLII* not. ad
Alfragan. p. 184, 185. *PTOL. geogr.* Vide etiam. *CHRIST. CEL-*
EAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 21.

IN the 127th year of the *Hejra*, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed* And a feat *Ebn Ali* nominated *Abu Moslem*, a youth about nineteen years ^{the Kha-} of age, of the family of *Isfandiyâr*, whose true name was ^{his forces} *Abd'alrahmân*, to go as his representative into *Khorasân*. But ^{sent} *Soliman Ebn Kothair*, the chief of the friends of the house ^{against} of *Al Abbâs* there, believing that *Abu Moslem*, on account ^{them.} of his youth, was by no means qualified for so arduous a post, and fearing lest his rawness and inexperience should prove the total ruin of their affairs, refused at first to receive him with such marks of distinction as were required by *Ibrahim*, and even to obey any of his orders. However, to set *Ibrahim* right in his notions, *Salimân Ebn Kothair*, *Lahe Ebn Korait*, and *Kabtata*, took a journey to *Mecca*, then the residence of *Ibrahim*; and, having deposited in one of his servant's hands a present, for his master's use, consisting of many valuable effects, besides 20,000 *dinârs* and 200,000 *dirhems* in ready money, they had a conference with him; the result of which was, that they should acknowledge *Abu Moslem*, *Ibrahim's* governor of *Khorasân*; which they accordingly did. In the mean time, *Nafr Ebn Sayâr*, *Merwân's* lieutenant of *Khorasân*, having received advice of these commotions, assembled a body of horse, and sent them to disperse the rebels before they were joined by the reinforcements they expected from *Syria* and the peninsula of the *Arabs*. On the other hand, *Abu Moslem* having erected his standard, and raised a considerable army, advanced at the head of his forces to attack *Nafr Ebn Sayâr*; upon which, a fierce conflict ensued, in which *Nafr* was intirely defeated, lost the greatest part of his men, and was obliged to betake himself to a precipitate flight. This blow proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of the house of *Ommiyah*, and not a little contributed to the elevation of that of *Al Abbâs* to the *Moslem* throne.

IT may not be improper to observe here, that some *dirhems* ^{Dirhems} were struck this year in the mint erected at *Wâset*; of which ^{Struck this} one was found on the coast of the *Baltick*, near a village called ^{year at} *Stegen*, at a small distance from *Dantzick*, in *June* 1722. This ^{Wâset.} *dirhem* exhibits a passage in the *Cûfic* character, taken out of the 112th *sûra*, or chapter, of the *Korân*, asserting the unity, eternity, &c. of GOD, on the reverse; and, on the other side, the words, *Be-Wâseta sab'en wa'êshrina wameâten*, i. e. *At Wâset*, in the 127th year. By which we are to understand the 127th year of the *Hejra*, or *Mohammedan* æra, corresponding with the first of the *Khalif Merwân*, surnamed *Himar Al Jézirah*, or the *ass* of *Mesopotamia*. This *dirhem* has been particularly described by M. *Kebr*, in the piece here mentioned, to which

Y ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 92.
GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup.

we shall beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers¹.

Merwân THE following year, being the 128th of the *Hejra*, *Merwân* removed *Hafas Ebn Al Walid* from the government of Egypt, and substituted *Joweirah Ebn Sabl Al Ajlâni* in his room. He also the same year, which was the second of his reign, made vast military preparations to oppose the rebels of *Khorasân*, who now began to alarm several of the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, and even to threaten the house of *Ommiyah* with utter excision. After the late victory, they declared *Merwân* an usurper, and took the oath of allegiance to *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, whom they asserted, by right of succession, to be lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Many of the *Syrians* likewise secretly favoured the pretensions of the house of *Al Abbâs*; having been disoblged by *Merwân*, who, after the defeat of his predecessor *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, had transferred the imperial treasury from *Damascus* to *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*. Some of the *Christian* writers relate, that *Merwân* gained two victories over *Ibrahim's* forces the preceding year; having first overthrown, in a great battle, *Nekaim Ebn Tebith*, in the plains of *Gara*, and afterwards *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, upon a spot of ground at a small distance from the river *Lita*. After this last defeat, *Merwân*, according to one of these writers, made himself master of *Hems*, affixed *Yezid's* body, which he ordered to be taken out of the tomb where it had been interred, to a gibbet or cross, and extorted from a wealthy Jew an immense sum of money, amounting to 400,000 *dinârs*. *Merwân* also, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, sent one *Thoaba*, an *Arab* of distinction, this year to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain*².

Abu Moslem IN the 129th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *September* 22d, 746, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed* sent *Abu Moslem* a banner, which he called *Al Tbell*, or *the shadow*, and a royal or imperial standard, stiled by him *Al Sahab*, or *the cloud*. These *Abu Moslem* *Khorasân* fixed upon two lances, and ordered them to be carried before him, whilst he proclaimed his master rightful emperor of the faithful, and *Imâm*, and published in the principal places of *Khorasân* the title and pretensions of the house of *Al Abbâs* to

¹ GEORG. JAC. KEHR, monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c. p. 20. Lipsiæ, 1724.

² ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Marwan* H. p. 558. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 351. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 107. ut et ipse Jos. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPH. SJC. BAYER. histor. Osrhoen. et Edeffen. ex nummis illustrat. p. 279. Petropoli, 1734. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xvii. p. 16.

the *Khalifat*. Of the names *shadow* and *cloud* he assigned to the people of *Khorasân* this interpretation, viz. "That as the earth would never be uncovered by the clouds, nor quite void of shade; so the world would never henceforth be without a *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*." In fine, *Abu Moslem* brought this year such a formidable force into the field, that the *Khalif's* troops could not make head against him; so that he obliged all *Merwân's* commandants of fortresses in *Khorasân* either to take an oath of fidelity to *Ibrahim*, or within a limited time to quit that vast province *.

THE next year, being the 130th of the *Hejra*, one *Dac-Merwân bac*, or rather *Dakhâk*, together with one *Yaciûp*, or *Jacob*, *extin-Kaibari*, and *Sakasbi*, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, *re-guishes a* belled against *Merwân* in *Mesopotamia*. These rebels assem-^{rebellign} bled such a powerful army in the neighbourhood of mount *Izla*, that they engaged the *Khalif's* forces sent against them ^{that} at *Telnafrita*; but were overthrown with prodigious slaughter, ^{breaks out} leaving the greatest part of their men behind them dead upon in *Mesopotamia*. the spot. *Theophanes* relates, that this *Dakhâk* was prince of the *Arurita*, an Arab nation settled in *Mesopotamia*, who, in their wars, left their wives and children, and all their effects, behind them, that they might march with the greater expedition, and be the more at liberty to engage the enemy, as being then quite free from all impediments. And this, indeed, the name *Arurita* itself sufficiently points out to us; it having been undoubtedly deduced from the Syriac word *Arurojuto*, or rather *Hiruto*, which denotes *liberty* or *freedom* in the Syriac language. Nor is it to be wondered at, that some Syriac terms should be used by the *Arabs*, who were now in possession of *Mesopotamia*; since the language of that country was at this time a mixture of the Syriac and Arabic. *Theophanes* also writes, that one *Thebit*, or *Ebn Tebith*, had a great hand in exciting the *Arabs* of *Mesopotamia* to this revolt; and that both he and *Dakhâk*, together with 12,000 of their men, were cut to pieces by the *Khalif's* troops in the territory of *Hems*. He farther observes, that *Merwân* permitted the *Christians* of *Antioch*, upon their application to him for this favour, to elect for their patriarch *Theophylact*, a presbyter of *Edeffa*, in the room of their former patriarch *Stephen*, who died this year. The *Khalif* also commanded his subjects to treat with all possible marks of respect the new patriarch, if we will believe *Cedrenus* and this author. It likewise appears from *Theophanes*, that *Merwân*, about this time, ordered one of his executioners, an *Ethiopian*, to suffocate *Aba*, or *Alas*, a magi-

* GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 213. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

chian, who had destroyed many of the *Christians*, been accessory to the murder of the *Khalif Al Walid II.* and committed dreadful depredations in several of the provinces, in a sack of unslaked lime; which act of justice he accordingly performed. It is also said, that *Merwân* ordered 120 *Calbites*, or *Arabs* of the tribe of *Calb*, called *Chalbanians* by *Theophanes*, probably on account of their attachment to the house of *Al Abbâs*, to be hanged at *Hems*. We are told by *Roderic of Toledo*, that *Thoaba* died; and was succeeded by one *Yusef*, towards the conclusion of the last, or the beginning of the present year, in Spain ^b.

The friends of the house of Al Abbâs make a farther progress. THE same year, *Abu Moslem* entered *Mera* with his army, and seized upon the imperial palace there. He also obliged all the troops posted in and about that city, as well as in other parts of *Khorasân*, to take an oath to support the interests of the house of *Hâshem*, without naming any particular person. As *Abu Moslem* had found means to cut off almost all the officers

who served under *Nasr Ebn Sayâr*, and intirely ruined the troops he commanded in the general action, which proved so fatal to the partisans of the house of *Ommiyah*, *Merwân's* governor of *Khorasân* found it impossible to bring another army into the field against the rebels before the present year. But *Nasr* having now assembled his forces, he advanced to *Naisabour*, in order to attack *Kahtaba*, who had taken upon himself the command of *Ibrahim's* troops. The vicinity of the two armies, as neither of them was disposed to continue long in a state of inaction, brought on several very fierce engagements, wherein *Nasr* was generally worsted, and lost 30,000 men, killed and taken prisoners; which still more and more animated the partisans of the house of *Al Abbâs*. From *Naisabour* *Khataba* marched to *Jurjân*, *Jurjana*, or *Georgiana*, the capital of a province of the same name, attacked *Banâna Ebn Hantbala*, who had posted himself with a body of troops near that city, overthrew him with great slaughter, made himself master of his camp, and took a very considerable quantity of plunder. As for *Banâna* himself, he was killed in the action; which still farther embarrassed the *Khalif's* affairs. With regard to the province and city of *Jurjân*, or *Jurjana*, some of the eastern geographers make them to appertain to *Taberistân*, others to *Khorasân*, and others to *Khorwarazm*; they being situated upon the frontiers of all those countries. But *Abulfeda*, with whom we are disposed to agree

^b DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 107, 108: ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 353, 354. GEORG. CEDREN. historiari. compend. p. 461. THEOPH. SIG. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 280. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

in this particular, asserts them to be separated and distinct from every one of those regions; and is followed herein by most of the oriental geographers of a later date. For a farther description of the province of *Jurjân*, or *Jurjana*, and its capital, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Golius*, who in this point, as well as many others of a similar nature, will give them full and ample satisfaction ^c.

It may not be improper to observe here, that, according to *Constantine Theophanes*, *Dakhâk's* rebellion was extinguished in the fifth time Co-year of *Constantine Copronymus*; tho', in this, he runs counter pronymus to what has been advanced by *Dionysius Telmarenfis*. The former makes an-
mer of those authors has likewise, as well as *Cedrenus*, re-
marked, that the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, encouraged into Sy-
by the dissensions that then reigned amongst the *Arabs*, made irruption
an impression upon *Syria* and *Dulichia*, with a powerful army, into Sy-
the same year; though neither of those writers has handed ria, &c.
down to us the particulars of that expedition. There hap-
pened several insurrections, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, this year in *Spain*; many of the *Arabs* there being highly
dissatisfied with the conduct of *Yusef*, who had succeeded *Thoba*,
aba, a warlike and magnanimous commander, in the govern-
ment of that fertile and opulent region. This, as the same
writer observes, occasioned a vast effusion of human blood;
tho' the differences that had for some time prevailed amongst
the *Moslems* there were at last amicably composed, and the
public tranquility in every part of that country perfectly re-
stored ^d.

In the year of the *Hejra* 131, *Nafr Ebn Sayâr*, in order *Ibrahim*
to avoid falling into the hands of *Abu Moslem*, fled to *Raya*, seized, and
a town, according to some of the eastern geographers, be-
longing to *Deylam*, but, as others will have it, to *Khorasân*.
Soon after his arrival there, he fell sick, and was carried to
Sâwa, near *Hamedan*, or *Hamadan*, where he expired, About
this time, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, attended by his brothers,
Abu'l Abbâs and *Abu Jaafar*, his son, his uncle, and a con-
siderable number of servants, went on pilgrimage to *Mecca*.
As he and his retinue rode on thirty camels richly caparisoned,
appeared in splendid attire, attended by a more than ordinary
quantity of baggage, and made a very considerable figure;
this journey could not long be concealed from *Merwân*, then

^c *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, HAMDALLA, SA'ID EBN ALI, AL JURJANI, YAKUT, ISM. ABULFED.* in geogr. *GOLII* not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 190, 191. *ALR. SCHULT.* ind. geographic. in vit. *Salad.* &c.

^d *THEOPHAN.* ubi sup. p. 354. *GEORG. CEDREN. DIONYS. TELMARENS.* apud *Jos. Simon. Asseman.* ubi sup. p. 108. ut et ipse *JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN.* ibid. *RODERIC. TOLETAN.* ubi sup.

in the territory of *Damascus*; the inhabitants of the deserts of *Sabm*, as well as those of *Mecca* and *Medina*, giving the *Khalif* immediate intelligence of it. Besides, *Ibrahim's* intentions being already sufficiently made manifest by what had lately happened in *Khorasán*, it was impossible that his pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which was performed with so much pomp and parade, could long remain a secret either to *Merwán* himself, or his governors in *Syria* and *Irak*. This journey, therefore, being soon discovered, the commandant of *Damascus*, by the *Khalif's* order, sent a detachment of horse to pursue him; which came up with him near *Harrán*, seized him, carried him to that city, and confined him in prison loaded with irons, where he soon after died. Authors, however, are not perfectly agreed with regard to the circumstances attending his death; some of them asserting, that he was destroyed by drinking a poisonous draught, others by the fall of an old ruinous building, and, lastly, others by placing his head upon a poisoned pillow. But whichever of these accounts may be true, he had, some time before he was taken, ordered his brother *Abu'l Abbás* to retire to *Cúfa*, and commanded all those that attended him to acknowledge him *Khalif* after his decease. *Abu'l Abbás*, therefore, in consequence of this order, had made the best of his way, with his brother *Abu Jaafar*, his uncle, and several of his friends, to that place. There he, with his family, lay concealed till the troops, who had declared in favour of the house of *Al Abbás*, to whom *Ibrahim* had written, and recommended him in the strongest terms, advanced to his support. According to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, several violent shocks of an earthquake were felt this year in *Syria*; one of which overthrew *St. Mary's* church in the city of *Mabug*, or *Manbij*, and destroyed the bishop, and a great number of *Christians*, who were buried under the ruins of that church, whither they had retired for shelter. It seems to appear from *Theophanes*, that *Merwán*, either towards the beginning of this or the close of the preceding year, dismantled the city of *Helicopolis* in *Syria*, and put all the principal men of that place to the sword. The same author likewise, as well as *Cedrenus*, informs us, that there happened about this time a dreadful earthquake in *Palestine*, and particularly that part of it bordering upon the *Jordan*, which overturned many churches, monasteries, and towns, and destroyed vast numbers of people. Nay, it appears from these writers, that the shocks of this earthquake, which was probably the same with that mentioned by *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, were perceived in almost every district of *Syria*. It may be inferred from the *Greek* writers, that the imperial fleet, surprized that of the *Arabs*, consisting of a thousand ships, in one of the ports of *Cyprus*, about the

year

year we are now upon, and so intirely defeated it, that only three of them escaped. After the extinction of the late rebellions in *Spain*, *Yusef*, tho' of a libidinous and petulant disposition, conducted affairs to the satisfaction of the *Moslems* of that country, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, the present year. We must not forget to observe, that *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, and his family, held their residence at *Hunain*, or *Homaima*, a town of the *Arabian Irák*, before the late catastrophe happened to him ^e.

THE following year, being the 132d of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 20th, 749, *Abu'l Abbás Ebn Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Saffáh*, on *Friday*, the 12th of the former *Rabi*, went from *Abu Moslema's* house at *Cúsa*, after evening prayer had been performed in the mosque of the *Banu Ayúb*, to his own palace there. The next day, all the officers of the troops cantoned in and about that city, each of them cloathed in black, and mounted on a good horse, with a sword by his side, formed a sort of military cavalcade, and paid their duty to him. Soon after which, *Abu'l Abbás*, with that whole train of the military men attending him, went from his own palace to the citadel, or imperial palace, where he first harangued them, and then received their oath of allegiance to him. This ceremony being over, he sent his uncle *Abd'allah*, with a powerful army, to attack *Merwán's* forces that were incamped near *Tubar*, at a small distance from *Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, where that *Khalif* was then waiting for an account of the success of the body of troops he had ordered to march against *Kabtaba*, one of the greatest generals of the age, consisting of 20,000 men, under the command of *Yezid*, his governor of *Irák*. *Kabtaba* receiving advice of *Yezid's* approach, immediately advanced against him, at the head of his troops, in order to give him battle, soon brought him to a general action, intirely defeated him, and obliged him to fly to *Wáset*. Early the next morning, *Kabtaba's* forces passed the *Euphrates*, in pursuit of the vanquished enemy; but the waters of that river being then swelled to an uncommon height, both he and his horse were carried away by the rapidity of the current, and, according to some of the *Arab* writers, never met with; tho', if others of them may be believed, his body was afterwards found. Be that as it will, this tragical event by no means cooled the ardour of his troops, who, under the conduct of his son *Hamid*,

^e ABU-JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 213. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 354, 355. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 462. DIÖNYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16.

continued to pursue the fugitives with so much vigour, that they soon dispersed them in such a manner, that they found it absolutely impossible to rally. After the end of the action, *Hamid* returned with his victorious army to *Cáfa*, and *Abu Moslema Ebn Al Halal* was declared privy-counsellor to *Abu'l Abbás*. A body of troops was afterwards sent to block up *Yezid Ebn Omar Ebn Hobeira* in *Wáset*; which formed a camp at *Najila*, before they entered upon any farther military operations. The new *Khalif*, *Abu'l Abbás*, whose mother *Rabia*, or *Radiab*, was the daughter of *Abd'allah Ebn Abid*, was cloathed in black at the time of his inauguration, and retired, a month after the conclusion of that ceremony, to *Anbár*, a city of *Irák*, upon the *Euphrates*, which he made the seat of the *Khalifat*, and consequently the capital of the *Moslem* empire, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* ¹.

Abd'allah
Likewise
over-
throws
Merwán.

SOON after *Abd'allah*, with his army, had taken post near *Tubar*, *Merwán* received advice of the defeat of his forces under *Yezid*, in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*. This bad news greatly afflicted him; tho' he in a short time recovered himself, and resolved to give the enemy battle. A general action, therefore, immediately ensued; in the beginning of which the *Khalif* found himself obliged to dismount, in order to make water. But now a second misfortune happened, of much worse consequence to his affairs than the former. For, he had no sooner set his foot on the ground, than his horse took fright, and ran with great swiftness into the midst of his men; who, seeing the beast without his rider, imagined that the *Khalif* was slain at the first onset; and therefore, without taking any care to inform themselves farther in this matter, left their ranks, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Nor could the *Khalif*, though he made all possible efforts to rally them, bring them again to the charge; so that the only expedient he could pursue at this melancholy juncture, was to fly to *Damascus*, then the capital of his empire. But the inhabitants of that city, finding his condition desperate, treated him with contempt, and abandoned him; which unexpected desertion obliged him to leave that place, and fly into *Egypt*; over which country he had appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Al Magbarah*, one of his favourites, after the dismissal of *Joweirah Ebn Sahl*, to preside, the preceding year. Here he maintained himself for some time; but was at last attacked, and put to death, by *Abd'allah Ebn Ali's* brother *Saleh*, who was sent against him at the head of a strong detachment, in a

¹ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 213, 214. ABU JAAFAR AL TAEAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 93, 94. D'HERBEL, Biblioth. orient. art. *Marwan* II. p. 559. GOLLIER not, ad *Alfragan*. p. 124.

town or village of *Sa'id*, or *Thebais*, called *Bûsir Kûridas*, on Sunday the 27th of the latter *Jomâda*. At the battle of *Tubar*, an incredible number of *Merwân's* soldiers were killed upon the spot, and many more drowned in the *Euphrates*; amongst the latter of which the *Khalif Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who had formerly been deposed, is said to have been by some of the *Arab* writers. After that decisive action, *Abd'allah*, *Abu'l Abbâs's* general, made himself master of the enemy's camp, where he found an immense quantity of plunder, and pursued *Merwân* first to *Kinnisrin*, and afterwards to *Hems*. From the latter of those places that *Khalif* fled to *Damascus*, where he met with the reception already mentioned; which obliged him to make the best of his way through *Palestine* into *Egypt*. As *Abu'l Abbâs's* troops continued the pursuit, without the least interruption, a vast multitude of the partisans of the house of *Ommiyah* perished on this occasion; which, as *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* himself was pleased to observe, completely revenged the death of *Hosein*. As for the citizens of *Damascus*, tho' they had so shamefully deserted *Merwân*, they refused to open their gates to the victors; upon which, *Saleh Ebn Ali*, who was sent against them by *Abu'l Abbâs* with a body of troops, entered their city by force, and gave it up to the soldiery to be plundered for three whole days. He also put to the sword *Al Walid Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, *Merwân's* governor of the place, and then pursued his route into *Egypt*. However, before his departure, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, he intirely dismantled that city, and caused the bones of the princes of the house of *Ommiyah*, interred there, to be dug out of their graves, and ordered them all to be burnt. The latter of those authors likewise relates, or at least seems to intimate, that *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* himself pursued *Merwân* into *Egypt*, and not his brother *Saleh*, as the former of them is pleased to assert; as also, that *Merwân* was killed with a lance in the mosque at *Bûsir*, on the last day but one of the month *Dhu'lhajja*. After which, his head was cut off, and sent as a present to *Abu'l Abbâs*; who, at the first sight of it, adored GOD in a most devout manner, distributed 10,000 *dinars* amongst the poor, and, in conjunction with *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, his general, returned thanks to the Deity for delivering into his hands his formidable competitor, or, as he was nicknamed by *Abd'allah*, the *Asf* of *Mesopotamia* &c.

• GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 100, 101. Aut. lib. AL MOSHTAREC, apud Ism. Abulfed, in Ægypt. cliq. cogn. ii. ut et ipse ABULFED. ibid.

WITH

Merwân's character. WITH regard to *Merwân's* character, he is said by *Al-Jaafar Al Tabari* to have been a valiant and magnanimous prince, endued with great prudence, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. He sat upon the throne a little above five years, and was sixty-nine, or, as others say, fifty-nine, or, lastly, as others will have it, fifty-six, years of age, at the time of his death. He left behind him two sons, *Abd'allah* and *Abdalaziz*; the former of which was afterwards taken, and thrown into prison, where he remained till the *Khalifat* of *Harûn Al Rashid*. He was then released from his confinement, tho' loaded with irons for some time after that event, died childless, and was buried at *Baghdâd*. The first day of *Merwân's* reign was *Sunday*, and the last *Thursday*. His secretary was *Abd'alhamid Ebn Yahya*; the captain of his guards *Al Kawthar Ebn Al Aswad Al Anawi*; his chamberlain his freed-man *Saklâb*, or *Safat*, as he is called by *Al Makin*; and his judge *Othmân Al Timi*. The inscription of his seal was, *O wise man, remember death*. The *Arabs* express the date of the catastrophe that befell the house of *Ommiyah*, in the person of *Merwân*, who was the last *Khalif* of that house, by the word *Kalb*, which consists of three letters, *Kûf*, *Lâm*, and *Ba*, denoting 132. the number of the year of the *Hejra* in which *Merwân* was killed, and the *Khalifat* of the princes of the house of *Ommiyah* intirely abolished ^b.

Some farther particulars relating to him. SOME of the *Christian Arabs* have pretended, that this *Khalif*, when in *Egypt*, attempted to violate the chastity of a religious there. That saint, continue they, in order to defend herself from the violence with which she was threatened, and preserve her virtue inviolate, offered to give *Merwân* an unguent, which would render the part rubbed with it invulnerable; and begged, that he would first try the experiment upon her. To this the *Khalif* readily agreed, anointed her neck with it, and then with one blow of his scymitar cut off her head; making in this manner undesignedly a martyr of her. *Merwân* is said by some of the eastern writers to have been a greater eater than most of his time. Tho' the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs* endeavoured to destroy all the descendants of this prince, yet we are told, that one of them escaped first into *Egypt*, afterwards into *Africa*, and last of all into *Spain*, where he founded the second dynasty of the *Ommiyan* princes, who assumed the title of *Khalif* there. We learn from *Theophanes*, *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, *Cedrenus*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, that the last battle, the loss of which proved the total ruin of *Merwân's* affairs, was fought upon the banks of the

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 94. D'HERTEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 559. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 392—395. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

Zab, a river that has its source between the cities of *Irbil*, or *Arbela*, and *Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, and seems to answer to the *Lycus* of *Strabo*. As *Abu'l Abbās Al Saffāh*'s troops had not only swarthy complexions, but were likewise dressed in black, they were termed by the *Arabs* *Mesuaadi*, by the *Syrians* *Uchama*, which words denoted *black* in the *Arabic* and *Syriac* languages, and *Maurophori* by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*. As the gross of *Abu'l Abbās*'s army was formed of the natives of *Khurasān*, whose country bordered upon *Persia*, they are likewise called *Persians* by several authors. *Theophanes* denominates the spot on which the two armies engaged *Zaba*, and *Dionysius Telmarenensis* *Beth Zabe*; probably because *Merwān*, as we are informed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, had, for some time, fixed his residence there, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of that place. After the defeat of his forces, that prince fled to *Harrān*; from whence, a bridge having been before thrown over the *Euphrates*, probably near *Batn*, *Batān*, or *Bettān*, he made his escape into *Syria*, and afterwards gradually into *Egypt*, where he met with the above-mentioned fate: notwithstanding which, the *Moslems* still continued, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, to be governed by his lieutenant *Yusef*, in *Spain* ¹.

S E C T. XXI.

THE same year, the new *Khalif Abu'l Abbās Al Saffāh* ordered *The governors of* *Abu Moslema Ebn Al Halāl* to be put to death, for forming *provinces* a design to transfer the *Khalifat* to the house of *Ali*, or *Abu Tāleb*, from that of *Al Abbās*. He also cut off *Yezid Ebn Omar Ebn appointed* *Hobeira*, though he had before promised to take him under his protection, because he had entered into some machinations by *Al Saffāh* soon *to fix Abd'allah*, the son of *Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn after his* *Abu Tāleb* upon the *Moslem* throne. After these executions, accession. he conferred upon his brother *Abu Jaasar Al Mansūr* the government of *Aderbijan*, as well as that of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*; upon his brother *Yahya* that of *Mosul*; upon his uncle *David* that of *Hejaz* and *Yaman*; upon his uncle *Isa* that of *Cūsa*; upon *Sosūn Ebn Moūwiyah Al Moballebi* that of *Basra*; upon *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmān Ebn Al Asħab* that of *Persia*; upon *Mansūr Ebn Jumhūr* that of *India*

¹ D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.* THEOPHAN. *chronograph.* p. 355, 356. DIONYS. TELMARENS. *apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup.* p. 108, 109. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *ibid.* GEORG. CEDREN. *historiar. compend.* p. 462. THEOPHIL. SIGIFR. BAYER. *ubi sup.* p. 280, 281. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, *ubi sup.* GOLII *not. ad Alfragan.* p. 235, 252, &c. STRAB. *lib. xvi.* RODERIC. TOLETAN. *hist. Arab. ubi sup.*

and

and *Sindia*; upon *Abu Moslem*, who had brought about the revolution in favour of the race of *Al Abbās*, that of *Khorasan*; upon his uncle *Abdallah Ebn Ali* that of *Syria*; and, lastly, upon his uncle *Saleh Ebn Ali* that of *Egypt*. The last of which governors chose for his deputy *Abu Awn Ebn Abdalmalec Ebn Yezid*. *Abdallah Ebn Ali Ebn Al Abbās*, after his return from *Ramla*, made a public entry into *Damascus*, in order to take possession of his new government, and exercised unheard-of cruelties upon the members of the house of *On miyah* there. Some of them he tortured in a most barbarous and inhuman manner, and others he burnt to death. At *Rusafa*, he ordered *Heshām Ebn Abdalmalec* to receive 120 stripes upon his bare back; which separated the flesh from the bones in such a manner, that it all fell to the ground, and was reduced to ashes, by this cruel governor's command; who, at the same time said, "This is done by way of retaliation for the barbarous treatment met with by my father from him, who told me, that he received formerly 60 stripes for no crime at all." By the preceding list of governors and provinces, it clearly appears, that the *Moslem* empire was of a vast extent, when *Al Saffūh*, the first of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbās*, ascended the throne ^k.

The Khalif's troops gain several advantages over the partisans of the house of Ommyyah.

THE following year, being the 133d of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 9, 750, the people of *Chalcidene*, a district of *Syria* separated by the province of *Chalybonitis* from the *Euphrates*, took up arms in favour of the house of *Ommiyah*, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Hems*; but were overthrown there by the *Khalif's* troops, called *Maurophori* by *Theophanes*, who put four thousand of them to the sword. About the same time, a body of *Arabs* of the faction of *Kais*, under the command of one *Burikha*, formed a conspiracy against the *Khalif*, and cut off a considerable number of the partisans of the house of *Al Abbās*; but they were at last dispersed, with very great loss, by *Al Saffūh's* forces. As the *Arabs* on this occasion appeared in white cloaths, and the *Khalif's* men in black; hence arose the two different factions of the *Whites* and the *Blacks* in *Syria*, that have been taken notice of by several of the eastern writers. However, *Merwān's* head having been cut off, after the last defeat of that prince's forces, in *Egypt*, it was embalmed, and exposed to public view in the principal cities of the empire; which effectually appeased commotions. One of the *Greek* historians informs us, that *Merwān's* army, overthrown at the battle of *Zaba*, consisted of 300,000 men; and that he escaped with only 3000 slaves into *Egypt*. *Theophanes* relates, that the *Arabs* were divided

^k ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 97.

at this time into two powerful factions, which he calls the *Kaisians* and the *Imanites*; the latter of which seem to have been either the people inhabiting the province of *Omân*, or that branch of the *Shiites* denominated *Imâmians* by some of the *Moslem* writers. These *Imanites*, according to the same author, were superior in fortitude to the *Kaisians*, had before destroyed great numbers of them, and then joined the forces assembled by *Kahtaba* to act in favour of the house of *Al Abbâs*. *Yusef*, *Merwân's* lieutenant, notwithstanding the late revolution in *Syria*, continued this year to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain*¹.

In the 134th year of the *Hejra*, and part of the preceding year, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* made an irruption into *Armenia* and the neighbouring provinces, reduced the cities of *Melitene*, *Theodosiopolis*, and *Jezira*, carried part of the inhabitants off with him into *Thrace*, and seized upon the greatest part of *Armenia*. It appears from *Theophanes*, that the *Khalif's* officers, about this time, butchered vast numbers of the *Christians* in *Palestina*. *Dionysius Telmarenis* relates, that considerable commotions happened at *Maiphercat*, *Maipherchin*, *Maipherasta*, or *Mayasarkin*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, this year. One *Cyrus Ebn Tebith* advanced from thence at the head of a body of troops into a district called *Culab*, and put seven of the principal men of that district to the sword. Of which the inhabitants of a neighbouring territory, named *Phis*, receiving advice, they fortified their capital, raised what forces they were able, and made the proper dispositions, under the command and direction of one *John*, a *Syrian*, to give the enemy a warm reception, if they should think fit to appear. But, notwithstanding these dispositions, one *Severus*, a native of *Phis*, endeavoured to bring his countrymen under a foreign yoke, and went over to the *Arabs*. However, *John* routed the troops sent against them under the conduct of this *Severus*, and killed the greatest part of them upon the spot. He also defeated *Cyrus's* governor of *Culab*, who had rebelled against his master, and possessed himself of *Elul* and *Phasphasat*; driving him from thence with considerable loss. He afterwards advanced to *Hadar*, escaped an ambuscade laid for him by one *Stephen*, who had been reinforced with a body of *Arab* troops commanded by *Awf*, a *Moslem* general, and intirely dispersed that corps. *Gregory*, an *Iberian*, likewise, at this juncture, moved at the head of a detachment against the people inha-

¹ THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 356—358. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 109. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 394—397. CHRIST CELLAR. geograph. antiq. lib. iii. c. 12. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 80, 81. ROD. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. ubi sup. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 175.

biting the banks of the river *Hara*, and put many of them to the sword; which induced the members of the canton seated on mount *Say* to flock to *John*, who commanded the forces of *Phis* in no small numbers, in order to enable him to expel from their country the barbarians. The eastern part of *Mesopotamia*, at the same time, renounced all allegiance to the *Khalif*, and set up *Burikha*, who had been defeated the preceding year by *Al Saffah's* troops, in opposition to him. At *Edeffa*, *Abd'allah Ebn Boktr* assumed the supreme command, after he had destroyed the monasteries of *Cuba*, *Rasmat* in *Taisapha*, *Catara*, *Hefma*, *St. Lazarus*, *Beth Maada*, *St. Abel*, *St. Milles*, and *Seain*, in the neighbourhood of *Edeffa*, *Harrân*, and *Tela*. The winter this year in *Mesopotamia*, and the neighbouring provinces, was extremely severe; the ground being covered a long time with snow, and the waters with ice. This, in conjunction with several large swarms of locusts, which intirely consumed all the corn, produced a dreadful famine in *Iberia*, *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*, especially the last of these provinces, into which a prodigious multitude had retired out of the others, for the sake of a subsistence. We must here beg leave to observe, that the city of *Tela*, the *Constantia*, *Constantina*, *Antipolis*, and *Anthemusia*, of the antients, was, according to *Theophanes*, fifty-six stadia east of *Nisibis*, and about the same distance, in a southern direction, from *Amida*; and that *Maipheraeta*, called by the *Arabs* *Mayafarkin*, and sometimes, by way of contraction, in the days of *Abulfeda*, *Fârki*, was a city of *Mesopotamia*, about seven or eight days journey from *Mosul*, denominated, as it should seem, by *Ammianus Marcellinus* *Macepraeta*, and taken, without any just foundation, by *Renaudot* to be *Tagrit*, or the *Martyropolis* of *Procopius*. It must likewise be remarked, that *Roderic* of *Toledo* is undoubtedly mistaken, when he asserts *Abd'allah Ebn Mobammed Ebn Ali*, surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffah*, to have been inaugurated this year; since he runs counter herein to the whole stream of *Moslem* antiquity, as well as to the authority of the best *Greek* and *Syrian* writers ^m.

^m THEOPHAN ubi sup. p. 358. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 463. DIONYS: TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 109, 110. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. in dissertat. de Monophysit. pass. ISM. ABULFED. in descript. Mesopotam. n. 241. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. v. c. 26. Aut. chronic. Edessen. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. i. p. 273, 395. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 15. PROCOF. Pers. lib. i. c. 8. STRAB. geogr. lib. xvi. PLIN. lib. v. c. 24. RENAUDOT. lit. orient. tom. ii. p. 271. THEOPH. SIGEFR. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 281. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 17.

THE next year, being the 135th of the *Hajra*, the rebel *As also Burikha*, having raised a powerful army, advanced to *Dara*; during the where he was met and engaged by the *Khalif's* forces, who following overthrew him with very great slaughter. The partisans of year. the house of *Ommiyah* received likewise two other notable defeats at *Mosul* and *Akula*; the former of which places, called sometimes *New Niniveh*, and by the *Arabs* *Mawfel*, was a city of *Mesopotamia*, seated upon the *Tigris*, about six days journey from *Maipheraeta*; and the latter, supposed by *Bar Hebraeus* to have been the same with *Cusa*, was seated, according to *Sbarif Al Edrisi*, upon the *Euphrates*, about five stations from *Baghdad*. It was denominated by *Abulfeda*, who makes it to have been a small town in his days, *Dair Al Akul*, and placed by him at no great distance from *Baghdad*, about ten parangs from *Al Madayen* upon the *Tigris*; tho' he takes it to be a different city from *Cusa*. After these defeats, in which the rebels lost abundance of men, the *Khalif* appointed *John*, the general of *Phis*, who had signalized himself so much on many occasions against the *Arabs* of *Maipheraeta*, governor of a considerable extent of territory in that part of his dominions, and loaded him with presents. His brother *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who commanded the forces employed in the reduction of the rebel *Burikha*, *Al Saffah* had before constituted governor of *Mesopotamia*. *Salikh Ebn Sabikh*, another of the *Khalif's* generals, undertook an expedition into *Armenia*, and obliged the principal cities of that province to deliver hostages into his hands, as pledges for their future fidelity to the *Khalif*; all which he conducted to *Maipheraeta*. Some of these *John*, the general of *Phis*, soon after came to release; upon which, the people of *Maipheraeta* would have persuaded *Salikh* to cut him off by treachery; but he escaped by the favour of *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who took him under his protection. *Stephen*, one of the *Ommiyan* commanders already mentioned, died suddenly this year at *Harran*. It appears from *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, as well as from *Dionysius Talmarensis*, who has been followed herein by *M. Bayer*, that *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who acquired so much glory by the defeat of the rebel *Burikha*, must have been *Al Saffah's* successor, the *Khalif Abu Jaasar Al Mansur*, who had been appointed by his brother, in the beginning of his reign, the governor of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijan*. For, that his name, as well as *Al Saffah's*, was *Abd'allah*, may be inferred from all those authors. It may not be amiss to inform our readers here, that *dirhems* were still struck at *Cusa*; the author of this history having one of them, in excellent conservation, with the following legend and inscription, according to the learned *Dr. Hunt*, in the *Cusic* character, upon it:

There is no GOD, but the one only GOD: He has no companions. This dirhēm was struck at Cûfa in the 134th year. By which we are given to understand, that this piece was coined at *Cûfa*, in the 134th year of the *Hejra*, or *Mohammedan* æra, and the third of the *Khalifat* of *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali*, surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*. The unity of *GOD*, and his superiority over all other beings, intimated by the expressions, *There is no GOD but the only one GOD*, and *He has no companions*, by which the *Mohammedans* exclude the Son and the Holy Ghost from a participation of the divine nature, are points deducible from the 4th, the 5th, and the 112th, chapters, of the *Korân*. It cannot be inferred from *Roderic of Toledo*, so often cited here, that any thing remarkable happened this year, under *Yusef's* administration, in *Spain* ⁿ.

Al Saf-sâh's IN the 136th year of the *Hejra*, commencing July 7th, 753, *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, the first *Khalîf* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, departed this life, either at *Anbâr*, according to *Eutychius*, or, as *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* will have it, at *Al Hashemiyah*, a city erected by himself, at a small distance from the former, if not adjoining to it, on *Sunday*, the 12th, or 13th (for about this authors differ) of *Dhu'lhajja*, the very day that he completed his 33d year. Some writers have, however, related, that he was but 32 years and an half old at the time of his death. He died of the small-pox, and reigned about four years and nine months, according to the best of the *Arab* historians. He was, as to his person, tall, handsome, and of a fair complexion. His nose was a little distorted; but he was portly, and of a very good size. With regard to his disposition, he was discreet and munificent, had good parts, and was extremely averse to shedding of blood; though he was obliged, contrary to his natural inclination, in order to preserve himself upon the throne, to massacre a prodigious number of the friends and adherents of the house of *Ommiyah*, besides those he slew in the different engagements he had with *Merwân's* forces, upon the *Euphrates*, at *Damascus*, and in *Egypt*.

ⁿ DIONYS. TELMAR. apud Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 110. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. BAR HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. in dissertat. de Monophysit. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. et alib. SHARIF AL EDRISI; ISM. ABULFED. in descript. Mesopotam. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 232—235. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 91—95. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 214. THEO. H. SIGEFR. BAYER. ubi sup. Al KOR. MOHAM. f. iv, v, cxii. AL BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN, YAHYA, ROD. TOLESTAN. ubi sup.

I/sa

Isa Ebn Mûsa, his nephew, said the usual prayers over him at the time of his interment. As a proof of his singular munificence, we are told, that he made a present to *Abd'allah Ebn Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* of 2,000,000 *dirbêms* at once; which exceeded every thing of that kind that had been done by any of his predecessors. He was the first of the *Khalifs* who created a privy-counsellor, namely, *Abu Moslem Ebn Al Halâl*, whom he caused to be executed for an intention to transfer the *Khalifat* from his family to that of *Abu Tâleb*, and afterwards *Khâled Ebn Barmac*; those of the house of *Ommiyah* making use of their secretaries of state as counsellors, whom they consulted on all emergent occasions. His judge, or *Kâdi*, was *Abu Leili* of *Medina*, and afterwards *Abu Yahya* of the same city; the captain of his guards was *Abd'al Jabâr Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Azdi*; and his chamberlains *Abu Othmân Ebn Saleh* and *Ebn Ghaffân*. The inscription of his seal was, *GOD is the trust of ABD'ALLAH, who believeth in him*. The first day of his reign was *Friday*, and the last *Sunday*. He had a very tender affection and high regard for the family of *Mohammed*, and was a prince of very pious sentiments. Being one day viewing himself in a glass, and perceiving himself in the flower of his age, he addressed himself to GOD in the following terms: "O GOD! I will not say what *Solimân Ebn Abd'almâlec*, a *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*, used to say, *I am the king and prince of youth*; I pray thee to preserve my life only for thy service, and to grant that I may enjoy a greater share of health than of any other blessings." The words were scarce out of his mouth, when he heard one of the slaves in his antichamber say to his comrade, "By what I see, there is only five days difference between your age and mine." The *Khalif* was immediately struck with the expression, as much as if he had heard the divine decree intimating to him the certain period of his days; which, in effect, those words did, as he was in a short time after attacked by the small-pox, which carried him off about two months and five days after they were spoken. We are told by a *Persian* historian, that this *Khalif* was surnamed *Al Saffâh*, because he did not obtain possession of the *Khalifat* without an incredible effusion of human blood. In this prince's reign, as we are informed by the *Christian* writers, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* constituted one *Ishak*, a *Christian* bishop, and his particular favourite, patriarch of *Antioch*, and the east, and put to death one *Matratinus*, for not receiving him in that character. That emperor likewise sent an order to the patriarch of *Alexandria* to admit *Ishak* in the aforesaid capacity, or, in case of refusal, to repair immediately to *Constantinople*; with which he did not think fit

to comply. But *Ishak* and *Athanasius*, who succeeded him, dying soon after, one *George* was advanced to the patriarchate of *Antioch*; and removed afterwards from that honourable post by the following *Khalif*, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, who substituted in his room a *Christian* bishop that was one of his most intimate friends. In the beginning of the *Khalifat* of *Al Saffâh*, several conflicts happened between his forces and those of *Merwân* in *Egypt*, before he could make himself absolute master of that country. The latter of those princes is said to have been extremely cruel to the *Christians* in *Egypt*, frequently threatening to cut off the patriarch of *Alexandria's* head, and ordering a scymitar to be brought him for that purpose; but receiving advice, that *Al Saffâh's* forces, under the command of *Saleh Ebn Ali*, had entered *Egypt*, he immediately passed the *Nile*, took post in the city of *Geeza*, or *Al Jizab*, the antient *Memphis*, and laid *Mesr*, then the capital of *Egypt*, in ashes, together with all the corn and provisions at that time in the place. After which, he seized upon a nunnery, at a small distance from *Geeza*, made all the religious therein prisoners, and, amongst the rest, a beautiful nun, whose chastity he offered to violate, in the manner already related. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* seems inconsistent with himself, in relation to the year of *Merwân's* death; intimating in one place, that it happened in the 132d year of the *Hejra*, and in another the following year. Some of the *Arab* authors inform us, that this *Merwân* was a monstrous glutton, and so extremely fond of sheep's kidneys, that he could not forbear wrapping his hand in the corner of his vest, whenever he saw a sheep, and tearing out of it that part; which he devoured immediately. To this they add, that, after the ravenous operation, he threw off his vest, and put on another; and that he left above ten thousand such greasy vests behind him. With regard to *Al Saffâh's* age, at the time of his death, though, according to the *Arab* writers, this did not exceed thirty-three years, as has been already observed; yet he was forty-two years old, when that tragical event happened, if we will believe *Khondemir*, the celebrated *Persian* historian °.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 97—100. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 214, 215. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 394—397. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124. ISM. ABULFED. in *Egypt*. SHAW's geograp. observat. in *Egypt*, Arabia Petrea, &c. p. 341. EBN SHOHNAH, Aut. lib. BINA KITI, Aut. lib. THECAT. RAOUAT, KHONDEMIR, in *Khelassât Al Akhbar*. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Marwan II.* & *Saffâh*, p. 559, 730, 731,

S E C T. XXII.

UPON the death of *Abd'allah Abu'l Abbās Al Saffāh*, his Abu Jaafar brother *Abu Jaafar Al Mansūr*, who, in *Al Saffāh's* far Al life-time, had been declared the presumptive heir of the crown, *Mansūr* was proclaimed *Khalif* in the imperial city of *Anbār*, then the *succeeds* capital of the *Moslem* empire. His brother, who lodged the *Al Saffāh*. will made in his favour in the hands of his uncle *Isa Ebn Ali*, with orders to him to open it, and oblige the people to take an oath of fidelity to the new *Khalif*, as soon as he was dead, had appointed *Abu Jaafar Al Mansūr* chief of the caravan of pilgrims visiting *Mecca* this very year; so that the latter was on his journey to *Mecca* when the former expired. This happened in the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, which, as its name imports, is peculiarly set apart for the celebration of the grand solemnity there. Upon the arrival of the news of *Al Saffāh's* death, he immediately dispatched *Abu Moslem* to *Cúfa*, to take care of his affairs. When *Abu Moslem* arrived there, in order to oblige the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Mansūr*, and proclaim him *Khalif*, he found that his nephew, *Isa Ebn Músa*, had been attempting to usurp the *Khalifat*. But the appearance of this great general, who was soon followed by *Al Mansūr* himself, put an end to all the towering projects of *Isa*, and obliged him to ask pardon of the new *Khalif* for his temerity and presumption; who granted him his life, upon condition that he should always remain in a private station. However, his uncle *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, then governor of *Syria*, was not intimidated by this success; but set up for himself in that country, where he gave *Al Mansūr* much more trouble than his nephew *Isa* had done, as will hereafter very clearly appear ^P.

It may be inferred from *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, who lived *Hostilities* about the time that the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbās* continued ascended the *Moslem* throne, or very soon after, that several *between* counters at least, if not bloody battles, happened in *Syria* be- the houses tween the partisans of that house and the adherents of the fa- of *Al Ab-* mily of *Ommiyah*, in the last year of *Abu'l Abbās Al Saffāh*. *bās and* The particulars of these actions, however, have not been handed *Ommi-* down to us; though we may conclude, from the general ac- yah. count given us of them by the aforesaid writer and *Theophanes*, that the troops on both sides committed dreadful devastations

^P GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 215. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, in hist. Saracen. p. 100. KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. ALBERT. BOBOV. de peregr. Meccan. p. 12. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 396—399.

in that rich and opulent province. The *Persians*, however, as *Dionysius* calls the friends of the house of *Al Abbās*, proved superior to their enemies in this war; and dismantled all the fortified towns of *Syria*, except *Antioch*, whose fortifications they left intire. According to *Roderic of Toledo*, three suns, or two parhelia, were seen either this or the preceding year at *Corduba* in *Spain*. It has been observed by *Rases*, that no rain fell there, either this or the following year; which occasioned a great scarcity of provisions, if not a downright famine, in that fertile region, over which *Yusef* still continued to preside.

Abu Jaafar inaugurated at Al Hassemiyah.

THE following year, being the 137th of the *Hejra*, which commenced June 27th, 754, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansūr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbās* was inaugurated at *Al Hassemiyah*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, with all possible demonstrations of joy on the part of his subjects there. His mother *Salma*, the daughter of *Basbar*, who had been only his father's concubine, was born at *Basra*. He was first saluted *Khalif* at a place called *Al Safiāb*, i. e. *the famous, the bright, the illustrious*, &c. from whence he took occasion to predict, that his reign would be glorious, and distinguished by many actions of éclat. His uncle *Isa Ebn Ali* assembled all the members of the house of *Hassem* at *Aubār*, in order to support his interest, before his arrival there. This, at that juncture, he judged a necessary precaution; being apprehensive, that his nephew's title to the *Khalifat* would be disputed by a powerful faction; and that, in consequence of such a contest, new troubles in the interior part of the empire must immediately ensue.

Abu Moslem overthrows Ebn Ali.

IN the mean time, *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, *Abu'l Abbās's* uncle, having been apprized of his nephew's death, and that his other nephew, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansūr*, brother to the deceased, had been proclaimed *Khalif* at *Cúsa*, came to a resolution not to recognize his authority; and, in consequence of this resolution, caused himself to be acknowledged in the same quality at *Damascus*. In vindication of his conduct on this occasion, he thought fit to alledge, that when *Abu'l Abbās Al Saffāb*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbās*, sent him to attack *Merwān*, the last *Khalif* of the race of *Ommiyah*, he declared, that, in case he could deliver him and his family from all future apprehensions of that dangerous enemy, who disputed the empire with him, he should be called to the succession imme-

1. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant. Copronym, non. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 110. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. RASES. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 703. Francofurti, 1603.

2. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 100. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 396—399.

diately

diately after him; and that having executed that prince's orders, in relation to *Merwân*, he thought he had a right, in pursuance of the aforesaid declaration, to aspire to the *Moslem* throne. To support his pretensions to the *Khalifat*, he raised a powerful army in *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, and advanced with great expedition to the banks of the *Mafius*, at a small distance from *Nisibis*, where he incamped. *Abu Jaafar*, receiving advice of this rebellion, sent *Abu Moslem* against *Abd'allah*, with all the forces he could assemble in *Persia*, *Khorasân*, and *Irâk*; who, having harassed him, without intermission, for five months together, at last brought him to a general action, intirely defeated him, and forced him to betake himself to a precipitate flight. This battle was fought on *Tuesday*, the 26th day of the latter *Tisri*, a *Syrian* month, answering to our *November*, in the 137th year of the *Hejra*, and of our *LORD 754*. *Theophanes* pretends, that this engagement happened at *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*; in which he must be greatly mistaken, as running counter in this point to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, and all the most celebrated *Arab* historians. He likewise seems to intimate, that the victory gained by *Abu Moslem* was in a great measure owing to the bravery of the *Sclavonian* and *Antiocbian* troops, that served in *Al Mansûr's* army. He farther gives us to understand, that the *Syrian* troops attacked several bodies of the *Khalif's* forces this year in *Palestine*, *Hems*, &c. and cut great numbers of them to pieces. After the end of the action upon the *Mafius*, *Abu Moslem* seized upon the enemy's camp, and made himself master of all their baggage; but, considering them in the light of *Al Mansûr's* subjects, and *Moslems*, he did not put many of them to the sword. As for *Abd'allah*, his affairs being intirely ruined by this blow, he left the shattered remains of his army to shift for themselves, and made the best of his way to *Basra*.

It will be proper to observe here, that tho' the house of *Abu Moslem Al Abbâs* owed their elevation to the *Khalifat* almost intirely to *Abu Moslem*, there had for some time been a considerable *snated* by misunderstanding between that general and *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. The latter perceiving the former, in his brother's life-time, to be so revered by the people of *Khorasân*, over whom he then presided, that he seemed to be independent even on the *Khalif* himself, would have persuaded *Al Saffâh* to put him to death; but that prince, not being willing to push his ingratitude so far, could by no means be prevailed upon to

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant. Copronym. 14^m. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ibid.*

follow his advice. However, he refused him the post of *Mirbaje*, or chief of the caravan of pilgrims visiting *Mecca*, which he solicited for himself, and conferred it upon his brother *Abu Jaasar*, in the last year of his reign. This not a little chagrined *Abu Moslem*, who thought his important services to the house of *Al Abbās* gave him a right to any employment he should think fit to demand. Leaving, therefore, the *Khalif's* court in disgust, he could not forbear saying, "that, as the house of *Al Abbās* were members of the " prophet's family, and had possession of the gates of *Mecca*, " they might have left him the honour he desired." In order likewise to manifest his discontent, he set out for *Mecca* a day before *Abu Jaasar*, and carried an immense quantity of provisions with him upon the backs of 200 camels, with which he regaled twice a day the principal pilgrims of the caravan; and, after the end of every entertainment, made each of them a present of a vest. The affront offered on this occasion to *Abu Jaasar*, which was highly resented by that prince, afterwards cost him dear. For, as soon as he came to the throne, tho' he retained *Abu Moslem* in his service, as has already been seen, in order to extinguish *Abdallah's* rebellion, no one of his other governors of provinces being able to assist him with a sufficient body of troops at this perilous conjuncture, he seemed in earnest to meditate his destruction. Having received advice of the total overthrow of *Abdallah*, the *Khalif*, who was naturally of a covetous disposition, sent an officer that was not present in the action to the army, to bring him a faithful and exact account of the plunder that was taken. This conduct appearing very strange to *Abu Moslem*, he said to the officer with some emotion, " I have hitherto given " so good an account to the *Khalif* of the lives and blood of so " many thousand men, who have passed over the edge of my " sword, since it has been drawn for his service, that he " ought not to have doubted of my fidelity with regard to " the spoil." Nor was he content with expressing his resentment in this manner. For, instead of marching into *Syria* and *Egypt*, after the defeat of *Abdallah*, as by his orders he was obliged to do, he retired into *Khorasān*, where he lived for some time in a sort of independency, tho' without any formal renunciation of his allegiance to the *Khalif*. However, at last, either by the artifices of his enemies, or too great a presumption of his own merit, he was drawn to court, and met with a most gracious reception there; though, a few days after, he was assassinated by four persons posted in his chamber by *Al Mansūr*, for that purpose. The following detail of the circumstances preceding and attending this horrid action have been handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Abu Moslem*,

Moslem, by his distribution of vests amongst the *Arab* pilgrims that attended him to *Mecca*, and his reparation of the roads, as well as of the fountains and wells of water, so necessary for the refreshment of those pilgrims, had acquired such a reputation as excited the jealousy of *Al Mansûr*, and induced him to resolve upon his destruction. To which he was farther prompted by a letter brought to him from *Abu Moslem*, who set out from *Mecca* before him, and received advice of the decease of *Al Saffâb* upon the road, in which he condoled with him for his brother's death, without congratulating him upon his accession; which extremely irritated the new *Khalif*. Nor did he either stop upon the road till that prince came up, or return to him, as in point of duty he ought to have done; which greatly aggravated the affront, and made *Al Mansûr* more sensible of the contumelious treatment he had received. From that moment he not only hated *Abu Moslem*, but was afraid of him, and could enjoy no sort of rest till he had formed a scheme for his destruction. *Abu Moslem*, on the other hand, was very well apprized, that he had incurred the displeasure of the *Khalif*, and therefore consulted one of his friends at *Raya*, whether or no it would be proper for him to go to court? That trusty confidant advised him by no means to see the *Khalif*, but to retire instantly into *Khorasân*. This he refusing to do, and making the best of his way to *Al Mansûr*'s residence, it was told him, "that he had left his counsel behind him at *Raya*;" which afterwards passed into a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. *Al Mansûr*, upon his arrival, at first treated him with great marks of distinction, and ordered him to refresh himself that night in a proper manner; which he did, without delay. But, the next day, when he returned to court, he was assassinated by four of the *Khalif*'s guards, who had placed themselves behind a curtain for that purpose, and, as soon as *Al Mansûr* clapped his hands, which was the signal agreed upon between them, they rushed upon him, and, amidst his outcries for mercy, and loud professions of loyalty to *Al Mansûr*, immediately dispatched him. Upon his first appearance before the *Khalif* that day, after he had sent for him, he upbraided him with the disrespect he had shewn him, and particularly with having inserted his own name before that of his sovereign in one of his letters, as well as with ridiculing, in conjunction with *Mâlec Ebn Al Haiṭham*, a letter that he himself had sent him. In answer to which accusations, *Abu Moslem* endeavoured to excuse his former conduct, and, in order to move the *Khalif*'s compassion, prostrated himself before him; but without effect, that prince wishing God might destroy him, if he did not instantly put him to death. He then clapped his hands, and the assassins appeared;

appeared; upon which, *Abu Moslem* cried out, *Preserve me, O emperor of the faithful, from your enemies.* To whom the *Khalif* replied, *What more deadly enemy have I than yourself?* We find it intimated by *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, that *Al Mansûr* vowed *Abu Moslem's* ruin, because he had calumniated him; but that for some time he in vain attempted to get him into his power, tho' at last he decoyed him to court, where he met with his tragical fate. The same author also relates, that he was sacrificed on the 25th day of the month *Shaabân*, in the 137th year of the *Hejra*; and that, after the perpetration of this horrid fact, his body was thrown into the *Tigris*. Some writers pretend, that this great general had an intention to transfer the *Khalifat* from the house of *Al Abbâs* to the descendants of *Ali*, or rather at first to have settled the latter upon the *Moslem* throne; and that this was the principal cause of his destruction. Be that as it will, he is said to have killed six hundred thousand men in the various battles he fought for the house of *Al Abbâs*, and on other occasions, or, as some will have it, that number, besides those he destroyed in his military expeditions. He is also said to have been a great glutton and epicure; to have consumed every day 3000 cheese-cakes, or tarts, and 1000 sheep, besides oxen and fowls; and to have had 1000 cooks, and as much kitchen furniture as would load 1200 beasts of burden. He had three wives, with every one of which he lay only once a year. He was one of the most jealous and suspicious of mortals, and kept his wives confined in a castle, into which no one but himself was permitted to enter. They were supplied with necessaries through the windows of that prison; and whenever any of them was introduced to his embraces, she rode on a beast that was afterwards killed, and the saddle on which she sat burnt the night after it had been used, in order to prevent any man's ever making use of them for the future. He was indisputably valiant and brave, tho', with regard to his intellectual abilities and humanity, authors are not perfectly agreed; some of the eastern historians representing him as prudent, merciful, and discreet, whilst others of them have characterized him as an officer of a fierce, merciless, and intractable disposition. A certain *Moslem* being once asked, whether *Abu Moslem* or *Al Hejâj* was the better man? he replied, *I will not say, that Abu Moslem was better than any other man, but that Al Hejâj was worse than him.* Some pretend, that he was born in a village belonging to the territory of *Merû*, a famous city of *Khorâsân*; others suppose him to have been an *Arab*, extremely well versed in the writings of the antient poets of his own nation, as well as in the moral traditions of the sayings and actions of *Mohammed*; and, lastly, others maintain, that he

he was originally a slave, and of *Curd* extraction. But however this may be, as he had the principal share in that surprising revolution, which fixed the house of *Al Abbās* upon the *Moslem* throne, and makes so great a figure in the *Arab* history, we thought it would be highly proper to oblige our curious readers at least with the preceding short sketch of his life and character, as well as a circumstantial account of his tragical exit, here ¹.

AFTER the death of *Abu Moslem*, one *Sinan*, a *Magian*, or *Sinan*, the adorer of fire, of *Naisabour*, the metropolis of *Kherajān*, who *Magian*, had made himself master of *Abu Moslem*'s treasures, excited ^{rebels} the people of that country to a revolt against the *Khalif* *Al* ^{against the} *Mansūr*; but he was soon defeated, though at the head of ^{Khalif} 100,000 men, and the province reduced to the obedience of the *Khalif*, in the year of the *Hejra* 137, by *Jambūr Ebn Merad*, who had been sent against him by *Al Mansūr* with ^{and is} a powerful army. That general having acquired an immense quantity of spoil in this expedition, the *Khalif* was prompted by his avaricious temper to send a person express to the army, to seize upon it; which so disgusted *Jambūr*, that he immediately turned his arms against his master. But *Al Mansūr* having ordered a formidable army to march against him, he abandoned the city of *Raya*, where he had cantoned his troops, at the approach of the *Khalif*'s forces, and retired to *Ispahān*, in order to possess himself of that city and its dependencies. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Dionysius Telmarenensis* is guilty of a mistake, when he asserts *Al Saffāh* to have died this year; such an assertion running counter to what has been advanced on this head by *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Eutychius*, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and all the rest of the most celebrated *Moslem* historians ^{over-} ^{thrown by} *Jambūr*.

THE following year, being the 138th of the *Hejra*, the *Jambūr Khalif*'s forces, under the command of *Mohammed Ebn Ashbat*, *Ebn Mo-* pursued *Jambūr* to *Ispahān*, where he had taken post with a *rad* is *de-* body of troops; but, upon the approach of *Mohammed*, he *seated* by retired with great precipitation into *Aderbijān*. Here, for some ^{the Kha-} time, he maintained himself; but the *Khalif*'s army at last ^{his forces} coming up with him, attacked him with incredible bravery,

¹ KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 100, 101. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 215—217. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 398, 399. GOLII not. ad Afragan. p. 183, 184. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 360.

² KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 110. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univer. &c.

and

and intirely defeated him. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* seems to intimate, that an engagement happened this year in the neighbourhood of *Mesopotamia*, between the governor of that province's son and one of the imperial generals, who had made an irruption into the *Moslem* territories; tho' we meet with no account of this action in any of the *Arab* writers. On the 9th day of *March*, either the present or the following year, several shocks of an earthquake were felt in *Palestine* and *Syria*, which did very considerable damage. About this time, *Theodorus*, patriarch of *Antioch* was banished into an obscure part of *Palestine* by the *Arabs*, for holding an illicit correspondence with the emperor, and discovering to that prince several secrets relating to the present situation of the *Moslem* affairs. On this occasion, the *Christians* were forbidden either to build or repair any churches, to expose publickly the cross in any part of the *Khalif's* dominions, or to enter into any religious disputes with the *Arabs*. *Salem*, one of *Al Mansur's* generals, according to *Theophanes*, invaded *Cappadocia* the same year with an army of 80,000 men; but was obliged to retire out of that country with considerable loss, and without any other advantage than the acquisition of a few *Armenian* deserters, whom he conducted into the *Moslem* territories. *John* patriarch of *Antioch*, *Michael* patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Timothy* bishop of *Edeffa*, *Constantine* bishop of *Samosata*, *Dionysius* bishop of *Harran*, *Serguna* bishop of *Marde*, and *David* bishop of *Dara*, who was afterwards created patriarch, all *Monophysite* prelates, flourished in the year we are now upon; and *Athanasius Sandalensis*, bishop of *Maipheraeta*, erected a monastery on mount *Telbesme*, *Tella-d-Besme*, or *Tel-Besmai*, called afterwards the monastery of *Mar Athanasius*, about the same time. *Aba* also, who belonged to the monastery of *Mar Abib*, was promoted to the see of *Amida* in *Mesopotamia*, in the room of *Severus*, who resigned. The synod of *Mabug* seems likewise to have been held in the church of *St. Thomas*, without the town, the present year; at which assisted *John* bishop of *Callinicum*, *Timothy* bishop of *Edeffa*, *David* bishop of *Dara*, *Aba* bishop of *Amida*, *Serguna* bishop of *Marde*, *Mardin*, or *Maredin*, *Stephen* bishop of *Chabura*, *Constantine* bishop of *Samosata*, *Cyriac* bishop of *Tur-Abdin*, *Dionysius* bishop of *Harran*, *Elias* bishop of *Sigar*, *Paul* bishop of *Tagrit*, *Jonas* bishop of *Be-Nubadra*, *Naarda*, *Nearda*, or *Neardea*, and several other *Syrian* and *Mesopotamian* prelates of considerable note. The result of which synod was a schism, occasioned principally by the influence of a monk named *John*, at whose instigation the eastern *Mesopotamian* clergy chose *John* bishop of *Callinicum* for their patriarch; whilst those seated at *Mosul*,

ful, and in the western parts, elevated one George, not then upon the spot, to that honourable post. It seems to appear from *Roderic of Toledo*, that the *Angli*, or *English*, laid waste, about the 134th year of the *Hejra*, the borders of the *Moslem* conquests in *Spain* *.

In the 139th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâ-A prince wiyah Ebn Heshâm Ebn Ab'dalmâlec Ebn Merwân*, after the of the intire ruin of his family in *Asia*, arrived in *Spain*. That su- house of gitive prince, at this time about twenty-eight years of age, Ommiyah was recognized by the *Arabs* of that country for lawful *Khalif*, acknow- of the west, and is said to have reigned thirty-two years and ledged several months; leaving his crown, according to some of the *Khalif* is eastern writers, to his son *Heshâm*, in the 172d year of the *Hejra*. *Spain*. He erected the great mosque at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, about two years before his death; and founded a monarchy, that remained near 200 years. The *Spanish* chronicle informs us, that he was surnamed *Al Adêl*, or the *Just*; and that he left eleven sons and nine daughters behind him. We must not forget to observe, that *Rases* has placed *Abd'alrahmân's* arrival in *Spain* in the preceding year. That prince assumed to himself the title of *Emir Al Mûmenin*, or emperor of the faithful, of *Spain*, and king of *Corduba*; and, after the defeat of *Yusef*, in the year of the *Hejra* 142, asserted his independency, and refused to pay any tribute to the eastern *Khalif*. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* is undoubtedly guilty of a mistake, when he affirms *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm* himself, the father of *Abd'alrahmân*, to have been the first *Khalif*, or *Moslem* emperor, of *Spain*; as, in this point, he runs counter to the whole stream both of *Spanish* and *Arab* antiquity. *Al Mansûr* imposed about this time, according to *Theophanes*, an additional tribute upon the *Christians* in his dominions, which even the monks and religious were obliged to pay, sealed up the furniture of their churches with his own seal; and, that it might be the more easily disposed of, put it into the hands of the *Jews*. Some authors pretend, that the *Khalif* this year issued an order for the reparation and enlargement of the temple at *Mecca*; but that this was ever carried into execution, does not from any *Arab* author appear. On *Tuesday, March 3d*, a terrible earthquake happened in *Jezira*, or *Mesopotamia*, which, according to *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, demolished three considerable towns †.

THE

* *KHONDEMIR*, ubi sup. *DIONYS. TELMARENS.* apud *Jos. Sim. Asseman.* ubi sup. p. 110, 111. ut et ipse *Jos. Sim. Asseman.* ibid. *THEOPHAN.* chronograph, p. 361. *GOLII* not. ad *Alfragan.* pass. *Jos. Sim. Asseman.* dissertat. de Monophyt. pass. *RODERIC. TOLETAN.* ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16, &c.

† *KHONDEMIR*, ubi sup. *EBN AMID*, *Chronic. Hispan.* *RODERIC. TOLETAN.* ubi sup.

The Rawandians attempt to assassinate the Khalif.

THE next year, being the 140th of the *Hejra*, beginning May 25th, 757, the *Khalif Al Mansûr* sent *Abd' al Wabab*, his brother *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed's* son, with an army of 70,000 men, to *Malatia*, or *Melitene*, a city of *Armenia*; or, as others will have it, of *Cappadocia*; where he incamped, during the space of six months, and in that time refortified the town, that had a little before been dismantled by the *Greeks*. He also made it a place of arms, deposited a great part of his treasures there, and left in it a garison of 4000 men. He likewise built a castle, or citadel, at *Claudias*, or *Claudiopolis*, a neighbouring city of *Cappadocia*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. But the most remarkable event that happened this year, was the rebellion, or insurrection, of the *Rawandians*, an impious sect, who, according to *Ebn Shobnah*, held a *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, in the city of *Al Hashemiyah*; of which we shall here beg leave to give our readers a short and succinct relation. The *Rawandians* were descended, or at least received their name, from one *Al Rawand*; and have been represented by several of the eastern historians as some of the first who strenuously promoted the interest of the house of *Al Abbâs* in *Khorasân*. But *Abd'allah*, the son of this *Al Rawand*, having been engaged in some disputes with *Abu Moslem*, who was very powerful in *Khorasân*, he came to an open rupture with him; the consequences of which were by no means favourable to *Abd'allah Ebn Al Rawand*, and his adherents, who were intirely defeated and dispersed, and obliged to hide themselves in the most obscure parts of that province. From this time to the present year, after *Abu Moslem* had been put to death by the *Khalif's* order, *Abd'allah* lay concealed; but being now freed from all apprehensions of his most formidable enemy, he assembled all his followers in the city of *Al Hashemiyah*, then the residence of the *Khalif*, and, at the head of them, went in procession round *Al Mansûr's* palace there, in the same manner as the religious *Moslems* did round the *Caaba*. By this they gave him to understand, that they invoked him as their deity, and scrupled not to pay him divine honours. The *Khalif* being extremely incensed at such an open and bare-faced impiety, ordered an hundred of the principal of them to be imprisoned. This severe treatment so irritated the rest, that, since *Al Mansûr* would not be looked upon as a divinity, they were resolved to assassinate him, and substitute another in his room. In order

sup. c. xviii. p. 17. RASES, Hist. an illustrat. ubi sup. p. 703. Francosurti, 1603. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 101. ISM. ABULFED. hist. univ. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 361. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 111. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

to facilitate the execution of which design, they took an empty coffin to the prison where their companions were confined, under the pretext of carrying from thence a dead body, and released them all. After which, they went in a body to the *Khalif's* palace, with a resolution to murder him; but he, being a person of uncommon bravery, tho' he was surprized, with very few people about him, instantly mounted a mule, never a horse in this hurry and confusion being at hand, and immediately advanced towards the mutineers, with an intention to sell his life as dear as possible. In the mean time, *Mâan Ebn Zaidat*, who had kept himself concealed, in order to avoid the *Khalif's* resentment, he having been one of the chiefs of the *Ommiyan* faction, seeing the imminent danger *Al Mansûr* was in, sallied out of his retreat, put himself at the head of that prince's attendants, and charged the rebels with such fury, that he intirely defeated them. This generosity of *Mâan* was so signal and unparalleled, that it passed into a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. The *Rawandians* were treated so rudely on this occasion, that they were all, to the number of 6000 men, killed upon the spot; and the *Khalif* delivered from instant death, when his case seemed to be absolutely desperate. However, the affront that had been offered him in his capital city so chagrined him, that he resolved to build a new city upon the banks of the *Tigris*, and fix his residence there. The foundations of which city, known from that time to the present by the name of *Baghdâd*, were laid five years after *Abdallah Ebn Al Rawand's* revolt, and consequently in the year of the *Hejra* 145⁷.

THE same year, *Al Mansûr* removed his uncle *Saleh Ebn Othber Ali* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Abd almâlec events of Ebn Yezid* to succeed him in that post. *Theophanes* seems to the 1401b have had the *Rawandians* in view, when he informs us, that year of the some of the *Persians*, or *Maurophori*, that is, of the faction of *Hejra*. the house of *Al Abbâs*, after they had dissipated their substance, threw themselves headlong from off the tops of towers, and other high buildings, in order to fly from thence to heaven; which strange and amazing conduct he attributes to demoniacal obsession. Some other actions he also relates of them, which to him seemed to proceed from the same source. The ringleaders of this insatuated faction, or sect, to the number of six, he farther tells us, the *Khalif* ordered to be put to death, after they had been discovered, at *Beræa* and *Chalkis*. It appears probable, from what has been observed

⁷ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 217, 218. GOLLII not. ad A'fregan. p. 264—269. EBN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 398, 399.

by Roderic of Toledo, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* reduced this year *Malaga*, *Seville*, and some other places of note in Spain².

The Moslems
make an
irruption
in'to the
imperial
territories

THE following year, being the 141st of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* deposed *Abd'almâlec Ebn Yezid*, whom he had the preceding year constituted governor of *Egypt*, and appointed *Mûsa Ebn Caab* to preside over the people of that country in his room. - About this time, the *Moslems* forbade the *Christians* to write the public accounts of the tribute paid the *Khalif* by the several provinces of his empire; though afterwards, finding themselves incapable of penning such accounts, they were obliged to repeal the order that had been made. The same year, a body of the *Arab* troops made an irruption into the imperial territories, defeated a strong detachment of the *Armenian* forces, under the command of one *Paulus*, that pretended to oppose them near the river *Melas*, and then retired, with a considerable number of captives, after they had put many of the emperor's subjects to the sword, into their own dominions. This year, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* seems to have gained several advantages over *Yusef* in *Spain*, and to have assembled a powerful army of *Spanish Arabs* at *Seville*, in order to support his pretensions to the *Khalifat* there².

Abd'al-
rahmân
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success in
Spain.

IN the 142d year of the *Hejra*, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr* deposed *Mûsa Ebn Caab*, who had been advanced to the government of *Egypt* the year before, and appointed *Mohammed Ebn Asad* to rule the *Egyptians* in his stead. Some disputes are said to have arisen amongst the eastern *Christians* about the time of celebrating *Easter*, this present year. At the same time also, or the following year, according to *Theophanes*, one *Theodorus*, a *Syrian*, in the district of *Heliopolis*, rebelled against the *Arabs*, and brought a considerable army into the field. But the *Khalif's* forces at last came up with him, entirely defeated him, and cut the whole body of the rebels he commanded to pieces. In the year we are now upon, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* likewise overthrew *Yusef* at *Corduba*, pursued him to *Toledo*, and formed the siege of *Veia*, or *Beia*. In fine, this *Yusef* was attended by a series of misfortunes, and at last slain at *Toledo*, by some from whom he expected, and perhaps deserved, a better fate. This we learn from some of the best of the *Spanish* historians. When *Abd'alrahmân*, after the great success he had met with, marched with his army to besiege *Valencia*, the *Christians*, according

² ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 361. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ² ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 101. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 362. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

to *Rases*, being struck with terror, applied themselves to the body of *St. Vincent*, then in their possession, that had wrought many miracles, for its protection, and carried it with them in their flight to the sea-side. These unhappy wretches were afterwards discovered by one *Alibobaces*, an *Arab* of distinction, as he was hunting, and the people accompanying him, on the sea-coast of *Algarve*. The men and women the *Arabs* put to the sword, carried the children away into captivity, and left the body of the saint upon a narrow tract projecting into the sea, denominated *Promontorium Sacrum* by the antients, and by the moderns, as is said, from this event, the *Cape of St. Vincent*. As for *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah*, after the death of *Yusef*, he seized upon *Corduba*, as well as the famous garden in *Arabic* termed *Razafa*, and made himself master of all the *Moslem* territories in *Spain*. He also cut off *Jirât Al Hadra*, *Beye*, and other *Arab* commanders, who had revolted against him, and assembled a considerable force, in order to drive him from the throne. Of their followers he slew great numbers in battle, hanged some, and put many others to various kinds of deaths; by which means, he perfectly settled himself in the *Khalifat* of the west, restored the public tranquillity, that had been so long disturbed, and intirely appeased all commotions in the *Moslem* part of *Spain* ^b.

THE next year, being the 142d of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed The Decker*: *Ebn Asad* was removed, by the *Khalif's* order, from his post, *rences* in and *Hamid Ebn Kahtaba* appointed to govern the *Egyptians* in the *Moslem* his room. About this time, the repose of a considerable part of *Africa* was disturbed by some tumults and commotions, *during the* which were preceded by a solar eclipse that happened on *Friday, August 15th*, at ten o'clock in the morning. *Theophanes* *Hejra* seems to intimate, that the *Rawandians*, about the same time, ^{143.} committed some disorders in several parts of the *Moslem* empire, and particularly in the neighbourhood of *Basra*. It appears likewise from the same author, as well as from *Dionysius Telmarenfis* and *Cedrenus*, that a very remarkable comet, resembling a fiery beam, and therefore called by the *Greeks* *doctes* (*δοκτες*) was seen ten days together in the eastern, and twenty-one days in the western, part of the hemisphere, in the month of *March*, the present year ^c.

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. RASES, ANDREAS RENDIUS, apud Joan. Vassæum, in Hispan. chron. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 703. Francofurti, 1603.

^c ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 362, 363. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 111. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 464.

Al Man- THE following year, being the 144th of the *Hejra*, com-
 sūr cuts off mencing April 11th, 761, *Hamid Ebn Kabtaba* was ordered
 several of by the *Khalif Al Mansūr* to retire from Egypt, and succeeded
 the de- in the government of that fertile and opulent province by *Yazid*
 scendants *Ebn Huteim Ebn Abu Safrā Al Mohallebi*. The same year, *Al*
 of Ali Ebn *Mansūr* got into his hands *Abdallah Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al*
 Abu Tā- *Husein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Taleb*, and some others of the sons
 leb. of *Hasan*; as he also did *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Omar*
Ebn Othmān Ebn Affān, surnamed *Al Diyhāj Al Motabbab*,
 whom he likewise found means to decoy. Being informed,
 that *Mohammed* and *Ibrahim*, the sons of *Abdallah Ebn Al*
Hasan, had formed a design to dethrone him, he sent out feve-
 ral parties in quest of them; and, in order to discover the place
 of their retreat, he took with him *Abdallah*, their father, and
 all his domestics, loaded with irons, into *Irāk*, examined them
 there, and afterwards commanded them all to be closely con-
 fined. He also treated *Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Diyhāj Al*
Motabbab in the same manner, and ordered him to be scourged
 with so much severity that he died in prison. After his
 death, his head was cut off, and exposed in all the principal
 towns of *Kherāsān*; the populace there being at the same time
 given to understand, that this was the head of *Mohammed Ebn*
Abdallah; which step was judged requisite, in order to make
 them believe that *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Al Hasan* was
 destroyed, and thereby cut off all hopes from this prince's fac-
 tion, which was then very powerful in that country. *Theophanes*
 seems to intimate, that the *Rawandians* occasioned this year
 some commotions in Syria. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* relates, that
Al Mansūr sent *Ebn Wabab* with a formidable army, attended
 by a proper number of workmen, to rebuild the city of *Medione*
 in *Cappadocia*, in the 144th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST
 761, after it had lain in ruins about eight years; tho' that city
 was rebuilt, or rather refortified, by *Abd al Wabab Ebn Ibrahim*
Ebn Mohammed, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, four years be-
 fore, as has been already observed. The latter of these historians
 likewise informs us, that the *Khalif* carried twelve of the sons
 of *Husein* (*Hasan* it must have undoubtedly been in the original,
 all the remaining copies of that author being corrupted here)
 with him from *Medina* to *Cúfa*; where he incarcerated them
 in so strait a room, that they could none of them sit down.
 The little air, therefore, they were allowed to breathe, soon
 becoming tainted by the excrements of these unhappy men,
 with which they were obliged daily to conspurcate and conta-
 minate one another, they in a short time expired. It does
 not appear either from the *Spanish* or *Arabic* writers, that any
 thing material happened this year in *Spain*. IN

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 101, 102.

THEO-

IN the 145th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Mansûr* *The Khalif* laid the foundations of *Baghdâd*, the capital of the *Babylonian*, *Al Man-* or *Chaldæan*, *Irâk*, as has been already remarked. To this *sûr lays* he was excited by the affront offered him, or rather the assassi- *the found-* nation intended him, by the *Rawandians*, in the city of *Al* *Baghdâd.* *Hafsemiyah*; where they rebelled against him, and besieged him in his palace. Another reason assigned by *Abu'l-Faraj* for the erection of this metropolis, was, because the place pitched upon for its situation was at a greater distance from *Cûfa*; the inhabitants of which city had never been faithful to him, but always debauched his army, and promoted to the utmost of their power a desertion amongst his troops. Besides, the people of *Irâk*, who had persisted in their fidelity to him, represented, that, by building his capital on a spot of ground near the confluence of the *Sorat*, or *Sbat Al Arab*, the *Euphrates*, and the *Tigris*, it would be in a great measure secured from the insults and attacks of those who should ever have an intention to dispute the *Khalifat* with him; and that, by being situated, as it were, in the middle of the tract comprehending the districts of *Basra*, *Cûfa*, *Wâset*, *Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, and *Sawâda*, and at no great distance from those cities, it would be plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions from thence, by means of the aforesaid rivers. Having, therefore, chosen, for the site of his new city, a delightful plain on the western bank of the *Tigris*, and the horoscope of a lucky day and moment, by the unanimous consent of his astrologers, he ordered the workmen, assembled on this occasion, and drawn from all the politest parts of the *Moslem* empire, to begin to dig for the foundations of *Baghdâd*. The *Persian* geographer places this metropolis in his third climate, and informs us, that *Khosrû*, named *Anushirwân*, gave the plain on which it stands to one of his wives. This princess, who kept great numbers of sheep there, erected on the very spot where *Baghdâd* was afterwards built, a chapel, or oratory, which she dedicated to her principal and favourite idol, called *Bagh*; and, according to the last-mentioned author, from this event, gave to all the open country forming that particular district the name of *Baghdâd*, i. e. in the *Persian* tongue, *the gift*, or *present*, of *Bagh*. In process of time, continues the *Persian* writer, this chapel came to serve for an oratory and retreat to an hermit of uncommon sanctity and austerity of life; who accidentally met with one of the *Khalif's* officers, that, whilst his master was riding on the banks of the *Tigris*, full of his new scheme, had strayed a little from

THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 363. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 111, 112. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 218.

the rest of that prince's attendants, and approached the antient structure raised by the princeſs above-mentioned in honour of *Bagh*. This officer ſoon diſcovered to the hermit *Al Manſûr*'s deſign; upon which, the holy man told him, that, according to a tradition which had long prevailed in the circumjacent territory, a city was to be built there by a perſon named *Moclas*; but that he could not perceive any affinity between this name and thoſe by which the *Khalif* was called. However, the officer, rejoining his companions, communicated to *Al Manſûr* what he had learned of the hermit, in relation to the erection of a city upon the ſpot he had choſen; and the *Khalif* thereupon alighted from his horſe, proſtrated himſelf on the earth, and returned GOD thanks for being pleaſed to deſtine him to be the author of ſo grand a work. All the *Moslems* then preſent being vaſtly ſurprized at this action, as not being able to diſcover any ſimilitude or reſemblance between the names, or rather ſurnames, of *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Manſûr*, applied to the *Khalif*, and that of *Moclas*, mentioned by the hermit; *Al Manſûr*, in order to put them out of their pain, immediately told them, that having in his younger years taken one of his nurſe's bracelets, to buy with it ſome provisions for himſelf and his brothers, who were all then in very neceſſitous circumſtances, ſhe ever after called him *Moclas*, which was the name of a famous thief, or highwayman, very well known in *Khorafân*. To this he thought fit to add, that, as GOD had been pleaſed to appoint him by this name to carry into execution the deſign he had formed, he would not chufe any other ſituation for his new city than the ſpot he at preſent found himſelf upon ^e.

A farther account of the foundation of Baghdâd. But, notwithstanding the authority of the *Persian* geographer, the *Arab* writers give a very different account of this matter. The ſpot on which *Baghdâd* at this time ſtands was a fine verdant plain, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and had nothing, before the foundation of that city, upon it, but the cell of a *Chriſtian* monk, called *Baghdâd*. From him, therefore, if this author and *Eutychius* may be credited, the new city received the name of *Baghdâd*. Others, however, inform us, that this monk, whom they call *Dâd*, poſſeſſed a beautiful garden, adjacent to his cell, of a very conſiderable extent; and that the town, whoſe foundations occupied this, was from thence denominated *Baghdâd*, or the garden of *Dâd*. The firſt city that went by this name was erected by *Al Manſûr* on the weſtern bank of the *Tigris*; from whence

* GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 217—219. Geograph. Perſ. apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Bagdad*, p. 167, 168. ut et ipſe D'HERBEL. ibid. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 9, 10. See alſo SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim. diſc. &c.

he detached a body of the *Moslem* troops, under the command of his son *Al Mohdi*, to the opposite bank. Here the young prince took post, and fortified the place on which he had incamped with a wall, in order to cover his troops, as well as the workmen employed by his father on the other side of the river from the incursions of the *Persians*, who seemed to have taken umbrage at the erection of a new metropolis so near their frontiers. Hence it came to pass, that the city, or rather that part of the city, soon after built upon the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, received the name of *the camp*, or *fortress*, of *Al Mohdi*; and, in conjunction with the other, on the opposite bank, formed the city of *Baghdád*. The former of these, as having its streets paved with stones, was also denominated *Rusfa*; a name that was likewise applied to other places of note in *Jezira* and *Irak*. The *Khalif* had a superb and magnificent palace both in the eastern and western parts of the town, which went under the appellation of *the house of the Khalifat*, or *the imperial palace*; tho' the former, which, by way of eminence, was stiled *the garison*, or *the royal inclosure*, was much more grand and stately than the latter. The eastern palace was surrounded on the land-side by a semicircular wall, that had six gates; the principal of which seems to have been that called *the gate of the presents*, whose entrance was generally kissed by the princes and ambassadors that came to the *Khalif's* court. Some writers are greatly mistaken, when they make *Baghdád* to have occupied the spot on which the antient *Babylon* stood; since the former seems to have been erected upon the foundations of *Seleucia*, and to have been divided by the *Tigris* in the same manner that the latter was by the *Euphrates*. Besides, there is a village, according to the oriental geographers, upon the *Euphrates*, called *Babel*, considerably to the north of *Baghdád*, near which the traces of a very large city, supposed with greater reason to have been *Babylon*, are still to be seen; whereas nothing of that kind appears in the neighbourhood of *Baghdád*. The deflection of the gates of the interior from those of the exterior city induced the *Arabs*, according to *Abulfeda*, to denominate the place *Zauraa*, that is, *oblique*, *crooked*, &c. tho' others pretend, that the obliquity of the *Kebla* of its principal mosque gave this metropolis that name. For, the city, at least that part of it erected on the western bank of the *Tigris*, was intirely round; the *Khalif's* palace being, as it were, in the centre of it, and having annexed to it the great mosque, whose *Kebla* was oblique, insomuch that the *Moslems* performing their devotions here turned their faces towards the gate of *Basra*. With respect to the eastern part of *Baghdád*, we find it intimated by the oriental writers, that it consisted of an in-

terior and exterior town; each of which was surrounded by a wall; and consequently, that the eastern city, or principal part of *Baghdâd*, had appertaining to it both an interior and exterior wall. For some time, after the foundations were laid, the work went on but slowly. For, *Abu Ja'afar*, intending to demolish *Al Madâyen*, that had formerly been the residence of the kings, or *Shâhs*, of *Persia*, surnamed *Khosrû*, and to make use of the materials of the buildings in the erection of his new city, upon consideration, found that he could not advance very briskly in that demolition; as the stones were of so wonderful a size, and the towers and walls of so surprizing a height, that it would require much time, as well as a very large expence, to level with the ground all the fabrics there, and transport all the materials, of which those noble edifices were composed, from thence to *Baghdâd*. Besides, he considered, that it would be no small reproach to him to have it said, that he could not finish the metropolis upon which his workmen were then employed, without destroying such a pile of buildings as could scarce be paralleled in the whole world; and this induced him at last intirely to abandon his first design. To which we may add, that the demolition of *Al Madâyen*, had he finally resolved upon it, would have been not a little retarded by the commotions that happened in his empire this very year; of which we have been obliged with the following accounts by some of the best *Arab* historians ^f.

Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan rebels, and is cut off by the Khalif's forces.

SOON after the *Khalif Al Mansûr* began to lay the foundations of *Baghdâd*, in the 145th year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, whose head the partisans of the house of *Al Abbâs* had pretended to expose in all the principal places of *Khorasan*, the preceding year, was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Medina*, and assumed the surname of *Al Mohdi*. In order to support his pretensions to the *Khalifat*, he assembled an army of 100,000 men; but, upon the approach of *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, whom *Al Mansûr* sent against him, the greatest part of his forces dispersed of their own accord, and the rest retired to the deep ditch, or intrenchment, which the prophet himself had ordered to be dug round *Medina*, by the advice of *Salmân*, the *Persian*, for the security of the city, and which *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, on this occasion, caused to be immediately repaired. However, receiving advice, that *Isa* was marching against him, he drew his troops out of the intrenchment, dismissed as many of them

^f AEU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 102. GREG ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 398, 399. SHARIF AL IDRISI, p. 204. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121, 122, 123. ISM. ABU: FED. in *Irâk*. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vii. Salad. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

as were unwilling to engage, and with the rest, amounting to about 300 men, came to a general action with the *Khalif's* forces; but being overthrown, he was so closely pursued by *Isa*, that the latter, at the head of his horse, entered the town, and, without much difficulty, made himself master of it. He also put *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan* himself to the sword, and cut off his head; which he sent as a present to *Al Mansûr*, who immediately ordered it to be carried in triumph through the principal provinces of the empire. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, who pretended to dispute the *Khalifat* with *Al Mansûr*, is said to have lost his life at *Medina*, the present year, in the month of *Ramadân* ².

THE same year, *Ibrahim Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Ibrahim Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* caused himself to be saluted *Ebn Ab-Khalif* at *Basra*, and obliged the people of that city to take d'allah an oath of fidelity to him. He likewise seized upon *Perse* *Ebn Al* and *Abwiz*; and, in order to maintain himself in the possession of the provinces that had submitted to him, he also took the field with an army of 100,000 men. But the *Khalif's* nephew, *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, at last, after the defeat of *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, coming up with him, engaged him, put his forces to flight, and dispersed them in such a manner, that they could never afterwards rally, nor make head against him. As for *Ibrahim* himself, he perished in the action; after the end of which, his head was cut off, and sent by the general to *Al Mansûr*, who received it with all possible demonstrations of joy. Thus the *Khalif*, by his prudence and bravery, or rather the valour and conduct of *Isa*, appeased those commotions that threatened destruction to his family, in the year of the *Hejra* 145, which enabled him to resume the great work he had begun on the banks of the *Tigris*, and to give law to all his domestic enemies that had for some time been meditating a revolt ^b.

WE must not forget to observe, that the great success which *The Turks* attended *Al Mansûr's* arms this glorious campaign, has been mentioned by *Theophanes*; who informs us, that the troops employed by that prince in the reduction of the rebels to his obedience, whom he calls inhabitants of the desert, amounted to about 80,000 men. He likewise relates, that the *Turks*, passing the *Caspian* straits, made an irruption into *Armenia*, killing many of the natives of that country, and taking a considerable number of them prisoners, this present year ¹.

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vic. Mohammed. p. 75—77. AL BOKHARI, AL BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 168.

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 102, 103. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 168.

¹ THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 364.

Events of
the year
146.

THE following year, being the 146th of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 21st, 763, there was a profound calm almost throughout the whole *Moslem* empire; which enabled the *Khalif*, through the course of this year, to continue, without interruption, the building of *Baghdád*. However, if we will believe *Theophanes*, the *Turks*, in the beginning of it, made a second irruption, through the *Caspian* straits and *Iberia*, into the *Moslem* territories; but being met by a body of *Arab* troops, an engagement ensued, in which many, on both sides were slain. We are likewise informed by the same writer, that *Isa Ebn Músa*, having been before appointed to succeed the *Khalif*, was, by the following artifice, deprived of his reversional right to the *Khalifat*. *Al Mansúr* bribed his physician to give *Isa* a violent and soporiferous sternutatory medicine, in order to cure him of the megrim and vertigo, with which he was grievously troubled. This, continues our author, produced the desired effect; depriving *Isa*, for three days, of his senses, and rendering him intirely incapable of holding the reins of government; which being observed by the *Moslem* nobles and generals, who had been assembled by *Al Mansúr* for that purpose, they unanimously agreed to call *Al Mohdi*, the *Khalif*'s son, to the succession, after his father's death. However, *Isa*, afterwards coming to himself, and recovering the use of his reason, received a large quantity of gold from the *Khalif*; which he considered as a sort of recompence for the injury that had been offered him. That some particular circumstances mentioned in this story might have really happened, we shall not take upon us absolutely to deny; but that the whole relation is strictly true, we are by no means disposed to believe, since we are assured by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that *Isa* was removed from the succession after the death of *Al Mansúr*, the right to which had before been granted him, and declared the apparent heir to the crown after *Al Mohdi*, the following year, not without much squabbling and altercation. *Dionysius Telmarenfis* writes, that there was a dreadful inundation of the *Tigris*, which almost intirely destroyed the city of *Mosul*, and all the neighbouring towns, in the month of *March*, this present year *.

Abd'allah THE next year, which was the 147th of the *Hejra*, *Al Ebn Ali Mansúr* got *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, his uncle, who had rebelled destroyed by against him, and been overthrown by *Abu Moslem* near *Nisibis* the *Khalif*, *bis*, in *Mesopotamia*, into his hands, and destroyed him in

* D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 168. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 366, 367. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jof. Sim. Asseman, ubi sup. p. 112. ut & ipse Jof. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

the following manner. The *Khalif* invited him to his court, swearing at the same time that he would not hurt him. This induced *Abd'allah* to leave the city of *Basra*, whither he had retired, and lived in obscurity with his brother *Solimán*, and come immediately to *Al Mansúr's* residence. Soon after his arrival, the *Khalif* ordered a house to be built for him, whose foundations should consist chiefly of salt. Which being done, a vast quantity of water was, by his order, poured upon them. This occasioned the fall of that house upon *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, who was thereby crushed to pieces soon after he had taken possession of it ¹.

THE same year, according to *Theophanes*, some disturbances happened in the desert of *Palmyra*, tho' the particular circumstances attending these troubles he has not handed down to us. The *Khalif* likewise, if we will believe this writer, ordered all the crosses upon the tops of churches to be taken down, would not permit the *Christians* to hold nightly meetings, nor to teach their children to read, and discovered a strong disposition to have proceeded to a formal persecution. About the same time, according to *Dionysius Telmarenssis*, there was a grievous murrain in *Mesopotamia*, that proved fatal to vast numbers of cattle there. Soon after the death of *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbás*, *Abu Abd'allah Jaafar Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Táleb* died at *Medina*. It has been already observed, that *Al Mansúr* called his son *Al Mohdi*, after him, to the succession, in prejudice to his nephew *Isha*, who had been before declared his immediate successor, but was now appointed to mount the throne after *Al Mohdi*, tho' not without some difficulty, likewise this year ^m.

IN the 148th year of the *Hejra*, the workmen employed in the erection of *Baghdád* continued their operations; and that with so much diligence and success, that they had well-nigh put the last hand to the new city. This year, six stars seemed to fall from heaven, in the month of the latter *Canun*, according to *Dionysius Telmarenssis*; who likewise informs us, that *Severus*, bishop of *Amida*, died on the 14th day of the month *Adar*, and was buried in a monastery where he had resided a considerable time. We must beg leave to observe here, that the *Syrian* month called the latter *Canun* answers

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 369.

^m THEOPHAN. ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

to *January*, as does *Adar* to *March*. Nothing remarkable seems to have happened this year either in *Africa* or *Spain* *.

Baghdād
finished.

THE following year, being the 149th of the *Hejra*, the famous city of *Baghdād* upon the *Tigris*, the capital of the *Moslem* empire, was finished. That part of it, situated upon the western bank of the *Tigris*, is said to have cost the *Khalif* 4,000,000 *dinārs*; tho', according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, he actually demolished part of the *White Tower*, or citadel, at *Al Madāyen*, and ordered the materials procured from thence to be carried to the spot he had marked out for the site of his new city. However, finding that the demolition of all the buildings of *Al Madāyen*, and the transportation of the materials belonging to them to *Baghdād*, would be more expensive than he at first apprehended, he abandoned the design he had formed. The city, when finished, was perfectly round, shut up by a double wall, and flanked with a considerable number of towers. The castle, or citadel, was in the middle of it, and commanded every part of the town. Its gates were disposed in such a manner, that those of the first wall were in a sloping and oblique position in respect of those of the second; which disposition, according to some authors, gave this place the name of *Zaura*, or *Zauraa*, i. e. *oblique*, *crooked*, &c. tho', if others may be credited, it received that name from the obliquity of the *Köbla* in its principal mosque. It seems to be intimated by *Sharif Al Edrisi*, that the eastern city was not built till the *Khalifat* of *Al Mohdi*; tho' we are of opinion, with the celebrated *Golius*, that this town was begun, and even in a manner finished, before the death of *Al Mansūr*. The palace in the western town was called the palace of *Al Mansūr*, as that in the eastern city went under the denomination of the palace of *Al Mohdi*. The *Khalif* styled his new metropolis *Medinat Al Salam*, the city of peace, either by allusion to the name of *Jerusalem*, or because, at the time when it was finished, all the commotions in his empire were appeased, and almost every nation in *Asia* had submitted, or was become tributary, to him *.

Who the founder of it, according to the *Persian* historians pretend, that the city of *Baghdād*, as well as that of *Babel*, or *Babylon*, was built by the *Persian* kings of the first dynasty, who were no other than the ancient

* D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 168. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. Vide etiam THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant. Copronym. 23^m. chorograph. p. 366.

* D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GOLII NOT. ad Afragan p. 122. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 219. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR. monarch. siatico-Saracenic. stat. p. 8—12. Lipliz, 1724. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ubi sup. p. 204.

kings of *Affria*; that *Zobak*, who was the *Nimrod* of the *ing to the Jews*, first founded this city; and that *Afrasiab*, king of *Al Persian Turk*, or *Turkeshân*, and conqueror of *Persia*, aggrandized *historians* it, and named it *Baghdâd*, that is to say, the garden of *Dâd*, or the idol that he worshipped. To which they add, that *Kaikaus*, the second king of *Persia* of the second dynasty, who could have been no other than *Cash*, the son of *Nimrod*, according to these authors, constructed the temples, and the other most ancient public buildings, of the place.

WE are told by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who has been fol- *Whence it*
lowed herein by *Eutychius* and *Ab Makin*, that this city re- *derived its*
ceived its name from that of the monk, or hermit, *Baghdâd*, *name, ac-*
in whose garden, and part of the territory adjoining to it, the *according to*
foundations were first laid; tho' others pretend, that this *the Arab*
monk's name was not *Baghdâd*, but *Dâd*. Be this, however, *writers.*
as it will, *Baghdâd* seems to have been raised out of the ruins of *Ctesiphon*, as well as those of *Seleucia*, and was not only denominated by *Al Mansûr*, after the erection of it, *Medinat Al Salam*, or *Medinat Assalam*, but likewise *Dar Al Salam*, or *Dar Assalam*; which appellation was plainly of the same import with the former. Hence it was frequently called by the *Syrians* *Medinat Salama*, and by the *Greeks* *Irenopolis*; both of which are equivalent to the *Medinat Assalam* of the *Arabs*. We find two opinions concerning the reason of the name *Baghdâd* mentioned by *Abulfeda*. According to the first, *Bagh*, in the *Persic* language, signified a garden, and *Dâd* was the proper name of the man on whose garden was erected *Al Mansûr's* new metropolis; of both which words the name *Baghdâd* is apparently formed. If we will pay any regard to the second, the spot on which this city stood was denominated *Baghdâd* by an eunuch, sent by *Khosrû* king of *Persia* thither, from an idol named *Bagh*, worshipped in those parts of the east, and the present made him by that prince of the ground on which his temple stood; a gift, or present, in the *Persic* tongue, being expressed by *Dâd*. The same author observes, that *Al Mansûr* derived the appellation of *Medinat Assalam*, which he conferred upon his new capital, from *Vadi Assalam*, the torrent of peace, a name frequently applied by the orientals to the *Deglata*, or the *Tigris*, on whose banks that capital stood. The *Nestorians*, who were in great favour with the *Khalifs*, transferred their patriarch's see, fixed before at *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, to *Baghdâd*; and the *Greeks*, likewise, according to *Nilus Doxapatrius*, had a patriarch there. But *Abraham*, surnamed *Abraza*, the *Nestorian* patriarch, pre-

P LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Bagdad*, p. 167.

valled

vailed upon the *Khalif* to expel *John*, the *Greek* metropolitan, from thence, in the year of the *Hejra* 300. And *John*, the *Nestorian* patriarch, prevented *Ignatius Barchibi*, the *Jacobite Mafrián*, from settling at *Baghdád*, about 94 years after; tho' the *Khalif* then permitted a bishop, subject to the *Mafrián*, to reside there. However, *Bar Hebraeus*, the *Jacobite Mafrián*, relates, that he spent the summer at *Baghdád*, and ordained four deacons and a bishop there, in the year of CHRIST 1265; as likewise, that *Jacobite* bishops were before that time permitted to fix their residence in this city; and that *Lazarus*, one of them, was deposed by *Dionysius*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, whose conduct in this particular was approved of by the *Khalif Al Mamán*, in the year of our LORD 829. This great city was the seat of the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbás*, excepting only two or three, from its foundation to the year of the *Hejra* 656, when it was taken by the *Tartars*. Of which surprizing revolution, and the principal circumstances attending it, our readers will meet with a full and ample account in the sequel of this history 9.

Baghdád

possessed at
different
times by
the Tar-
tars,
Turk-
mans,
Persians,
and
Turks.

BAGHDAD, the capital of the *Moslem* empire for near 500 years, remained in the hands of the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, to the year of the *Hejra* 795, or of CHRIST 1392, when *Timur Begh*, or *Tamerlain the Great*, took it for the first time from *Soltán Ahmed Ebn Awis*, or *Sultan Ahmed Ebn Weis*; who, being incapable of making head against the numerous forces brought by *Timur*, after he had subjugated *Persia*, to form the siege of this city, found himself obliged to send all his baggage over the *Tigris*, to cross that river with all his troops, and, in fine, to abandon his capital to the conqueror. He was, however, hotly pursued by one of the enemy's detachments to the plain of *Kerbela*, where several skirmishes happened, and a considerable number of men on both sides were killed. Notwithstanding which, he at last, by his conduct and bravery, escaped the fury of his pursuers, took refuge in the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and afterwards found means to repossess himself of the city of *Baghdád*. There he remained till the year of the *Hejra* 803, when the city was taken a second time by *Timur*; who, never-

9 ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 102. EUTYCH. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 167, 168. EBN CAsEN, ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. i. p. 10. et dissertat. de Monophyfit. NILUS DOXIPATRIUS, in notit. patriarchat. Antiochen. GREGORIUS BAR HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 251. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. tom. ii. p. 441, 444, 251. ECCHELLENs. in not. ad catal. Ebed. p. 135. Cod. Syr. Nitr. iv. fol. 218. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfrag. ubi sup. thelcs,

theless, restored it to him, and he continued sovereign of the place, till he was driven from thence by *Miran Shâh*, that prince's son. However, afterwards returning, he was chased from thence by *Kara Yusef*, the *Turkman*, in the year of the *Hejra* 815; who likewise reduced *Baghdâd* a second time, and finally expelled from thence *Abu Becr*, the son of *Miran Shâh*; securing that capital to his family, in which it remained till the time of *Hasan*, or *Hassan*, surnamed *Uzun*, which, in *Turkish*, signifies *long*, commonly called by the *Europeans* *Usun Cassan*, a *Turkman* prince, who drove the descendants of *Kara Yusef* from thence, in the year of the *Hejra* 875, or of our LORD 1470. The princes of this family maintained themselves in possession of *Baghdâd* till the year of the *Hejra* 914, or of CHRIST 1508, when *Shâh Ismael*, surnamed *Sûfi*, or *Sôfi*, the first prince of the royal family that reigned in *Irân*, or *Persia*, till the dethroning of the late *Shâh Hosein*, made himself master of it. From that time, for above an hundred years, this city continued to be a bone of contention between the *Turks* and the *Persians*, having been the subject of several bloody wars between those two powerful nations. It was taken by *Selimân I.* surnamed *the Magnificent*; and retaken by *Shâh Abbâs*, king of *Persia*; but being at last besieged by *Amurath*, or *Morad IV.* with a formidable army, it was finally obliged to surrender to him, in the year of grace 1638, and has remained in the hands of the *Turks* to this very day^r.

It may not be amiss farther to observe here, that this city, *Some far-* which has always been so celebrated amongst the *Moslems*, *ther re-* had several other names besides those already taken notice of. *markable* That part of it erected on the western bank of the *Tigris* was *particu-* called *Medinat Al Mansûr*, the city of *Al Mansûr*, as owing *lars relat-* its origin intirely to the prince whose name it bore; whilst *ing to that* that on the opposite bank went amongst the *Moslems* under *city, and* the appellation of *Asker Al Mohdî*, the army, or camp, *of the present* *Al Mohdî*, for the reason above assigned. As the *Moslems* of *Syria* sometimes denominated it both *Medinat Selama*, and *Medinat Selomo*, the city of peace, so it received the appellation of *Medinat Slama*, denoting the same thing, from the *Syrian* or *Chaldæan Nestorians*. The western part of *Baghdâd*, which in after-ages was considered as a sort of suburb, went also

^r AHMED EBN ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. Beg. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 526—565. PETR. TEXEIR. AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, OLEAR. AUT. AL RAUDAH, DEMETR. CANTEMIR's history of the Othmân empire, in the life of Amurath, or Morad IV. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Ahmed Ben Avis*, p. 149—151. art. *Bagdad*, p. 168. art. *Timour*, p. 880, 881, et alibi. MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHNAH, AUT. NIGHIARIST. &c.

under the denomination of *Karkh*; tho' this name seems to have been more particularly applied to that part of the western town to which *Al Mansûr* commanded the market, that had before been kept in the neighbourhood of his palace, in order to remove the rabble to some spot at a greater distance from him, to be transferred. Here he likewise had a bridge constructed over the *Tigris*, to keep open more effectually a communication between this and *Al Mohdi's* part of the town. The name of *Karkh* was afterwards rendered famous by the aforesaid market, which occasioned the erection of a considerable number of buildings there. The *Dar Al Khalifa*, that is, the house, or palace, of the Khalif, in the western town, called *Kasr Al Mansûr*, the palace of *Al Mansûr*, as well as the other named *Kasr Al Mohdi*, the palace of *Al Mohdi*, made a very good figure. There was likewise a palace in *Baghdad* sufficiently grand, known by the name of *Kasr Al Hasan Ebn Zohal*, the palace of *Hasan Ebn Zohal*, besides several public buildings erected by the Khalif *Al Moftanfer Billa*, and particularly the famous college founded by that prince, denominated by the Arabs *Al Madrasah Al Moftanferiah*, which, for the beauty and elegance of its structure, the number of students it contained, as well as the learned men it produced, and the ample revenues settled upon it, has been represented by *Abu'l-Faraj* as excelling, in his time, every other house of learning in the then known world. Amongst other students here, there were 300, who applied themselves intirely to the study of the *Mohammedan* law, according to the decisions of the authors of the four chief sects of the *Sunnites*, or orthodox *Moslems*; every one of which sects had a professor in this college, who had a monthly salary settled upon him, for instructing 75 young men committed to his care in the principles of the sect to which he belonged. Every one of those students had likewise a very handsome daily allowance of all kinds of provisions assigned him. There was also a bath set apart for the use of the students here, and a physician maintained at the Khalif's expence, who visited them every morning, to see whether any of them stood in need of his assistance. The college had also a kitchen, a cellar, and an apothecary's shop, belonging to it, that the prelectors, and the young men educated therein, might be taken proper care of both in sickness and in health. With regard to the four orthodox sects above-mentioned, it may not be improper to remark, that, notwithstanding some differences as to legal conclusions in their interpretation of the *Korân*, and matters of practice, they were generally acknowledged to be orthodox in radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of salvation, and had each of them their several stations, or oratories, in the temple of *Mecca*. The

founders

founders of these sects are still looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life, and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is *Al Ghazali's* encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour, that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice. Besides *Al Moftanser Billa's* college, there was another famous college and gymnasium at *Baghdad*; founded by *Moazz-addin Abu'lfeta Makek Shab*, the third Sultan, or *Soltan*, of the *Seljuks* of *Iran*; and another erected by his prime minister, or *Wazir*, *Nezam Al Molk*; the first of which was called *Al Madrasah*, or *Al Madrasat Al Hantfiat*, and the other *Al Madrasat Al Nezamiat*. In the vast number of learned men born at *Baghdad*, may be reckoned the famous *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, the author of the fourth sect of the *Sunnites*, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter. Amongst the persons famed for literature, educated here, may be ranked *Kawam-addin Yusuf Ebn Hasan Al Huseini Al Rami*, who wrote a treatise in *Persic* concerning the power and prerogatives of princes; *Abmed Ebn Shamsi Al Hadi*, who wrote in *Turkish* the lives of several oriental poets; *Abu'l Abbás Ebn Hamdan Al Kateb*, who obliged his countrymen with a choice collection of historical narrations, and various elegances, in *Arabic*; *Moaffek-addin*, who published a commentary upon *Aristotle's* piece *de auditione naturali*, in *Arabic*; *Mohammed Ebn Soliman Fodhali*, the author of a poem in *Persic* concerning cordial friendship; *Ebn Najjar Maheb-addin Mohammed Ebn Mahmud Al Baghdadi*, who composed a history that bore the title of *Tarikh Ebn Najjar Al Baghdadi*; *Ebn Haithemab Ebn Zehr Al Nessai*; *Abu Sabal Haithem Ebn Femil Abu'l Barakat*, a physician of *Baghdad* sent for by the *Khán* of *Khwarazm*; *Abu Kerim Sa'id Ebn Al Talmith*, a *Christian* physician of *Baghdad*, who obtained from the *Khalif Naser*, or *Nasr*, the title of *Amino'ddawla*; besides many others, whose names we are not permitted to enumerate by the limits prescribed us here. From what has been said, we may conclude, that, for several ages, *Baghdad* must have abounded more with *Moslem* doctors, and other learned men of various kinds, than any other place in the *Mohammedan* dominions, except *Mecca* and *Medina*. It was also extremely populous, and contained several forts, or castles, capable of making a tolerable defence, that derived their names from their founders; such were *Tak Al Harani*, *Tak Al Atrif*, *Tak Al Aki*, and others; the principal of which

was *Tak Al Asma*, so called from *Asma*, the *Khalif Al Mansur*'s daughter, erected on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, in that part of the city to which was more particularly applied the name of *Rusāfa*, or *Al Rusāfa*. One of the gates likewise of *Baghdād*, that was fortified in a peculiar manner, received the appellation of *Tak*, or *Taka*. The language spoken here was one of the most polite and elegant dialects of the *Arabic*, as there was a greater concourse of nobility and learned men, that excelled in many branches of literature, for several ages, in this city, than in almost any other of the east. After what has been said of the flourishing state of *Baghdād*, for so considerable a period of time, it will not appear strange, that there should have been a mint here, in which a vast number of *dirhems* and *dinārs* were struck. At present, tho' it groans under the *Turkish* yoke, *Baghdād* is a celebrated emporium and frontier of the *Ottoman* empire on the side of *Persia*, to which not only many merchants, but likewise an incredible number of passengers, travelling from *Natolia*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, into *Persia*, continually resort. It is the seat of a *Pasha*, to whom every one of those passengers pays a sort of tribute, or toll, which, in the whole, amounts to a very large annual sum. The religion professed here is the *Mohammedan*, tho' various sects of *Christians* are tolerated, of which the *Nestorians*, who have a church, bear the greatest sway. The *Jacobites* and *Armenians* have no place of public worship, but go to the convent of the *Capuchins*, who administer the sacraments to them. There are several *Jews* likewise that reside constantly at *Baghdād*, but many more who come thither annually, in order to visit the sepulchre of the prophet *Ezekiel*, which is said to stand about a day and a half's journey from the city. The *Pasha* of *Baghdād* is generally a *Vizir*. The proper garison, about the middle of the last century, consisted of only 300 *Janisaries*, commanded by an *Aga*; tho' the *Pasha*, whose house stood then upon the bank of the river, and made a good appearance, had under his command a body of 6 or 700 horse. There were also then about 3 or 400 *Spahis*, commanded by two *Aga*'s, besides another body of horse, under two *Aga*'s, that went under the denomination of *men of courage*. In fine, the *Ottoman* troops at that time in and about the town amounted to about 3000 men. The city then was 1500 paces long, 7 or 800 broad, and about three miles in circumference. The walls were of brick, and strengthened with towers that resembled bastions; upon which the *Pasha* had mounted 60 pieces of cannon; the largest of which were not above five or six pounders. There were four gates, three on the land-side, and one upon the river; over which there was a bridge of thirty-three boats, or rather

rather pieces of timber, brought from *Mosul* and other places, fastened together on goats skins, blown like bladders. The castle, or citadel, was in the city, near one of the gates called *Al Maazan*, on the north side; standing partly on the river, and surrounded by a single wall, adorned with turrets; upon which were planted, tho' without carriages, about 150 pieces of cannon. The *Pasha* was assisted, in the civil government of the place, by a *Kâdi*, who represented the *Mufti*, and a *Tefterdar*, who collected the revenues of the *Grand Signor*. There were five mosques, of which two were tolerably well built, and adorned with *Duomo's*, covered with varnished tiles of different colours; ten caravansera's, or inns, two of which were proper enough for the reception of travellers; and several *Bazars*, or market places, arched, to enable the merchants to bear the heats, and watered three or four times a day, for the same purpose. Commerce then flourished to a considerable degree here, tho' not so much as when the city was in the hands of the king of *Persia*; *Sultan Amuruth IV.* upon his making himself master of it, having put most of the richest merchants settled there to death. Many of the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, were settled there, being so simple as to believe, that their great *Imâm* lived at *Baghdâd*. The pilgrims that visit *Mecca* by land are obliged to pass through *Baghdâd*, and every one of them pays a tribute, or toll, equivalent to four piastres, to the *Pasha*; which branch of the revenue brings annually a very considerable sum into the coffers of the *Grand Signor*. *Tavernier* informs us, that the *Rafedi's*, or heretics, here, who seem to have been a branch of the *Shiites*, in his time, were so rigid and strict, that they would by no means either eat or drink with a *Christian*, and scarce with a *Sonnite* himself. In his time, the inhabitants of *Baghdâd* consisted of about 15,000 souls. The latitude of this city was defined by the astronomers, who lived in the days of the *Khalif Al Mamân*, to be $33^{\circ} 26'$; and by some of the modern geographers and astronomers, $33^{\circ} 15'$. But, for a more particular description of the present state of this celebrated city, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the last-mentioned author, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction.

ABOUT the 149th year of the *Hejra*, as we learn from *Dionysius Telmarenfis*, the *Manichæes*, or *Manichæans*, settled at *rahmân Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*, having been guilty of most execrable

Ebu Moâ-

* GOLIUS not. ad Alfragan. et GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 463. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, AL GHAZAL. D'HENBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Malekshab*, ou *Melikshab*, p. 542. et alib. pass. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. ubi sup. TAVERNIER'S Persian Travels, b. ii. c. 7. p. 84—86. Lond. 1678.

wiyah be-
gins to
erect a
mosque in
Spain.

superstition, were treated with great severity by *Al Abbās*, the *Khalif*'s governor of that province. The same year, *Abd'alrahmān Ebn Moāwiyah*, the grandson of *Hasbām*, who had settled himself upon the *Moslem* throne in Spain, and been acknowledged lawful *Khalif* of the west by the *Mohammedans* there, began to erect the great mosque at *Cordova*, or *Corduba*; which, after it was finished, during the continuance of this monarchy, was highly revered by all the *Moslems* in that part of the world. *Al Mansūr*'s arms having been attended with all imaginable success, the preceding years, his subjects, through the whole course of this, enjoyed the sweets of peace, without the least discontinuance or interruption ^c.

The fa-
mous Abu
Hanifa
dies.

THE next year, being the 150th of the *Hejra*, beginning February 6th, 767, the famous *Abu Hanīfa Al Nooman Ebn Thābet*, the founder of the first of the four chief sects of the *Sonnites*, who was born at *Cāsa* in the 18th year of the *Hejra*, departed this life. He died in prison at *Baghdād*, where he had been confined, because he refused to be made *Kādī*, or judge, on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge; *choosing rather to be punished by them than by GOD*, says *Al Ghazālī*; who adds, that when he excused himself from accepting the office, by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, *If I speak the truth, I am unfit; but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge*. It is said, that he read over the *Korān*, in the prison where he died, no less than 7000 times. The doctrine, or tenets, propagated by him, as well as the sect of which he was the author, went amongst the *Sonnites* by the name of *Hanīfiyah*, or *Hannīfiyah*. The *Hanīfites* are called by an *Arabian* writer the followers of reason, and those of the other three orthodox sects followers of tradition; the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of *Mohammed*. The sect of *Abu Hanīfa* heretofore obtained chiefly in *Irāk*, but now generally prevails amongst the *Turks* and *Tartars*. His doctrine was brought into great credit by *Abu Yūsef*, chief justice under the *Khalifs Al Hādī* and *Harūn Al Rashīd*. We must not forget to observe, that *Abd'allah Bathalmī* wrote a treatise concerning the divisions, or different sentiments, of the *Hanīfites*; which, amongst the admirers of that sect, is held in good repute ^u.

ABOUT

^c DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 112. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. KHONDÉMIR, AL MAKIN, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 18.

^u ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAH, ubi sup. f. 219. EBN KHALECAN, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p.

ABOUT the 151st year of the *Hejra*, as should seem from *The Kha-Abu'l-Feraj*, who makes this event to have happened a little *lisf* *cured* after the *Khalif Al Mansûr* had fixed his residence at *Baghdâd*, of a *dan-Jeyûrjeyus*, or *George*, *Ebn Bakhtishua Al'Jondisâbâri*, a famous *gerous ill-*physician, and a *Christian*, was brought to court, in order to cure *nesi* *by a* the *Khalif* of a want of appetite and indigestion, under which *Christian* he at that time laboured. The physician, attended *by his* *physician* scholar, or pupil, *Isa Ebn Shablâtha*, being introduced to the *Khalif*, discoursed with him both in *Persic* and *Arahic*, with great fluency and elegance; assuring him at the same time, after he had received from him an account of his disorder, that, with the divine assistance, he could cure him. The *Khalif*, charmed with the gracefulness of his person, the politeness of his language, and, above all, the assurances he had given him, ordered a sumptuous and costly vest to be put upon him, assigned him one of the best apartments in his palace, and commanded his chamberlain *Rabi* to treat him with the highest marks of respect. *George* having in a short time effected a cure upon him, *Al Mansûr* one day asked him whether he was married? To which the physician replied, that he had for his wife an old woman, who was extremely infirm, and not able to rise from her feat. Upon this; the *Khalif* ordered *Salem*, one of his eunuchs, to take with him three beautiful *Greek* girls, and a present of 3000 *dinârs*, to *George's* apartment; who, not finding him at home, left them with *Isa Ebn Shablâtha*, his scholar, there. But *George*, upon his return, after reprimanding *Isa* for receiving them, returned them to the *Khalif*; who sending for him, and asking him, with great surprize, the reason of so strange and unparalleled a conduct, the physician told him, without any scruple or hesitation, that it was not lawful for a *Chriſtian* to have more than one wife at a time. This increasing *Al Mansûr's* astonishment, he dismissed him with uncommon expressions of esteem, and afterwards heaped his favours with greater profusion upon him. About the same time, the *Khalif* sent three bodies of his troops, under the command of his brother *Al Abbâs*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, *Hasan Ebn Kahtaba*, and *Ebn Asad*, to penetrate into the imperial territories. These forces were composed of *Sindians*, *Alans*, *Khozars*, *Khazars*, or *Khazarites*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Akulites*, *Arabs*, *Khosanites*, *Türks*, and others; but did not meet with great success in their expeditions. The *Khalif* himself, at the head of a powerful army, consisting of 80,000 men, moved

297, 298. AL GHAZALI, AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou Hanifah*, p. 21, 22. & art. *Hanifah*, p. 429. ABD'ALLAH BATHALMIQUS, apud D'Herbel. ibid.

from *Amida*, *Amid*, or *Edeffa*, *Tur-Abdin*, and *Tela-Kem*, in the beginning of the campaign; and made an irruption into the northern parts of the *Roman* empire. He advanced to a fortress called *Kamach*, or *Kamakh*, upon which he continued his attacks the whole summer; but without effect: so that he found himself at last obliged, after he had lost an incredible number of men, shamefully to abandon the siege *.

Some other
events of
the year
151.

THE same year, a complaint being brought before *Al Mansur* against the patriarch *George*, by the bishops who had been deprived by him of their authority at the synod of *Sarug*, and he being by them accused of exercising tyranny upon the *Syrian* clergy, the *Khalif* ordered him to be put in irons, and gave his accusers leave to substitute another patriarch in his room. Upon which, by their unanimous suffrages, they advanced to that high dignity *David* bishop of *Dara*; whose lenity and moderation might justly have intitled him to the profoundest respect and veneration of all the *Mesopotamian* clergy, over whom he presided; tho' none of them, except those by whom he had been elected, paid any regard to his orders and decisions; he having been not a little blamed for being so active against his predecessor. Hence a schism arose amongst the *Jacobites*; some of whom considered *David* as their patriarch, others *George*, and others acknowledged no patriarch at all. With regard to *Tur-Abdin*, mentioned above, it may not be improper to remark, that the natives call it simply *Tur*, which in their language signifies a *mountain*; and that it is a considerable tract in the neighbourhood of the *Tigris*, which formerly contained a pretty large number of towns and monasteries, all under the jurisdiction of a bishop, called the bishop of *Tur-Abdin*. His diocese was, in process of time, split into several others, viz. *Salacha*, or *Salakh*, *Beth-Manaim*, &c. and especially after *Saba* was translated from the see of *Salacha* to the patriarchate of *Tur-Abdin*, and set up in opposition to *Ignatius* VI. the lawful patriarch of the *Jacobites*; which produced a schism that continued from the year of CHRIST 1364 to the year 1494. We must also beg leave to observe, that the *Nestorian* convent on the *Curd*, or *Gordyean*, mountains was reduced to ashes, together with all the people therein, as they were celebrating their annual festival on the spot where *Noah's* ark had rested, in the usual manner, by lightning, the preceding year *.

THE

* GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 221—223. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman ubi sup. p. 113. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 374. THEOPH. SIGEFR. BAYER histor. Osirhoen. p. 282. Petrop. 1734.

* DIONYS. TELMAR. ubi sup. Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. in dissertat.

THE following year, being the 152d year of the *Hejra*, The Khalifa the celebrated *Christian* physician, *George Ebn Bakhtishua Al li* takes a *Yondisaburi*, who had been so serviceable to the Khalif *Al Mansur* in the recovery of his health, was himself taken extremely ill, and his life thought to be in no small danger. *rebuilds a fortress, in the year* Upon which, he asked the Khalif's leave to return home, in order to see his son and family, and to be buried with his brothers, in case it should please God to put a period to his days. *152.* *Al Mansur* desired him first, by way of reply to his petition, to embrace *Mohammedism*; and, in that case, promised him a certain admission into paradise, after his death: to which *George* made answer, "O emperor of the faithful, I am determined to go to the place where my ancestors reside in the other world, whether that be paradise or hell." This excited the Khalif's laughter, who thereupon returned, "But since you have been with me, I have been free from the maladies with which I was before afflicted; how, therefore, can I part with you?" To this the physician replied, that he should leave behind him his scholar *Isa*, who was a very skilful professor of physic, and would take all possible care of his majesty's health. The Khalif then dismissed *George*, with a present of 10,000 *dinars*, and sent an eunuch with him, to conduct him to his friends and relations, with orders to have his body conveyed to them, in case he should die upon the road. However, he arrived at home safe, under the eunuch's conduct. After his departure, *Al Mansur* sent for *Isa*, whom, upon conversing with him, he found to be a person of profound erudition, and therefore substituted him in his master's place. *Isa*, after his advancement, began to grow contentious, and to behave in a very insolent manner, particularly to the *Christian* bishops and metropolitans, of whom he would have exacted large sums of money. Attending the Khalif once to *Nisibis*, or *Nisibin*, he had the assurance to write to the metropolitan of that city to send him the most valuable part of his consecrated vessels, or church-plate; threatening him with his resentment, in case of refusal; and, in his letter, making use of the following remarkable words: "Are you ignorant of my interest with the Khalif? Do not you know that on me his health intirely depends, so that I can make him sick or well as I please?" This letter *Cyprian*, the metropolitan of *Nisibin*, found an opportunity of reading first to *Al Rabi*, *Al Mansur's* chamberlain, and afterwards to the Khalif himself. *Al Mansur*, after he had received this intelligence, finding how he was abused, first deprived *Isa* of all

de Monophys. et ubi sup. p. 113. et alib. pass. NAIRON. euopl. par. i. p. 45.

the valuable presents he had made him, and then, after a proper castigation, discharged him his service. The same year, that is, the 152d year of the *Hejra*, died *Yezid Ebn Hâtem*, who had been made by *Al Mansûr* governor of *Egypt*. He was succeeded in his post by *Abdallah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Hadîj*. About the same time, likewise died *Maan Ebn Zâyada*, an *Arab* of so brave and generous a disposition, that, amongst his countrymen, it passed into a proverb. The *Khalîf* first appointed him his lieutenant of *Yaman*, afterwards of *Adarbîjân*, and lastly of *Khorasân*. *Al Mansûr* is also said by *Dionysius Telmarenus* to have erected a new fortress, called by that author *Arsamafata*, upon the river *Arfamias*, either this or the preceding year. But *Dionysius*, in what he advances here, must undoubtedly be mistaken. For this town, which likewise went under the name of *Armosata* and *Arfamoti*, has been taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Polybius*, as well as by a coin of *M. Aurelius*, in the *Medicean* collection at *Florence*, struck several hundred years before the *Khalifat* of *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, which has been published by the learned *Lucas Holstenius*. The *Arabs*, therefore, did not found, but rebuild, or rather repair, the place at present under consideration. However, it may be fairly inferred from *Dionysius*, that *Cellarius* is guilty of a mistake, when he places *Armosata*, or *Arsamafata*, at a great distance from the *Arfamias*. The *Khalîf's* workmen, soon after they begun their operations, were struck with terror at the sight of a body of the imperial troops incamped on the other side the river, and immediately abandoned their work; which gave the enemy an opportunity of demolishing what they had done. However, the *Arabs* soon returned, resumed their work, and finished the fortress in such a manner as to put it out of danger of any future insult. *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* still maintained himself, notwithstanding the power of *Al Mansûr*, and the success that had attended his arms in the east, upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain*.

The Christian territories in- In the 153d year of the *Hejra*, commencing January 3d, 770, one *Banaka*, or *Ebn Aka*, a *Moslem* general, according to *Theophanes*, undertook an expedition against the *Christians*, in order

1 GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 223, 224. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 103. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 113, 114. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 9. PTOL. geogr. TACIT. lib. xv. c. 10. POLYB. apud Christ. Cellar. in geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 11. p. 390, 391. Lipsiz, 1706. ut et ipse CHRIST. CELLAR. ibid. LUC. HOLSTEN. in adnotat. ad Ortel. ROD. TOLETAN. ubi sup. p. 18.

to revenge an irruption which the imperial forces had made invaded by a to *Armenia* the preceding year. He advanced first into *Isauria*, *Moslem* and from thence marched to a fortress called *Syce*, which he army, commanded by straitly besieged. Advice of this being brought to the emperor, he sent orders to *Michael*, *Manes*, and *Bardanes*, three one *Banaka* of his commanders, to move with a body of *Bucellarians* and *Armenians*, and other troops drawn out of some of the eastern provinces, against the *Arabs*, and force them to raise the siege. The imperial generals, in pursuance of the orders they had received, assembled their forces, and, in conjunction with a fleet fitted out by the citizens of *Cibyra*, that had entered the port of *Syce*, immediately advanced to the relief of the place. *Banaka*, being apprized of their approach, made the necessary dispositions to engage them; which at last he did, and gave them a total overthrow, putting a great number of them to the sword. 'Tis remarkable, that the *Arabs*, in this action, made the first onset with the same outcries and howlings that the *Turks* do, in order to intimidate the enemy, when they begin the attack, at this day. After this defeat, *Banaka*, who had made himself terrible to the *Christians*, by the depredations he had committed in the imperial territories, and the captives he had carried off from thence, the foregoing year, ravaged all the neighbouring district in a dreadful manner. However, he could not reduce the fortress he had for some time so straitly besieged, but was obliged to return home, without having made any considerable conquest; tho' he acquired some valuable spoils, and took several prisoners, in this expedition. About the same time, *Al Mansûr* dismissed *Nubakht*, his astrologer, who was a *Persian*, and extremely well versed in every branch of his art, on account of his ill state of health; filling the post become vacant by his dismissal with his son *Khorshadmah Wâtîmâdah Khastî Wâababashâd*, whose name the *Khalîf* converted into that of *Abu Sahl*. In the 151st year of the *Hegira*, or the 768th. of *CHRIST*, *Dionysius*, bishop of *Harrân*, departed this life, and was succeeded by a person of the same name, taken out of the monastery of *Zuchenin*, or *Zekhenin*; as did likewise *Stephen*, bishop of *Chabura*, or *Al Khabûr*, *Zacharias*, bishop of *Edeffa*, and *Jannes*, bishop of *Tela*, the following year; the two last of whom were succeeded by *Elias*, a cruel and flagitious person belonging to the monastery of *Cartamina*, or *Kartamin*, and one *Sabinus*. At this time, *David*, the patriarch, *Serguna*, bishop of *Marde*, *Abas*, bishop of *Amida*, or *Amid*, *Constantine*, bishop of *Samosatâ*, or *Semeisât*, and *Paul*, bishop of *Tagrit*, or *Tacrit*, were in great repute. A comet was seen in the month of *May*, between the eastern and northern parts of the hemisphere; and soon after it rained black stones, some of

of which were preserved to the time that *Dionysius Telmarenus* wrote the annals here referred to. *Zeid*, one of the *Khalif's* generals, is likewise said by that author to have exacted a capitation-tax of the *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, the same year².

The trans-
actions of
the year
154.

THE next year, being the 154th year of the *Hijra*, the *Khalif* sent one of his commanders, called *Mualabitus*, or *Al Mohallebi*, by *Theophanes*, with a numerous army into *Africa*; but what he did there this campaign, we are not told by that author. *Al Fadl*, surnamed *Barinar*, another of that prince's generals, made an incursion into the *Christian* territories; and carried off with him from thence about 500 prisoners. The people of *Mopsuesia*, or *Al Masifa*, in *Cilicia*, receiving intelligence of this, detached a body of troops, levied amongst themselves, in order to cut off his retreat; but *Al Fadl* defeated this detachment, and put the *Mopsuestians* to flight, with the loss of a thousand men. The *Khalif* went this year to *Jerusalem*, where he kept the great fast of *Ramadán*; and obliged many *Christians* to retire from thence into the dominions of the *Greek* emperor. Either this or the preceding year, *Músa Ebn Mosaab*, the *Khalif's* governor of *Mosul*, raised a violent persecution against the *Christians* of the *Jacbite* persuasion there; which, by means of his deputies, or inferior officers, whom he had appointed to preside over several considerable cities of *Mesopotamia*, he extended to other parts of that province. One of these was *Adam Ebn Yazid*, the lieutenant of *Amid*, *Arzan*, *Al Rúm*, and *Mayasarkin*, who, in cruelty and barbarity, seems to have surpassed all the rest. One *Zoaras*, or *Zoara*, a monk belonging to the convent of *St. Matthew* at *Mosul*, having conceived an invincible aversion to, and borne an implacable hatred against, his brethren there, accused them to *Jaasar*, *Al Mansúr's* son, of having concealed the treasures of *Hesbám*, *Merwán*, and other *Khalifs*, besides an immense quantity of gold and silver of their own. Upon which, that prince sent a detachment to plunder the convent, and strip the religious there of every thing valuable belonging to them; which being done, he issued an edict to oblige the *Christians* to transmit him an exact account of all the rich furniture contained in the churches and monasteries of *Mesopotamia*. But *Jaasar* dying soon after, that edict was revoked, and the valuable effects taken out of the convent of *St. Matthew* restored. At this time, a body of 500 slaves, being chiefly *Sindians* and *Khazars*, or *Khazarites*, attempted to seize upon the imperial treasury in *Harrán*; but being repulsed by *Al Abbás*, the governor, they were soon dispersed, and several of them

² THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 375. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. p. 224, 225. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 114. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

executed for being concerned in so villainous an attempt. *Al Mansûr* sent officers likewise, this year, to collect the capitation exacted of the *Christians* settled in *Armenia*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, with the utmost rigour and severity; and to impress the mark of slavery upon the foreheads, necks, arms, breasts and shoulders, of that unfortunate people; which drove many of them into the imperial territories. Hence probably arose the custom of having certain marks and characters painted on the arms and other parts of those who visited *Jerusalem*, which in some measure prevails at this very day. The *Khalif* also ordered the walls and fortifications of *Callicum* to be repaired. The same year, a notorious villain, born in a village called *Rama*, in the neighbourhood of *Tacrit*, after he had acted the monk for several years in the convent of *St. Matthew* at *Mosul*, put off the monastic habit, and declared himself a convert to *Mohammedism*. This man, however, afterwards returned to the *Christian* faith, assumed the name and character of a prophet in the territory of *Dara*, where he pretended to foretell future events, and to threaten destruction to the *Christians* of *Mesopotamia*, unless they speedily repented of their sins; and had the impudence to place himself in the episcopal chair belonging to the cathedral church of *Dara*. Here likewise, though he was only a deacon, he took upon him to communicate to presbyters the benediction, to consecrate oil mixed with spittle, and to distribute potions of this amongst the populace, as a remedy that would effectually cure all disorders; by which he amassed vast sums of money. The news of which proceedings being brought to *Cyriacus*, the bishop, he had the impostor carried immediately before *David* the patriarch, who ordered him to be conducted to *Harrân*, and thrown into prison there. We must not forget to observe, that, about this very year, flourished *Theophilus Edeffenus*, by nation a *Maronite*, and by profession an astronomer. He wrote a history, in which he makes 5197 years to have elapsed between the creation of the world and the commencement of the æra of *Seleucus*. He also translated the *Iliad* of *Homer* into the *Syriac* language. But, for a farther account of this learned author and his works, we must beg leave to refer our readers to some of the writers cited here; who, on that head, we doubt not, will give them full and ample satisfaction.

* THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 376. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissertat. de Monophysit. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Asseman. ubi sup. p. 114, 115. ut et ipse ASSEMAN. ibid. GREGOR. BAR-HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 311, 313—315. Romæ, 1721. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 32.

The Arabs
seized upon
some dis-
tricts of
Assyria
and Meso-
potamia.

THE following year, being the 155th year of the *Hejre*, *Abdallah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Hâdj* died in Egypt, over which country he had been appointed to preside by *Al Mansûr*; who sent *Mâsa Ebn Ali Ebn Rîsh* *Al Lakhmi* thither to succeed him. *Mâsa* continued in that post, which he filled with credit and reputation, till the death of the *Khalîf*. There was a great drought this year, according to *Diomysius Telmarenfis*, in *Mesopotamia*. The Arabs of *Al Thalabiya* and *Maad*, with their flocks, camels, and other beasts of burden, made an irruption into *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*; possessing themselves of the districts of *Musal*, *Beth-Garme*, or *Bajarma*, *Heza*, *Marga*, *Canisapor*, *Resin*, *Kek*, or *Cocha*, and *Salakh*, or *Salacha*. With regard to *Beth-Garme*, or *Bajarma*, we must beg leave to remark, that it was a tract of *Assyria*, containing the cities of *Dakuka*, *Shahar-Kadta*, *Buazicha*, and others that we find enumerated by *Élias Damascenus*, the *Nestorian* bishop, and called *Germâ* by *Agathias Scholasticus*. It was a bishop's see, and had one *Constantine* for its bishop in the year of our LORD 969. *Marga* was a town, or pretty large village, in the territory of *Mosul*. *Bar Hadbesbaba*, one of the bishops of *Marga*, has been mentioned by some of the eastern writers. *Kek*, or *Cocha*, may possibly have been the same city with the *Coché* of *Arrian*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Eutropius*, seated upon the *Tigris*, at a small distance from *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, erected on the opposite bank of that river; though *Affemarus* seems to be of a different opinion. *Balakh*, or *Salacha*, was a town of *Tur-Abdin*, that stood likewise at no great distance from the *Tigris*, and a bishop's see, as may be inferred from *Gregory Bar-Hebraus*. The convent of *St. James* here was the seat, or residence, of the patriarchs of *Tur-Abdin*, from the year of CHRIST 1364 to the year 1494. The other places taken by the Arabs this year have not been so particularly described by the oriental geographers and historians ^b.

^b ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115. et et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. RENAUD. tom. ii. Liturg. orient. p. 271. METAPHRAST. apud Lipom. tom. ii. in vita S. Bademi, AGATHIAS, lib. iv. p. 136. ELIAS DAMASCEN. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 459, 344. 115, 382, &c. AMR. in vit. Abrahæ Nestorianior. patriarch. ARRIAN. in Parthic. apud Steph. Byzant. NAZIANZ. orat. iv. p. 115. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxiv. c. 18, 21. EUTROP. lib. ix. c. 12. NAIRON. in Evopl. p. 45. Vide etiam CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. tom. ii. p. 752, 753, et alib. & JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. de Monophysit. pass.

IN the 156th year of the *Hejra*, Paul, bishop of *Tagrit*, or *The Kha-Tacrit*, *Zachæus*, bishop of *Charma*, and *Jonas*, bishop of *Nelis* returns *arda*, departed this life. The same year the *Khalif Al Mansûr* from *Jerusalem* returned from *Jerusalem* to *Baghdâd*, and constituted *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, in the room of *Al Abbâs*, his governor of *Mesopotamia*. *Baghdâd*. He also ordered the inhabitants of *Akula* to repair the walls and fortifications of their city at their own expence. Having by treachery cut off *Patricius*, the lieutenant of the *Greater Armenia*, he seized upon all his immense treasures, and put them into his own coffers. At such a pitch of impiety did the *Arabs*, or *Moslems*, arrive, that they opened a great number of sepulchres in *Mesopotamia*, in order to discover gold and silver there. About the same time, according to *Theophanes*, 280 heads were brought from *Africa* into *Syria*, and exposed to public view, by way of triumphal parade, in several places. The schism amongst the *Christians* of the *Jacobite* persuasion in *Mesopotamia*, some of whom adhered to *David*, as their patriarch, and others to *George*, who had been imprisoned by the *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*, still continued c.

THE next year, being the 157th of the *Hejra*, a grievous *famine* made terrible havock in every part of *Mesopotamia*; and *plague* insomuch that the *Christians* were obliged to live upon flesh in *Mesopotamia*. This was followed by a plague, which swept away the greatest part of the inhabitants of that province. *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, the *Khalif's* governor, treated the *Christians* of all denominations, not excepting the religious of every kind, with the utmost rigour and severity, this year: throwing into prison all who could not pay the enormous tribute he demanded of them. Such treatment as this they had likewise met with from the present *Khalif*, or at least the person he appointed to preside over them, in the beginning of his reign d.

THE following year, being the 158th of the *Hejra*, commencing *November 11th, 774*, *Al Mansûr* set out from *Baghdâd*, in order to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. But he was taken ill upon the road, and found himself so bad at the castle of *Abdawaya*, where he lodged one night, that he sent for his son *Al Mobdi*, who attended him in this pilgrimage, in order to take his final leave of him. As soon as *Al Mobdi* came into his apartment, perceiving his end to approach, he gave him some salutary advice in relation to his future conduct, when settled upon the *Moslem* throne, and laid his last commands upon him; which, according to *Abu'l Faraj*,

c DIORYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 377.

d DIONYS. TELMARENS. et Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115, 116. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 361.

were delivered in the following terms : " I command you," said he, " to treat publicly your relations with the greatest marks of distinction, since this will reflect no small degree of honour and glory upon yourself: but this," added he, " I believe you will not do. Increase the number of your freed-men, and treat them all with kindness, as they will be of great service to you in time of adversity; but this," continued he, " I am apt to think you will not do. Inlarge not that part of your capital erected on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, as you will never be able to finish it: but this," said he, " I know you will attempt. Never permit any of your women to intermeddle in affairs of state, nor to have too much influence over your councils: but this," subjoined he, " I know you will not fail to do. These are my last commands, or, if you please, my dying advice; and to God I now recommend you." Then he took his leave of him, and they were both drowned in tears. From *Abdawayya* he went to *Cûfa*, and then continued his journey, tho' he grew worse and worse every station, till he arrived at *Bir Maimûn*, that is, *the well, or fountain, of Maimûn*, where he expired, on the 6th of *Dhu'l-hajja*, very early in the morning; and was carried from thence to *Mecca*, where, after an hundred graves had been dug, that his sepulchre might be concealed, he was interred. He lived sixty-three, and reigned twenty-two lunar years, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Eutychius*, or *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Ebn Batrik* makes him to have been sixty-eight years of age at the time of his death. With regard to his person, he had a thin long beard, was tall, lean, and of a swarthy complexion. He is also said to have tinged himself with something that gave him a darkish hue, and to have changed the colour of his grey hairs every month with two thousand drachms of musk. As to his disposition, he was of a most sweet temper in private, and could bear even with the impertinences of boys; but when he appeared in public, arrayed in his royal robes, even all the senior part of his subjects stood in awe of him. He was a prince of vast prudence, integrity, and discretion, and of a very winning and amiable conversation. He was also magnanimous and brave, and extremely well versed (having improved his natural genius by long experience) in all the arts of government. But these good qualities were not a little sullied by some of a contrary nature. For, he was covetous to such a degree, that several very ridiculous stories have been told of him. He was likewise, on some occasions, truculent and cruel, of a fierce aspect, loaded some of his subjects with irons on bare suspicion, and butchered others of them with greediness and pleasure. He left behind him, in his treasury,

600,000,000 *dirhems*, and 24,000,000 *dinârs*. We are told by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that he paid his cook, by assigning him the heads and legs of the animals dressed in his kitchen for his own use; and that he obliged this servant to procure all the fuel and vessels he had occasion for at his own expence. The following story of him is too remarkable to be passed over in silence here. Whilst he remained in a private station, and before he was elevated to the sovereign dignity of *Khalif*, he ranked amongst his most familiar friends one *Azhar Babeli*, a man of great merit, and considered as one of the most authentic doctors in all points relating to traditions. This person observing that *Abu Jaafar*, when settled upon the throne, did not vouchsafe to enter into any particular conversation with him, as formerly, he resolved to present himself before him at one of his public audiences; which he accordingly did. As soon as the *Khalif* perceived him, he demanded of him what he wanted there. *Azhar* answered, that he was come to congratulate him, and to rejoice with him, upon his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Abu Jaafar* immediately ordered him a purse with a thousand *dinârs* in it, and then dismissed him with the following words: "Don't give yourself the trouble to come here any more." Notwithstanding which, the following year, *Azhar* presented himself again before him. The *Khalif* looked upon him with a very sour countenance, and asked him what brought him thither? *Azhar* replied, "I was informed that your majesty was greatly indisposed, and came hither, as one of your most faithful slaves, to inquire after your majesty's health." Upon which, *Abu Jaafar* ordered him another purse with the same sum in it; and said to him roughly at parting, "Don't come to teize me here any more for the future." But this did not hinder *Azhar* from appearing before him again, the following year. The *Khalif*, as soon as he saw him, said to him, in great wrath, "Will you never cease to importune me?" *Azhar* answered, "Formerly I never received any thing but civilities from your majesty; I come therefore now to learn what has occasioned such an alteration in your conduct." To which the *Khalif* answered, "As the civilities you mention had no manner of foundation, so they left behind them not the least impression in my mind; because, by not seeing you as I used to do, I have contracted a habit of not seeing you at all." In fine, *Al Mansûr* dismissed him, without giving him any thing. This story has been handed down to us by *Yasûi*, who tells us, that the *Khalif*, by the patience and liberality exhibited on this occasion, deviated from the general course and tenor of his conduct; as he was, for the most part, both very fordid and avaricious, and of a hasty and passionate temper.

temper. He ordered a tax to be levied upon the people of *Cufa* of a *dawanek*, or *obole*, a small inconsiderable brass coin, a head, to defray the expence of digging a ditch, or intrenchment, round the town, for the security of the place; for which reason, he was surnamed, by way of contempt, *Abu Dawanek*, the father of the *dawanek*, or *obole*, by the inhabitants of that city^c.

Some other
particu-
lars relat-
ing to him.

Some of the eastern writers relate, that a dysentery, or bloody-flux, put a period to this *Khalif's* days, and that he died at *Mecca*; though the latter notion, however positively asserted, was undoubtedly a mistake. *Kbondemir* reports, that, a few days before he was attacked by the malady that carried him off, he found four *Arabic* verses inscribed upon a wall, which gave him great uneasiness; the purport of which was to the following effect: "O *Abu Jaafar*, the time of your death is come! Your days are determined, and God's irrevocable decree is arrived. Consult as many augurs, soothsayers, diviners, and astrologers, as you please; your time is soon to expire, and the thread of your life to be cut by the distemper that is to prove fatal to you." These verses mentioned astrologers, because the *Khalif*, who was himself well versed in the knowledge of the stars, had always some philosophers and mathematicians about him. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Al Mansûr* discovered, written upon the wall of a caravanserai, or inn, four other verses in *Persic*, the sense of which was as follows; "The kingdoms and riches of this world are not given, but only lent us. Let no one, therefore, think himself sure of them, or value himself too highly upon account of them. Whoever fixes his heart upon them, and places his chief confidence in them, will be covered with shame, when he is obliged to return them to him from whom he received them." Some authors inform us, that this *Khalif's* governors of *Egypt* exacted such enormous sums of money, by way of tribute, of the people of that country, not sparing even the poorest artificers and meanest mechanics, that they were reduced to the extremest poverty, and forced to feed upon dogs and dead bodies. *Al Mansûr* and *Constantine Copronymus*, the *Greek* emperor, are both said to have died within the course of the same year. The former understood the *Mohammedan* law better than most of his age, having been instructed therein by some of the most celebrated *Moslem* doctors, whom he greatly ho-

^c GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 219, 220. 'ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 104. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 400, 401. EBN SHOHNAH, YAFEI, DION. TELMARENS. apud Jos. SIM. Asselman. ubi sup. p. 116. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

noured, and did not think it beneath him to be looked upon as their scholar, even after his elevation to the *Khalifat*. Notwithstanding the aversion that reigned between the houses of *Al Abbās* and *Ommiyah*, *Al Mansūr* frankly owned that the *Khalifs* of the former family had three advantages over him; first, in finding such a general, and governor of a province, as *Al Hejāj*; secondly, in being served by such a secretary as *Abd al Hamid*; and, thirdly, in meeting with such a *Muedh-din*, or crier, as *Al Baalbeki*. This *Khalif's* counsellors were *Abu Atiya Al Bābeli*, *Ayūb Al Marzubāni*, whom he put to death for assuming to himself too much power; and his servant *Rabi*. The captains of his guards were *Abd al Jabār Ebn Abd alrahmān Al Azdi*, *Ebn Caab Ebn Mūsa Al Tamini*, and *Al Mofaiyeb Al Zahiri*; his judges *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Safwān*, *Sbarik Ebn Abd'allah*, *Al Hasan Ebn Amāra*, and *Al Hejāj Ebn Artah*; his chamberlains *Rabi*, *Isa*, *Al Harib*, his servants, *Abu'l Khatib Marzūk*, and *Al Rabi*, his freedmen. His brother's son, *Ibrahim Ebn Yahya Ebn Mohammed*, said the usual prayers at the time of his interment. The first day of his reign was *Monday*, and the last *Saturday*. The most illustrious actions of this prince, according to some of the oriental historians, were the conquests of *Armenia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*; to which others add the erection of the famous city of *Baghdād*. We are told by *Ebn Shohnah*, that, when he took his final leave of his son *Al Mohdi*, he made use of the following terms: "I was born," my son, "in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*; I was proclaimed *Khalif* in the same month; and I am strongly inclined to believe that I shall die in it; for which reason, I am now endeavouring to perform my last pilgrimage, in order to be rendered a proper object of the divine mercy."

§ E C T. XXIII.

WHEN *Abu Jaafar Al Mansūr* expired at *Blr Maimūn*, *Al Mohdi* he had only his domestics, and *Rabi*, his freed-man, *mounted the* with him. The latter of these, for some time, kept his death *ibronc*, concealed, and pretended to have a conference with him; after his in which, as he gave out, the *Khalif* commanded him to *father* exact the oath of allegiance to *Al Mohdi*, his son, as his im-*Abu Jaa-*mediate successor, and to *Isa Ebn Mūsa*, his cousin-german, *far Al* *Mansūr*.

† GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 220. KHONDÉMIR, NIGIARIST. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MARIN, ubi sup. p. 104, 105. EUTYCH. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 378. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 116. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEE. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mansūr*, p. 552, 553.

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as the next apparent heir of the crown, of all then present: which having done, he dismissed them, and, soon after the conclusion of that ceremony, communicated to them the news of *Al Mansûr's* death. He also dispatched a courier to *Al Mohdi*, with advice of that event, and of the first step that had been taken at *Bir Maimin* in his favour. Upon the arrival of the courier at *Baghdâd*, then the residence of this prince, he was unanimously proclaimed *Khalif* by the inhabitants of that city. This courier was *Monâra*, one of the late *Khalif's* servants. Some of the eastern writers inform us, that *Omm Mûsa*, *Mohammed Al Mohdi's* mother, was the daughter of *Al Mansûr Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Sabar Al Hamyari*, or of the tribe of *Hamyar*. *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, as soon as the news of *Al Mansûr's* death was imparted to him, began to entertain thoughts of setting up for himself at *Chise*, where he then resided; and, in order to facilitate the execution of his scheme, fortified himself in that city. But *Al Mohdi*, having been apprized of his intended defection, sent *Abu Horeira*, with a detachment of 1000 horse, to bring him to *Baghdâd*; which being done, *Al Mohdi* not only prevailed upon him to recognize his authority, but likewise persuaded him to relinquish his right to the succession, in favour of his son *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, for the sum of 10,000, or, according to some of the MS. copies of *Abu'l-Faraj*, 10,000,000, *dinârs*. Soon after the new *Khalif's* accession, one *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim Al Yazam*, declaring against *Al Mohdi*, assembled in *Khorasân* a body of troops, in order to dispute the *Khalifat* with him. This impostor, pretending to act the prophet, seduced a great number of *Al Mohdi's* subjects at *Busa*, or *Besa*, probably the *Fesa* of *Abulfeda*, an antient city of *Persia*, about ten parasangs almost east of *Eslakr*, or *Isakbra*, where he first set up his standard. The *Khalif*, therefore, sent an army against him, which intirely defeated him, dispersed all his followers, and brought him bound to *Al Mohdi*; by whose order he was publicly crucified at *Baghdâd*. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, this *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim Al Yazam* was governor of *Khorasân*; tho', if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, he first set up for a prophet at *Busa*, and was overthrown by *Yezid Ebn Yezid*, one of *Al Mohdi's* most experienced generals. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mansûr's* name at length, with his whole surname annexed to it, was *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*; though the first part of his name, *Abd'allah*, has been denied him by *Pagius*. It must also be remarked, that *Busa*, *Besa*, or *Fesa*, was in the earlier times a city of a very considerable extent.

^E GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 225. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MARIN, ubi sup. p. 105. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 401.

IN the 159th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* appointed *Mohammed Ebn Solimán*, the Syrian, governor of *Egypt*; but presently removed him from that exalted post, and substituted *Músa Ebn Ali* in his room. It appears from *Theophanes*, that a body of *Al Mohdi's* troops made an incursion into the imperial territories, and carried off with them some prisoners, that had been confined in a cave called *Causis*, the present year ^b.

THE following year, being the 160th of the *Moslem* æra, as like the *Khalif* sent *Isa Ebn Lokmán Al Jamjami* to govern in *Egypt*, in the room of *Músa Ebn Ali*, dispatched thither for the same purpose the preceding year, whom he thought fit to depose. The *Arab* forces, under the command of *Othmán* year. *Ebn Kaka*, one of the *Moslem* generals, according to *Theophanes*, made another irruption into the dominions of the *Greek* emperor, plundered in a dreadful manner the country through which they moved, and conducted from thence several prisoners into the *Moslem* territories, likewise this year ¹.

THE next year, being the 161st of the *Hejra*, the *Christians*, if we will believe *Theophanes*, invaded *Syria* with an army of 100,000 men, and defeated a body of *Arabs* that pretended to oppose them; of whom they killed five *Emirs*, or principal officers, and 2000 men, upon the spot. At this time, several *dirhems* came out of the mint erected at *Basra*; one of which was found in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, on the coast of the *Baltick*, in the year 1722; a particular description of which has been given us by the learned *M. Kebr*. This *dirhém* exhibits on the anterior part the following words, *Bel Basrata ahdayni wafettina wameaten*; that is, *At Basra, in the 161st year of the Hejra*; and, on the reverse, *Mohammedon rasúlo-llahi, salla-llaho alayhi wafallama*; *Mohammed is the apostle of GOD; may GOD be propitious to him, and make him happy!* After which come the words, *Al Khalifat o-l-Mohdiyyo Mohammed, In the Khalifat of Al Mohdi, or when Al Mohdi Mohammed was Khalif*. With regard to *Basra*, it may not be amiss to remind our readers, that this city was built by *Abá Ebn Arár*, at the command of the *Khalif Omar*, in the 15th year of the *Hejra*, and consequently cannot be deemed a place of very high antiquity. It is at present a very famous emporium of the east, and stands upon a thick stony soil, as the word *Basra* itself denotes, about a day and

403. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 116. PAGIUS, ad 2n. Christ. 775. EBN ARRAHEB, in *Chronic. oriental.* p. 72. GOLII not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 114, 115.

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 106. THEOPHAN. *chronograph.* p. 378.

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 380.

half's journey from one of the mouths of the *Tigris*, by which that river empties itself into the *Persian* gulph, denominated likewise from this town the bay of *Basra*. It is situated between *Persia* and *Arabia*, in the extremity of the deserts of *Irak*, a little to the west of the *Tigris*, and was first founded for the sake of carrying on more commodiously an extensive commerce between the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Persians*, and *Indians*. The circumjacent tract is looked upon by the *Arabs* as one of the most delightful spots of *Asia*, and even as one of the most beautiful gardens in the world. However, the hot burning winds, that frequently blow there, are very troublesome to travellers, and sometimes overwhelm them with mountains of sand, driven by the force of these winds out of the neighbouring deserts. The city is inhabited by *Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, *Catholics*, *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, and *Chaldean Christians*, commonly called *Christians* of *St. John*, who are pretty numerous here. The *Arabs*, according to *Abulfeda*, resorted to a street of *Basra*, denominated *Mirbad Al Basra*, in his days, from all parts, in order to repeat both their prosaic and poetical performances. *Basra* has sent out many persons of profound erudition; some of the principal of which were *Al Hariri*, whose stile in elegance is supposed to excel even that of the *Korân*; *Hasan Al Basri*, who was servant to *Omm Salma*, one of the prophet's wives, who gave him her own breasts to suck, whilst his mother was employed in her service, a famous scholastic divine, that kept a school at *Basra*, and wrote a piece, intitled, *Noble Traditions*; containing all the principal traditional precepts of the *Moslem* law; *Abu Isbak Ismael*, who penned a treatise concerning the law and statutes of the *Korân*; *Yacûb Ebn Ibrahim*, chancellor to the *Khalîf* *Al Hâim* and *Harûn Al Rashid*, who composed a piece concerning the qualities requisite to form a *Kâdi*, or judge; *Abu Becr Mohammed*, who left behind him a collection of narrations, or ancient histories; *Helâl Ebn Yahya*, who published a piece upon the ecclesiastical laws of the *Moslems*, relating to mosques and hospitals, founded for the benefit of travellers and strangers; and *Abu Sa'id Omar*, who composed a treatise upon the *Arab* poetry. There is also at *Basra* a famous college, or academy, founded by *Nezâm Al Molk*, the *Visir*, or *Wazîr*, of *Muhammadin Abu'Isfah Mâlec Shah*, the third *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, called the college, or academy, of *Nezâm*. At this time, the city we are speaking of is said to be a flourishing seat of literature, tho' inferior in number of academics to *Demask*, or *Damascus*, and *Kairo*, or *Al Kahirah*; the latter of which places, if we will believe a certain writer, contains no less than 12,000 *Mohammedan* students. *Basra* stands, according to the calculation of the *Arabic* tables, in long. 74° 00', and lat. 31° 00'.

00'. The city of *Baghdād*, tho' so lately erected, flourished greatly this year. Besides *Ebn Najjār*'s history of *Baghdād*, intitled *Tarikh Ebn Najjār Al Baghdādi*, there is also another history of this capital, to which we find prefixed the title of *Tarikh Baghdād*, that is, *the history, or annals, of Baghdād*, consisting of no less than ten volumes. The *Tarikh Al Abbās* also mentions it in several places, as do in like manner all the *Persian* and *Arabian* geographers. To the learned men produced by this metropolis, already taken notice of, we may add *Abmed Ebn Abmed Al Baghdādi Khattāb Al Hafedh*, *Mamar Ebn Almothāni Al Baghdādi Al Obeidah*, *Al Imām Mohammed Al Baghdādi*, and others; an enumeration of whose names our readers will not expect to meet with here ^k.

IN the 162d year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Mohdi* re-The Arabs moved *Isa Ebn Lokmān Al Jamjāmī* from the government of undertake *Egypt*, and substituted *Wadīh Ebn Al Mansūr* in his room. an expedition About the same time, he commanded *Hasan*, one of his ge- tion nerals, to march into *Phrygia*, at the head of a powerful against army, to revenge the loss he had sustained, when the imperial the Chris- forces broke into *Syria* the last year. *Hasan*, in pursuance of tians; his orders, advanced to *Dorylaeum* in that country, invested it, and attacked it for seventeen days with incredible fury. But finding himself, at the end of that term, greatly distressed for want of provisions, and all his forage consumed, he was obliged to decamp from thence, and retire to *Amorium*; which town likewise for one whole day he closely besieged. But being informed, that the place was amply furnished with all kinds of provisions and military stores, besides a numerous garison to defend it, he thought fit to raise the siege, and return home. The imperial troops were not strong enough to harass him in his retreat; notwithstanding which, he lost a very considerable number of men, without the least advantage gained, this unfortunate campaign ^l.

THE following year, being the 163d of the *Hejra*, *Al and an-Mohdi* sent his son *Harūn Al Rashīd*, who was afterwards other the *Khalif*, with a formidable army, to undertake an expedition following against the *Greeks*. The *Khalif* attended his son *Harūn* part year. of the way, and then took his leave of him; appointing *Yabya Ebn Khāled Ebn Barmac*, his counsellor, to assist him with his advice. However, he afterwards joined him in the neighbourhood of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*; tho' it does not certainly appear,

^k THEOPHAN. ubi sup. TARIKH EBN NAJJAR, TARRIK BAGHDAD, TARIKH AL ABBAS, ISM. ABULFED. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissert de Monophyfit. SHARIF AL EDRISI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 119—123. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 8—12, 30—32. Lipsiz, 1724. ^l ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. p. 380, 381.

that he was present at any of the military operations. On the contrary, we find it intimated by *Theophanes*, that he left the army, and went to *Jerusalem*, before the opening of the campaign. *Harûn*, after he had conferred with his father in the plains of *Dabek*, advanced to *Samalek*, battered that fortress with his catapults, and made himself master of it after 38 days siege; tho', when he entered the place, he found it little better than a heap of ruins. After the reduction, or rather destruction, of this town, *Harûn* returned home; contenting himself with the glory he had acquired. We learn from *Theophanes*, that the *Khalif* raised a violent persecution against both the *Christians* and *Jews* settled at *Hems*, and in other parts of his dominions, this year ^m.

Al Mo-
kanna
rebels
against
the Kha-
lif.

ABOUT the same time, there happened another event, that, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, not a little embarrassed the *Khalif's* affairs. One *Hakem Ebn Hâshem*, originally of *Merû*, in *Khurasân*, who had been an under-secretary to *Abu Moslem*, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into *Mawarâ'nahr*, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the *Arab* writers *Al Mokanna*, and sometimes *Al Borkai*, that is, *the veiled*, because he used to cover his face with a veil, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance; tho' his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as *Moses* did, viz. lest the splendor of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at *Nakhshab* and *Kash*, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together; whence he was also called, in the *Persian* tongue, *Sâzendeh mah*, or *the moon-maker*. This impious impostor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated to himself divine honours, pretending that the Deity resided in his person: and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the *Gholaites*, who affirmed a transmigration, or successive manifestation, of the Divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from *Adam* to these latter days (of which opinion was also *Abu Moslem* himself;) but the particular doctrine of *Al Mokanna* was, that the person in whom the Deity had last resided was the aforesaid *Abu Moslem*, and that the same had, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of *Al Mokanna*, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above-mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the *Khalif* was at length obliged to send an army to re-

^m *Idem ibid.*

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duce him ; at the approach whereof *Al Mokanna* retired into one of his strong fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life, and knew future events. But being straitly besieged by the *Khalif's* forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his whole family, and all that were with him in the castle, and, when they were dead, he burnt their bodies, together with their cloaths and all the provisions, and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of *aqua fortis*, or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him, except only his hair : so that when the besiegers entered the place, they found no creature in it save one of *Al Mokanna's* concubines, who, suspecting his design, had hid herself, and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed amongst the remaining part of his followers ; for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man, riding on a greyish beast ; and that, after so many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession : the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after, under the name of *Mobeydites*, or, as the *Persians* call them, *Sefid jámeghbiân*, i. e. *the cloathed in white*, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbâs*, whose banners and habits were black. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mobdi* removed *Al Mansûr Ebn Yezid Al Raghibi*, who succeeded *Wadib Ebn Al Mansûr* in that post, from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Abu Sâleh Ebn Abd'allah Al Jazunani* in his place *.

THE next year, being the 164th of the *Hejra*, after *Abu Sa'id*, *Al Mobdi's* general, had reduced *Al Mokanna's* faction to the obedience of the *Khalif*, *Ibrahim Ebn Sâleh Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs* was sent to preside over *Egypt*. The same year, the *Khalif* ordered his son *Harûn Al Rashid* to penetrate into the *Christian* territories, with an army of 95,000 men. *Harûn*, having entered the dominions of the empress *Irene*, defeated one of her commanders, that had advanced at the head of her forces to oppose him ; tho', according to *Theophanes*, the *Greeks* gained the advantage in that action. After this overthrow, *Harûn* laid several of the imperial provinces

Harûn Al
Rashid in-
vades the
territories
of the em-
press
Irene

* GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 226. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, AUT. LEB TARIKH, VEL LEBTARIKH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Hakem Bin Hafschem*, p. 412, 413. & art. *Mabadi*, p. 5, 6.

waste with fire and sword, spread a terror over the rest, and alarmed even the city of *Constantinople* itself. This induced the empress *Irene* to purchase a peace of the *Khalif*, by agreeing to pay him an annual tribute of 70,000 pieces of gold; which, at least for the present, delivered her subjects from the courses and depredations of the *Arabs*. After the signing of the treaty, *Harun* returned home, loaded with spoils, and covered with glory. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mokanna*, or *Hakem*, of whom we have spoken so largely above, is denominated *Hakem Ebn Atha* by one of the eastern historians. It has been remarked by some of the oriental writers, that, one day in the last *Arab* month of this year, the sun, a little after his rising, totally lost his light, in a moment, without being eclipsed; when neither any fog, nor any cloud of dust, appeared to obscure him. The frightful darkness, occasioned by this surprizing event, continued till noon, to the great astonishment of the people settled in the countries where it happened. The same authors likewise observe, that no account of any prodigy like this has been transmitted down to us by any of the historians of former ages.

Abu Hanifa's sect. In the 165th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Aug. 26th, 781, the *Hanifites*, or *Hanefites*, of whose founder *Abu Hanifa Al Nacwain Ebn Thabet* we have already given our readers a distinct account, made a considerable figure in and about the city of *Baghdad*. To what has already been said of that celebrated *Sunnite* doctor, we shall here beg leave to add the following particulars. *Malec Ebn Ans*, the author of the second orthodox sect of the *Moslems*, who was born at *Medina*, being once engaged in conversation with *Abu Hanifa*, who was a native of *Cusa*, told him, that *Ali* had observed the *Cusans* to be quarrelsome and seditious; to which *Abu Hanifa* replied, that the people of *Medina* were taxed with hypocrisy by the *Karân*: which little raillery, that passed between two such great men, has been taken notice of by one of the more reputable *Moslem* writers. Another of them informs us, that, according to the sentiments of this doctor, those points that have been imparted to us by *Gop* and his prophet *Mohammed*, are to be received with intire submission; of those that have been handed down to future ages by the *COMPANIONS*, or cotemporaries, of the prophet, the best are to be chosen; but that with regard to the tenets and opinions of the doctors who followed them, men are at liberty either to admit or reject them, as the persons from whom they come were weak and

* **ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR.** *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. **THEOPHAN.** chronograph. p. 382—385. **AUT. LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH.**

fallible like ourselves. *Hosein Wæez*, in his commentary upon the *Korân*, relates, that *Abu Hanifa*, having once received a box on the ear, said to the person who had the temerity to give it him, "I could return you injury for injury; but that I will not do; I could carry my complaint to the *Khalif*, but such a part as this I shall not act; I could at least represent to God in my prayers the outrage you have offered me, but against this I shall take care to be upon my guard; lastly, at the day of judgment, I could demand vengeance of God for this violence, but far be it from me to pursue such a vindictive conduct; if that great and terrible day should this moment arrive, and my intercession could take place, I would not enter into paradise without you." The principal of his works are the *Mefnad*, that is, the prop, or support, wherein he establishes all the essential points of *Islamism* upon the authority of the *Korân* and the most received traditions; a treatise, intitled, *Fikkelam*, that is to say, *scholastic divinity*; and a sort of catechism, or instruction, that bears the title of *Mollem*, or the master. In the last of these pieces he maintains, that as long as a *Moslem* continues in the faith, he cannot become an enemy to God, tho' he may fall into enormous sins; that such sins cannot destroy the validity of faith; and that grace is by no means incompatible with sin. These and such-like propositions induced *Vazai* to attack his notions; which he did in a book, intitled, *Ekketlaf* *ABU HANIFA*, or the contradictions of *ABU HANIFA*. The *Sonnite* doctor, of whom we are speaking, is greatly celebrated by *Al Zamakhshari*, *Korderi*, *Marghinani*, *Dainuri*, *Sobahazmuni*, and others, whose authority is of no small weight with the orthodox *Moslems*. In fine, all the principal eastern historians agree, that *Abu Hanifa* excelled all the learned *Mohammedans* of his age, not only in the knowledge of their law, but in the practice of all the duties it enjoins; that his life was extremely austere, and intirely detached from the things of this world, on which account he has always been considered by the *Sonnites* as the chief and first *Imâm* of the *Moslem* law; and that his sentiments have been rejected by none but the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, who are looked upon as schismatics by the orthodox *Mohammedans*. We shall conclude what we have to say on this head with observing, that *Mâlec Shâh*, third *Soltân* of the *Seljuks* of *Irân*, erected a superb mausoleum in honour of *Abu Hanifa* at *Baghdâd*, and joined to it a college for the use of the youth educated in the principles of his sect, in the year of the *Hejra* 485, or of *CHRIST* 1092 P.

THE

P. LAMAI, in *Dester Lathif*, c. i. Aut RABI AL AKHIAR. HOSEIN WÆEZ, in comment. ad Al KOR. MOHAM. c. iii. VAZAI, in *Ekketlaf*.

Harûn Al Râshid THE following year, being the 166th of the *Hejra*, *Harûn* arrives at *Constantinople*, where he had concluded a peace with *Irene* Baghdâd. sword in hand, and imposed what terms he thought fit upon that princess, at *Baghdâd*. One of those terms was, that the *Moslem* troops should be supplied with provisions, and furnished with all proper accommodations, as long as they remained in the empress's dominions; as also that they should be conducted from thence to the *Khalif's* territories by some of her subjects, who knew the roads, by the best way they could shew them, and not that narrow defile limited on one side by a steep mountain, and on the other by the *Sagaris*, or *Sangarius*; a noted river of *Bithynia*, through which the *Arab* army had marched to the coast of the *Propontis*, where they had struck a terror into the imperial court. The conclusion of this treaty with *Irene* is placed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, who seems in this point to be supported by *Theophanes*, in the 165th year of the *Hejra*; tho' that event appears to have been fixed by *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari* in the preceding year. Had not the empress been intirely governed by her fears, she might have cut *Harûn Al Râshid* and all his troops to pieces, or starved them to a surrender, since they were in a very distressed and calamitous situation when the treaty was signed, as we find intimated by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Harûn* entered *Baghdâd* in the month of *Al Moharram*, and was attended by a considerable number of *Christians*, who had been restored to their liberty by virtue of the preceding treaty. The peace concluded between the *Greek* empress and the *Khalif* continued about three years. Soon after *Al Râshid's* arrival at *Baghdâd*, he was declared the next heir to the crown after his elder brother *Mûsa Al Hâdi*. About the same time, *Al Mohdi* caused diligent search to be made after all his subjects who were infected with *Zendicism*, and put to death as many of them as fell into his hands. Amongst the rest, he ordered *Saleh Ebn Abd'allah* and *Yasar Ebn Yarad* to be executed, under the pretext of their having been suspected of favouring those who professed that species of infidelity. But *Yasar Ebn Yarad* is supposed to have suffered the punishment inflicted upon him, for publishing some satirical verses upon *Al Mohdi* and his counsellor *Yakûb Ebn Dawd*, which have been handed down to us by *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari* 9.

Ekkhelaf Abu Hanîsa. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. KORDER. MARCHINAN. DAINUR. SOBAHAZMUN. AL JANNAB. &c. 9 *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 226, 227. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 384, 385. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 1. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 107. GEORG. CEDREN. historiari. compend. p. 470.*

THE

THE next year, being the 167th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi Ibrahim* removed from the government of *Egypt Ibrahim Ebn Saleh*, *Ebn Saleh* and appointed *Mûsa Ebn Mafsaab*, or *Moses* the son of *Musaab*, removed as he is called by *Dionysius Telmarenis*, who had formerly from the been the *Khalif's* governor of *Mesopotamia*, to succeed him. government of Every part of that prince's vast dominions seems to have enjoyed an uninterrupted repose, no military operations having Egypt. been mentioned as happening during the course of it, in any of the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, by the oriental historians, the present year [†].

IN the 168th year of the *Hejra*, *Musa Ebn Mafsaab* was assassinated in *Egypt*. This tragical event happened in the month *Mafsaab* of *Shawâl*, and was probably occasioned by a tyrannical and assassinated oppressive administration. His deputy *Amer Ebn Omar* took Egypt, upon him the government of *Egypt*, till the arrival of *Fadl Ebn Saleh Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, who was sent by the *Khalif* from *Baghdâd* to succeed *Mûsa Ebn Mafsaab* in his lucrative and exalted post ^{and succeeded in the government}.

THE following year, being the 169th year of the *Hejra*, of that and beginning July 14th, 785, *Al Mohdi* sent to his son *Harûn Al Rashid*, then in the province of *Forjân*, to repair immediately to court; he having formed a design to secure to *Saleh* him the *Moslem* throne immediately after his death, and entirely to exclude his eldest son, *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, from the succession; but *Harûn*, looking upon this as an iniquitous step, dies. would not comply with his father's order; so that the *Khalif* found himself obliged to undertake a journey into *Forjân*, in order to have a conference there with his younger son *Al Rashid*. When he arrived at *Arud*, or *Al Rud*, in the district of *Mâsabadân*, one of his favourite mistresses, whom he had commanded to attend him, gave him a poisoned pear, which had been presented to her by another of the *Khalif's* concubines, named *Hafana*, who thought she had too great an ascendant over him, and therefore resolved to destroy her; which, appearing very beautiful to him, he could not forbear eating it, not in the least suspecting that any noxious quality was inherent in it. But it had no sooner entered his stomach than he found himself in most exquisite torture, and in a very short time expired; which greatly afflicted *Hafana*, tho' she had no intention to hurt him, when she communicated the poisoned fruit to her hated rival. This tragical accident happened on the twenty-second day of the month *Al Mobarram*; and, after it, the

[†] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

^{*} ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup,

Khalif was buried near a walnut-tree, under whose boughs he used sometimes to repose himself. He was near forty-three years of age at the time of his death, and reigned ten years, one month, and fifteen days. His son *Harûn Al Rasbid*, who was with him when he expired, said the prayers over him at the time of his interment. Some writers pretend, that, one day, as he was hunting, he pursued a wild beast into an old ruined house; where, being obliged to make a great effort to pass through a low door, his horse carried him with such force against it, that he broke his back; so that, no assistance being at hand, he expired upon the spot. This *Khalif*, in imitation of his father *Abu Jaasar Al Mansûr*, is said to have performed a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, tho' with more pomp than devotion; as he spent in that journey about 6,000,000 *dinars*. Amongst other things with which he loaded the camels that attended him, he carried such a prodigious quantity of snow, that it served not only to refresh him and all his retinue in the burning sands of *Arabia*, but likewise to preserve all the delicious fruits he took with him in their natural freshness, and to afford him ice-water to drink, during his abode at *Mecca*, the inhabitants of which place had scarce ever seen any snow before. Whilst he was there, according to some authors, he enlarged the portico of the *Caaba*, and issued orders for demolishing many houses at *Medina*, to give a greater extent to the mosque containing *Mohammed's* tomb; which was by no means approved of by the superstitious followers of the *Moslem* law. It was at this time also that a *Moslem* brought to him one of the prophet's slippers, and received from him for it a present of 10,000 *dirhems*; after which, turning himself towards some of his principal courtiers, he said, "*Mohammed* never saw this slipper; but, if I had refused accepting of it, the people would have believed that it had really belonged to *Mohammed*, and that I had despised it; for they are naturally prejudiced in favour of the weak against the strong." This prince often changed the governors of provinces, and their ministers, lest some of them should usurp too great a degree of power, and even assume to themselves the supreme authority. He likewise restored large sums of money that his father had extorted from his subjects, released a vast number of prisoners, and dispatched most of the affairs of state himself with great diligence and application. He frequently held his bed of justice, in order to punish the violences and oppressions exercised by the grandees upon the lower part of the people, and to make the latter amends for the losses they had sustained. He appointed persons of great gravity and discretion, and such as were extremely well versed in the *Mohammedan* civil law, to assist in the courts of justice, that, by their presence,

presence, they might prevent all illegal decisions. Having one day, by way of reprimand, said to one of his civil officers, *How long will you be guilty of these faults?* the other very gracefully replied, *As long as it shall please GOD to preserve your life for our good, so long shall we commit faults, and your clemency will pardon them*.

His first principal counsellor, or prime minister, was *Moâ-Who were wiyab Ebn Abd'allab Al Asbari*; but he did not continue long ^{his princi-} in that exalted station. After his dismissal, he advanced to ^{pal coun-} that sublime post *Yakûb Ebn Dawd Ebn Tabmar*, surnamed ^{sellers, or} *Tabamasb*, a person of great wit and a most charming conver- ^{prime mi-} sation, who was in such high favour with the *Khalif*, that he did not only trust him with the management of all his affairs, but likewise permitted him to partake of all his diversions. This excited the envy of the principal courtiers, who entered into several cabals against him, and at last found an opportunity of accusing him to *Al Mohdi* of favouring the partisans of the *Alidæ*, or family of *Ali*, and consequently of being an enemy to the house of *Al Abbâs*. This accusation, tho' it did not gain intire credit with the *Khalif*, made nevertheless some impression upon him. In order, therefore, to try him, *Al Mohdi* commanded *Yakûb* to put to death one of the descendants of *Ali*, whom, he pretended, he could not permit to live any longer; and, to induce him to obey with the greater alacrity this command, he made him a present of 100,000 *dir-hems*, and bestowed upon him in marriage one of the most beautiful ladies of his seraglio. *Yakûb* having communicated to the person destined to suffer the order he had received, he was addressed by him in the following terms: *Give me the life which it is now in your power to take away, and you will by that means avoid the confusion which you must necessarily be in at the day of judgment, when you appear before my great ancestor Ali, if you spill my blood, which he regards as his own.* These words so sensibly touched *Yakûb Ebn Dawd*, that he gave the person devoted to destruction the money he had received from the *Khalif*, and enabled him to make his escape. But this having been discovered to *Al Mohdi* by *Yakûb's* new wife, such strict search was made after the prisoner, that he was retaken in a short time, and confined in an apartment fitted up for him in the *Khalif's* palace. After which, *Yakûb* was summoned to appear, and charged with forwarding his escape; which that nobleman denying, and swearing by the head and life of the

¹ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 227, 228. KHONDEMIR, ABU JA'ABAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 107, 108. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 385. EBN SHOHNAH, SALE's prelim. disc. p. 117.

Khalif, that he had put the prisoner to death, the *Shiite*, who had been seized, and put under arrest in the palace, was immediately produced before him. *Yakûb*, being confounded at this sight, had nothing to urge in his vindication, and was therefore immediately ordered by the *Khalif*, who was irritated to the last degree at the perjury he had been manifestly guilty of, to prison, where he remained till the sixth year of the *Khalifat* of *Harûn Al Rashid*. But that prince having released him, he retired to *Mecca*, and resided there till his death. After *Al Mohdi* had removed him from the honourable post he for some time filled, he substituted *Kabâd Ebn Saleh*, a person of uncommon abilities, in his room ^u.

Theophilus Edfessus dies a little before the Khalif. HASANA, to whom *Al Mohdi's* death has been ascribed by some of the eastern writers, having been commanded by the *Khalif* to attend him in his journey to *Jorjân*, imagined that his intended conference with his son *Harûn Al Rashid* was owing to the advice of *Theophilus* of *Reba*, or *Edeffa*, the son of *Thomas Edeffenus*, a *Christian*, and his chief astrologer, whom he consulted on all emergent occasions. She, therefore, sent him an insolent message; upbraiding him with his past conduct, and wishing that GOD would soon deliver them from him, by putting a period to his days. To which he replied, that he had never attempted to persuade the *Khalif* to undertake the journey she mentioned; that, with regard to the time of his death, the approach of which she so earnestly desired, he knew it was fixed, and at hand; but that nevertheless this was not owing to her prayers, and that as soon as she should be informed of it, she ought to cover her own head with dust. The meaning of the latter part of this answer she did not understand till twenty days after the astrologer's death, when that of *Al Mohdi* himself likewise happened; but then she easily comprehended the purport of his prediction, which stood in no need of any farther interpretation. To what has been already observed of this *Theophilus Edeffenus* we shall here beg leave to add, that the stile of his *Syriac* version of the *Iliad* is reckoned very elegant and polite by some of the *Arab* writers; and that he seems to have translated the *Odyssey*, as well as the *Iliad*, into that language, according to *Abu'l Faraj* w.

^u ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 108, 109. KHONDEMIR, FBN SHOHNAH, NEZAM AL MOLK, in *Wassia*.

^w GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 228. GREG. BAR-HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in *Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vaticana*. tom. ii. p. 311, 313, 315. Romæ, 1721. GEORGI JACOB. MILLER, ubi sup. p. 32.

AL MOHDI had another great favourite besides his principal astrologer, or rather astronomer, *Theophilus Edeffenus*, and his physician that was *Isa*, his physician, surnamed *Al Sidalâni*, or the apocian *Isa* a thecary, because he was originally of that profession, and did great favourite. not pretend to any great skill in physic. *Al Khizarân*, one of

Al Mohdi's best-beloved concubines, a native of *Medina*, being indisposed, sent a maid with some of her urine, to a physician, in order to learn the cause of her distemper; giving her a strict charge at the same time not to discover the person from whom she came. The maid went directly to the shop of *Abu Koreish* (for so likewise was *Isa* called) and shewed him her lady's urine; telling him, that it belonged to a poor woman, who stood in great need of his assistance. A poor woman! said he; no, this came from an illustrious princess, who is with child of a king. The maid immediately reported this to *Al Khizarân*, who afterwards made *Isa* a present of two sumptuous vests and 300 *dinârs*, and promised to procure him admission into the *Kbalif's* family, if the latter part of what he had told the maid should prove true. This vastly astonished *Abu Koreish*, who publickly declared, that what he had said must have proceeded from a divine impulse, since he spoke at random, and in reality knew nothing of the grand personage by whom the maid had been sent on this occasion. However, *Al Khizarân* being brought to bed of a prince, afterwards named *Mûsa Al Hîdi*, who succeeded his father in the *Kbaltat*, in due time, she communicated the whole affair to the *Khalif*; who was so well pleased with it, that he sent for *Abu Koreish*, made him his physician, tho', upon examination, he found him not to understand much of physic, and heaped many favours upon him. But notwithstanding his good fortune, *Abu Koreish*, or, if we please, *Isa Al Sidalâni*, was never honoured with a place amongst the principal physicians by the *Arabs* x.

As to his person, *Al Mohdi* was tall, handsome, though he had a white speck in his right eye, and, like the generality of the *Arabs*, of a swarthy complexion. With regard to his disposition, he was liberal and munificent, or, according to others, prodigal and profuse, as he dissipated in a very short time the immense treasures left him by his father *Abu Ja'far Al Mansûr*. He was also magnanimous and brave, and extremely beloved by his subjects, on account of his impartial administration of justice, and the aversion he always discovered to an effusion of human blood. He has likewise been considered by some of the *Arab* writers as religious and devout; tho' others of them have not been so willing to admit

x GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 229, 230.

that part of his character. Being once in the mosque at *Cufa*, and upon the point of beginning the public prayers, one of the rabble said to him, *I have not yet performed the ablution, and yet I would willingly join with you in the public prayers.* Upon which, the *Khalif* stopped in the middle of the mosque, till the *Arab* had washed and purified himself in a proper manner. In his pilgrimage to *Mecca*, he was attended by a person of great sanctity, named *Al Mansûr Al Hajani*, who being with him in the *Caaba*, when he distributed large sums amongst the people there, the *Khalif* said, *Do you, Al Mansûr, desire anything of me?* The other replied, *I am ashamed to desire any thing in the house of GOD but GOD himself.* *Al Mohdi*, upon his return from the pilgrimage, found himself so touched by the pious sentiments inspired into him by that devout expression, that he threw himself upon the ground, and addressed himself to the Deity in the following terms: *If I, O LORD, am to be punished, I shall cheerfully undergo whatever chastisement I deserve; but, O LORD, look upon none of the faithful as thine enemies on my account.* After which, he made *Al Mansûr Al Hajani*, for the reproof he had given him, by suggesting, that he ought never to confound earthly with heavenly things, a present of 10,000 *dinârs*. It has been regarded likewise as an instance of this *Khalif's* liberality, as well as of his inclination to encourage learned men, that he ordered *Merwân Ebn Abu Hafas*, one of his subjects, for seventy distichs of *Arabic* verses that he had composed, the sum of 70,000 *dirhems*. The following remarkable story, that has been told of him by *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'alyaasar Al Kazwini*, may also be considered in a similar light, and is too entertaining to be omitted here.

A pleasant adventure befalls this Khalif. *AL MOHDI*, being one day engaged in a hunting-match, strayed from his attendants, and, being pressed with hunger and thirst, was obliged to betake himself to an *Arab's* tent that he discovered, in order to meet with some refreshment. The poor man immediately brought out his coarse brown bread and a pot of milk to the *Khalif*. *Al Mohdi* asked him if he had nothing else to give him; upon which, the *Arab* went directly to fetch a jug of wine, and presented it to him. After the *Khalif* had drunk a good draught, he demanded of the *Arab* whether he did not know him? The other having answered, that he did not; *I would have you know then*, replied *Al Mohdi*, *that I am one of the principal lords of the Khalif's court.* After he had taken another draught, he put

Y ABU JAKFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, p. 107, 108. KHONDAMIR, AUT. RABI AL ABRAR. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403, 404, 405.

the same question to the *Arab* as before; who thereupon answering, *Have not I already told you that I know you not?* *Al Mohdi* returned, *I am a much greater person than I have made you believe.* Then he drank again, and asked his landlord the third time, whether he did not know him? To which the other replied, that he might depend upon the truth of the answer he had already given him. *I am then,* said *Al Mohdi*, *the Khalif, before whom all the world prostrate themselves.* The *Arab* no sooner heard those words than he carried off the pitcher, and would not suffer his guest to drink any more. *Al Mohdi*, being surprized at this action, asked him why he carried off his wine? The *Arab* replied, *Because I am afraid that, if you take a fourth draught, you will tell me you are the prophet Mohammed; and if by chance a fifth, that you are GOD ALMIGHTY himself.* This gentle wipe so pleased the *Khalif*, that he could not forbear laughing at it; and being soon rejoined by his people, he ordered a purse of silver, and a fine vest, to be given the poor man, who had entertained him in so hospitable a manner. Upon which, the *Arab*, in a transport of joy for the good fortune he had met with, said to the *Khalif*, *I shall henceforth take you for what you pretend to be, even though you should make yourself two or three times more considerable than you have done.*²

We have already observed from an *Arab* author of good Some other
repute, that *Al Mohdi* died in a village called *Al Rud*, in the territory, or district, of *Masabdan*; and that he was buried in the same place. He also affirms this *Khalif* to have been but 39 years of age at the time of his death; which runs counter to what has been advanced on that head by other writers. Another historian, or rather annalist, informs us, that *Madi* (for so he calls *Al Mohdi*) had also the name of *Mohammed*, and was succeeded by his son *Moses*, or *Mûsa*. The first day of his reign was *Sunday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The captain of his guards was *Nasr Ebn Nofair Ebn Mâlec Al Khozâ'i*, and, after him, *Hamzah Ebn Mâlec Ebn Abd'allah*; his judges *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Alafa* and *Afiya Ebn Yezid*, who exercised their function together in the great mosque at *Baghdâd*; and his chamberlains *Salâm Abwasb*, *Fadl Ebn Al Rabia*, and *Al Hosein Ebn Râsbed*. Lastly, the inscription of his seal was, *GOD is my sufficiency, or My sufficiency is of GOD.*²

² AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nigbiarist*.

² EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 385. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKI, ubi sup. p. 109.

S E C T. XXIV.

Mûsa Al Hâdi *succeds* Al Mohdi in the 169th year of the Hejra. **H**ARUN AL RASHID, *Al Mohdi's* second son, being with his father at the time of his death, obliged all the people about him, and particularly those who were members of the house of *Hâshem*, to take the oath of allegiance to his brother Mûsa Al Hâdi, and sent advice of this into all parts of the empire; upon which, he was unanimously proclaimed *Khalif* by the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*. *Harûn* likewise dispatched an express to his brother *Al Hâdi*, then in *Jorjân*, with an account of what had happened, and advised him to make all possible haste to *Baghdâd*; where, after his arrival, he constituted *Al Rabi*, or *Rabia*, his prime minister, or *Vizir*. The same year, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, he massacred great numbers of his subjects who had embraced *Zendicijm*, because they ridiculed the pilgrims who went in procession round the *Caaba*. The *Arabs*, who professed *Zendicijm*, if we will believe *Ebn Kassim*, were a sort of *Sadducees*, or rather *Manichees*, who maintained the existence of two principles, LIGHT and DARKNESS, and permitted marriage to be contracted between the nearest relations. At first, the *Zendicees* taught, that men ought to preserve themselves from sin, applied their thoughts intirely to the other world, despised the good things of this, and abstained from all animal food. But, in process of time, they introduced the worship of the two principles above-mentioned, denied that the first degrees of consanguinity prohibited marriage, and despised all the other religions of the country where they lived. Amongst others infected with *Zendicijm*, *Al Hâdi* put to death *Yacûb Ebn Al Fadl Ebn Abd'ahabmân Ebn Al Abbâs*; whose daughter *Fâtema*, after her father's death, confessed that she had been got with child by him. It appears from some of the eastern writers, that *Al Hâdi* undertook an expedition into the provinces of *Jorjân* and *Mazanderân*, or *Taharistân*, in his father's life-time; and that he was in the former of those provinces when that prince died. It also may be inferred from some of those authors, that *Al Mohdi*, a little before his death, sent him with a body of troops in quest of the *Zendicees*, in order to bring them to condign punishment; which orders he executed with honour, and to the *Khalif's* entire satisfaction. We must not omit observing here, that *M. D'Herbelot* is guilty of a great mistake, when he asserts *Al Mohdi*, in direct contradiction to all the best *Arab* historians, to have died at *Baghdâd* ^b.

THE
^b GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 230. ABU JAA'EAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EBN KASSEM, EUTYCH. ubi sup.
 P. 404

THE same year, that is, the 169th of the *Hejra*, *Al Hâdi*, *Al Hâdi* by his brother *Harûn Al Rashid*'s influence, was inaugurated, ^{inaugurated at} without any opposition, at *Baghdâd*. Here he arrived from *Forjân* and *Mazanderân*, called sometimes by the *Arabs* *Tabaristân*, the inhabitants of which provinces he had reduced to the obedience of the *Khalif Al Mohdi*; who, from the measures he intended to have pursued at the time of his death, in favour of *Al Rashid*, seems to have been jealous of him. Soon after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, *Al Hâdi* removed *Al Fadl Ebn Saleh* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Ali Ebn Solimân Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs* in his room. The courier dispatched by *Harûn Al Rashid* to his brother *Al Hâdi*, after his father's death, was *Salma Al Wasif*, *Al Mohdi*'s freed-man. The person who headed the rebels of *Mazanderân*, or *Tabaristân*, was *Madâr*, the lord of *Hormuz*, or *Hormaz*. It has been already observed, that the mother of *Al Hâdi* was called *Khizarân* by *Abu'l-Faraj*. She was the daughter of *Atâ*, one of *Al Mohdi*'s servants, and has been denominated *Hinzarân* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* c.

SOON after his accession, *Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Hasan* rebelled against *Al Hâdi*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Ebn Ali Khalif* at *Medina*; the inhabitants of which city declared *Ebn Hasan* openly for him. From thence he marched to *Mecca*, and put to the sword all the pilgrims there known to be members of the house of *Al Abbâs*. This revolt, nevertheless, cost the family of *Ali* very dear. For the *Khalif*, having defeated *Hosein*, cut off his head, as well as those of a great number of his adherents, and deprived his family of all the pensions and appointments that they had enjoyed by a particular privilege. *Hosein* had the character of a valiant and very liberal prince. He is said to have distributed 40,000 *dinârs*, which the *Khalif* had one day given him, amongst the citizens of *Baghdâd* and *Cûfa*, and afterwards to have retired to his house at *Medina* in a furred vest only, without so much as a shirt under it. Before he took up arms against the *Khalif*, he ordered a proclamation to be made, whereby he manumitted all the slaves who should desert their masters, and take on in his service. By this means he formed a considerable army, which he flattered himself would enable him to dispute the *Khalifat* with *Al Hâdi*, and even enable him to mount the *Moslem* throne. But he was not a little mistaken in this; for his forces were over-

p. 404, 405. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Hadi*, p. 415.

c. ABU. JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 119. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 227, 229, 230. YAKUT, EUTYCH, ubi sup.

thrown by a handful of disciplined and regular troops sent against them by the *Khalif*. *Theophanes* calls this prince *Moses*, and his father *Mohammed*, as well as *Madi*; but he says not a word of *Hosein's* defection, nor of the decisive action consequent thereupon ^d.

Al Hâdi
dies.

THE next year, being the 170th of the *Hejra*, *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, finding himself now settled upon the throne, formed a design to exclude his brother *Harûn Al Rashid*, notwithstanding the good offices he had done him, from the succession. His view herein was to advance his own son *Jaasar* to the *Khalifat*, who was not yet arrived at the age of puberty. But *Yabya Ebn Khâléâ Ebn Barmac*, a person of great reputation for his prudence, and who filled the important post of *Visir*, endeavoured to dissuade him from carrying such a design into execution, by representing to him, that the *Moslems* would not be satisfied with a *Khalif*, who could not perform divine service in the mosque, conduct them in their pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and march at their head against an enemy. The *Khalif* pretended to be convinced by his reasoning, and to approve of his advice; but he gave *Harthamab*, a person in whom he could intirely confide, private orders to kill his brother *Harûn*, and *Yabya* his *Visir*. For that purpose, he kept him one night concealed in his palace. But, about midnight, *Harthamab* heard the voice of *Khizarân*, the *Khalif's* mother, calling him by his name, and bidding him come see *Al Hâdi* dead upon his bed. That prince died suddenly of a cough, which seized him after he had drank a glass of water. He was jealous of his brother *Harûn*, and the more so, as their mother had discovered a greater affection for the latter than the former on several occasions. But she prevented his project from taking effect, by giving him a subtle poison that carried him off by coughing and sneezing. *Affadi*, a *Persian* poet, composed a distich upon this tragical event, wherein he says, that the blood of two brothers is the same, as being formed of the same milk, and that the brother who sheds this is a homicide of his mother as well as of his brother. We are informed by an *Arab* writer, that when *Yabya* attempted to persuade *Al Hâdi* not to alter the order of succession, he told him, that if he prevailed upon the people to violate their engagements to his brother *Harûn*, this would give them a mean opinion of public faith; but that their veneration for such engagements would be heightened by a contrary conduct; that the noblest, of whom he named a considerable number, would never come into such a scheme; and that consequently this would pave the way to his son *Jaasar's* exclusion from the *Moslem* throne. Some

^d KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 385.

of the Arab historians relate, that he first endeavoured to destroy his mother, by sending her a poisoned goose; but that this not meeting with success, she soon after smothered him with a pillow, as she attended him in a fit of sickness. Be that as it will, he died at *Baghdâd*, or rather *Isfâbâd*, a place a little without the city, on Friday the 14th day of the latter *Rabi*, after he had reigned one year, two months, and twenty-two days. He was buried near the spot where he died, and his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd* performed the funeral service over him. He is said by some authors to have been, at the time of his death, twenty-four, by others twenty-five, and, lastly, by others, twenty-six years of age *.

WHEN *Al Hâdi* commanded *Harthamah* to assassinate his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd*, and *Yabya* his *Visir*, he assigned the following reason for that order, viz. because the latter was his declared enemy, and had, by his seditious discourses, attempted to alienate the affections of his subjects from him, as well as used his utmost endeavours to engage them in favour of the former. He also commanded him, after that double execution, to put to the sword all the descendants of *Ali* that could be found in any part of his dominions, and then, with a body of his troops, to surprize the city of *Cûfa*; to which, after he had drawn from thence all the partizans of the house of *Al Abbâs*, he was to set fire, and reduce it intirely to ashes. *Harthamah* would have excused himself from being concerned in so bloody a scheme, by alledging, that he had not a number of troops sufficient to execute such a grand design. But the *Khaltif* threatened him with death if he did not comply with his orders, left him abruptly, and retired into the private apartments of his palace; from whence a few moments after arrived the news of his expiring suddenly in the manner already related. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Khiazarân*, who governed with an arbitrary sway, having one day pressed *Al Hâdi*, with an unusual warmth, to grant her a favour she had promised to obtain for one of her dependents, which he refused to do, she went off in a heat; declaring she would never for the future put up any petition to him. Upon which, he said to her, in an angry tone, "Keep within your doors, and mind your own business; if I should hereafter be informed, that any of my officers apply to you for favours, I will order his head to be cut off. How comes it about, that my courtiers attend your levee, from morning till evening, in such crowds? What is the meaning of this?"

Al Hâdi's mother, according to some of the Arab writers, accessory to his death.

* *ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 110. KHONDEMIR, ASSAD. poet. Pers. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 231. EUTYCH. ubi sup.*

"Have you not a wheel and a distaff wherewith to employ yourself, or a book to put you in mind of your duty, or, lastly, a house to reside in?" This inraging her to the last degree, she instantly vowed revenge; and accordingly ordered the maids she sent to attend him, in a fit of sickness that soon ensued, to suffocate him, as related above. As soon as he was dead, she commanded *Harthamah* to apprize her younger son *Harún* of what had happened, that he might have an opportunity of immediately asserting his right to the *Moslem* throne. Hence it appears, that different accounts of this prince's death, as well as the true cause of it, have been handed down to us by the best oriental historians ^f.

A description of his person, and character. WITH regard to his person, *Al Hádi* had a large mouth, contracted his upper lip, was tall, corpulent, and of a fair complexion, and a good complexion. He was likewise extremely robust, and an excellent horseman. As to his disposition, he was magnanimous and brave, as well as liberal on some occasions; tho' he has not been represented by any of the *Arab* writers as very profuse of his favours. He one day repeated an *Arabic* verse, and desired *Yusef Al Sokail*, a pretty noted poet, to produce some others of the same sort; which he did, and received for a reward no more than ten *dirbems*. However, we are told by another author, that *Merwán Ebn Abu Háfadh*, a very celebrated *Arab* poet, having once presented some of his pieces to him, this prince, who was a good judge of such performances, as evidently appears from some of his poems still extant, discovered such beauties in them, that he was extremely pleased, and said to him, *Chuse for your trouble, by way of recompence, either to receive immediately 30,000 dirhems, or 100,000, after you have gone through all the delays and formalities of the exchequer.* The poet answered pleasantly, *Give me 30,000 now, and 100,000 hereafter.* Which repartee was so well taken by *Al Hádi*, that he ordered the intire sum of 130,000 *dirbems* to be immediately paid him. The captain of his guards was *Abd'allah Ebn Hazem Ebn Hozaimah Al Tamimi*, and, after his abdication of that post, *Abd'allah Ebn Málec Al Khozá'i*; his counsellors *Rabi Ebn Yúnas* and *Omar Ebn Al Rabi*; his judges *Abu Yusef Yakúb Ebn Ibrahim*, a person intimately acquainted with *Abu Hanífa*, who went, as we may term it, the western circuit, and *Sa'id Ebn Abd'alrahmán*, who went the eastern; and his chamberlains *Al Rabi* and *Al Fadl*, his son. In the first year of his *Khalifat*, *Abuna Yabya* was elected patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, and continued

^f AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nigbiarist*. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 231. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR, AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

in that post thirteen years. He is said to have been born, elected patriarch, and died, on the same day of the month. The church at *Alexandria* enjoyed an uninterrupted repose during the time he presided over it. He was very charitable, and distributed amongst the poor of that city a vast quantity of corn, when a grievous famine raged there. At *Antioch* died, in *Al Hâdi's* reign, *Dawd*, or *David*, bishop of *Dara*, who had by violence intruded into the patriarchate there; which enabled *George*, the lawful patriarch, who had been incarcerated at *Baghdâd* many years, to exercise his patriarchal function at *Antioch*, in the same manner as before the commencement of the aforesaid schism. *George* was succeeded by a person named *Syriacus*, or *Cyriacus*, a man of uncommon sanctity and austerity of life. The first day of *Al Hâdi's* reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Friday*; and the inscription of his seal, GOD is my LORD. It has been already remarked, that the followers of *Abu Hanîfa* acquired a great degree of reputation, by being taken under the protection of *Abu Yusef*, his chief justice, in the *Khalîfat* of this prince &c.

S E C T. XXV.

AL HADI's death was no sooner known than *Harûn Al Al Hâdi Rashîd* was saluted emperor of the faithful, in the night ^{is succeeded by} between the 14th and 15th of the latter, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, or, if we will believe *Eutychius* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, the former *Rabî*, by the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*; and ^{his brother} *Harûn Al Rashîd*, those of the provinces soon followed their example. *Al Rashîd* was at this time about twenty-two years of age, and a great favourite of his mother *Khizarân*, who not a little contributed to his accession. One of the first things he did was, to order some divers to search for a ring given him by his father, worth 100,000 *dinârs*, that, to prevent its falling into his brother's hands, he had thrown into the *Tigris*; which being found, without much difficulty, he was highly pleased. The night that *Al Hâdi* died, *Khozaima Ebn Hazem* rushed into his son *Jaafar's* bed-chamber, dragged him out of bed, and threatened immediately to cut off his head, if he did not instantly acknowledge *Harûn Al Rashîd* for his sovereign; which, to save his life, he was glad to do. As *Jaafar's* recognition of the new *Khalîf's* authority was attested by some *Moslems* of distinction,

• ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 111, 112. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 404—407. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou-Hanîfab*, p. 21, 22.

that *Khozaima* had brought with him for this purpose; the service done *Harûn Al Rashid*, on this occasion, proved extremely acceptable to that prince. *Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, being informed of *Al Hâdi's* death, came to *Al Rashid* to acquaint him with the news, soon after his brother expired; and, before his departure, another of the new *Khalif's* friends arrived, to congratulate him upon the birth of a son, called first *Abd'allah*, and afterwards *Al Mamûn*, who, after his brother *Al Athin*, ascended the *Moslem* throne. So that the same night was famous for the death of one *Khalif*, the accession of another, and the birth of a third. *Al Rashid* had likewise another son, named *Mohammed*, and afterwards *Al Amin*, born in the month of *Shawâl* this year; who, tho' he was younger than *Al Maimûn*, succeeded his father in the *Khalifat*. This young prince's mother was *Zebeida*, the daughter of *Jaafar*, the son of the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. *Al Rashid* called *Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* his father, and, for his close and faithful attachment to him, constituted him his prime minister, or *Visir* ¹.

The new Khalif ap- points In the 171st year of the *Mohammedan* æra, beginning *June* 22d, 787, *Al Rashid* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Mûsa Ebn, Isa Ebn Mûsa Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Hâmûsa Ebn Jshemi*, as a person every way qualified for so important a post. *Isa to pre- side over Egypt.* The surname *Al Rashid* denotes *the righteous, the director, or the just*. We are told by some of the eastern writers, that when *Harûn* was apprized of his brother's death, and consequently of his own exaltation to the *Khalifat*, he gave himself up intirely for some time to the reading of the *Korân*. As the night of *Al Hâdi's* death was so remarkable for the relation it bore to three *Khalifs*, it has been denominated by some of the *Arabs*, *the night, or rather the day, of the family of Hâshem*. It appears from *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Al Rashid*, being extremely troubled with the head-ach, commanded *Yabya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, his *Visir*, to send for *Bakhtishua*, the son of *George* above-mentioned, from *Naisabâr*; whom, after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, he presented with a sumptuous vest, besides many other things of great value, and made him the chief of his physicians, the present year ⁱ.

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 231. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 112. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 389. ¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Haroun Al Raschid*, p. 431. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 235. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 23.

THE following year, being the 172d of the *Hejra*, com-^{The west-}encing June 11th, 788, the *Khalif Al Rashid* appointed his ^{ern Kha-}younger son, *Al Amin*, his successor in the empire; and, after ^{lif dies.}him, settled the right of succession upon his elder son, *Al Mamun*. He also made the latter of those young princes the prefect of *Khorasan*, and all the adjacent regions, extending as far as *Hamadan*; and committed to *Jaasar Ebn Yabya Ebn Kbaled Ebn Barmac* the care of his education. About the same time, the daughter of the king of the *Khazars*, or *Khazarites*, known likewise by the name of the *Khakan*, being brought to *Fadl Ebn Kbaled Ebn Barmac*, died at *Barthaa*; and her attendants returned to her father's court, where they gave out that she was poisoned. This induced that prince to make preparations for a war with the *Khalif*. Soon after, a body of the *Moslem* forces made an irruption into the imperial territories, and penetrated as far as *Ephesus*. *Al Rashid* also removed *Musa Ebn Isa*, during the time of this irruption, from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Moslema Ebn Yabya* in his room; appointing *Amru Ebn Mabrân* collector of the tribute there. But he soon deposed *Moslema*, and sent *Mohammed Ebn Zabar* to succeed him. We must not forget to observe, that *Abd'alahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, the western *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*, died this, and not the preceding, year, as we find asserted by *Roderic of Toledo*, after he had reigned about thirty-three years, in *Spain*^k.

THE next year, being the 173d of the *Moslem* æra, the *A civil* *Khalif* deprived *Mohammed Ebn Zabar* of the government of *war in* *Egypt*, and conferred upon *Yezid Ebn Hâtem* that honourable *Spain* and lucrative post. In the month of *September*, this year, the *Arabs* made another irruption into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and defeated a *Christian* army sent by that prince to oppose them. *Diogenes*, an imperial officer of great merit and bravery, together with several other commanders, and a vast number of soldiers, perished in the action. About this time, a civil war broke out between *Heshâm*, *Abd'alahmân's* eldest son, who succeeded him in the western *Khalifat*, and his brother *Solimân*, who presided over the principality of *Toledo*, in *Spain*. The armies commanded by those two princes came to a general action near a fortress called *Bulche*; where, after a sharp engagement, *Solimân* was overthrown, with very great

^k GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 232. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 390. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xviii. p. 18. KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abdalahman*, &c. p. 9.

slaughter, and *Toledo* obliged to open its gates to the victor, after it had sustained a pretty vigorous siege. The battle of *Bulche*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, so often cited here, seems to have been fought towards the close of the present year ¹.

The Arabs defeat the imperial fleet. IN the 174th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashid* sent a powerful navy, with a strong body of land-forces on board, to invade the island of *Cyprus*; which was met and attacked by the *Christian* fleet, under the conduct of *Theophilus*, duke or prince of *Cibyra*, off the *Chelidonian* promontory. The *Christians*, after a vigorous action, were intirely defeated, and *Theophilus* himself taken prisoner. Being brought before the *Khalif Harun Al Rashid*, called *Aaron* by *Theophanes*, and refusing to embrace *Mohammedism*, he was put to death, by that prince's order, according to this author; which, we must own, to us appears by no means probable, as being directly repugnant to one of the principal *Moslem* institutions. *Salimán*, after the blow he had received at *Bulche*, fled to *Murcia*, where he resided the greatest part of this year. He also sold to his brother *Heshám* his pretensions to the principality of which he had been deprived, for 70,000 *dinárs*; after which, he crossed the sea, retired into *Barbary*, and was not seen for some years afterwards in *Spain* ^m.

Some good physicians attend the Khalif's court. THE following year, being the 175th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* sent *Müsa Ebn İsa Ebn Müsa Al Hâsbemi* into *Egypt*, to take upon himself the government there. About the same time, *Jaafar Ebn Yahya Ebn Kbâled Ebn Barmac* being taken extremely ill, the *Khalif* sent his own physician *Bakhtishua* to attend him; who having cured him, *Jaafar* chose the doctor's son *Gabriel* for his physician, and made him many very valuable presents. *Gabriel* soon after cured *Jaafar* of another disorder, by which he acquired no small degree of reputation. One of *Al Rashid*'s concubines stretching out her hand, in yawning, it immediately grew stiff, and remained extended in such a manner that she could not draw it back. Nor could the application of all sorts of liniments and unguents to it, as prescribed by the most able physicians of the court, relieve her. *Gabriel*, therefore, being recommended by *Jaafar* to her, he waited first upon the *Khalif*, and desired him to command her to appear publickly at his levee; which being done, he immediately approached her, and began, before the whole circle of courtiers, to undress her. This threw her into such

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 391. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ^m THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 392. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. SALE'S prelim. disc. p. 144.

confusion, that she made a violent effort with her whole body to prevent him; and, in the hurry and surprize this occasioned, seized upon the garment he seemed to be going to take off with the part affected: upon which, turning to the *Khalif*, he immediately cried out, "O emperor of the faithful, she is cured." Then she was ordered to move her hand upwards and downwards, backwards and forwards, and in all directions, several times; after which, she found the use of it perfectly restored. This not a little pleased *Al Rashid*, who thereupon made *Gabriel* a present of 500,000 pieces of money. He also desired to know what might be the cause of so strange and unaccountable a disorder. To which *Gabriel* replied, that, during the time of coition, a thin humour, being agitated by the motion and extension of heat, attending this, had diffused itself over all parts of her body, and, upon the sudden cessation of that motion, was congealed in the interior part of the nerves; which had obliged him to make use of the foregoing artifice, in order to dilate the heat, dissolve the humour that was congealed, and restore a perfect soundness to the limb whose use had been lost. This answer wonderfully pleased the *Khalif*, and procured the doctor that prince's perpetual esteem. At this time, *Al Rashid* had likewise for his physician *Yohana*, or *Yabya Ebn Masawiyah*, a Syrian, of the Christian religion, who, at the *Khalif*'s request, interpreted, or explained, the writings of the antient physicians, and served him and his successors in the same capacity till the reign of *Al Motawakkel*. He was greatly honoured at *Baghdád*, and composed several physical treatises in a very elegant stile. He likewise founded a sort of school, or gymnasium, there, wherein he instructed his scholars, or young students, who were very numerous, in every branch of literature, but especially physic. He was a person of considerable humour, and several of his facetious sayings have been preserved by *Abu'l-Faraj*. Cotemporary with this *Yabya* was *Saleb Ebn Nabala*, an Indian, who performed several remarkable cures, and made no mean figure at *Al Rashid*'s court. But for a farther account of this physician, as well as of *Gabriel*, *Bakhtishua*'s son, our readers may have recourse to the author last-mentioned, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction ⁿ.

THE same year, that is, the 175th of the *Hejra*, *Al Ra- Al Amin* *shid* declared *Mohammed Al Amin* his immediate successor, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; tho' that event seems to have been placed three years higher by *Abu'l-Faraj*. The poet *Salem Al Hüsfer* made some verses on this occasion,

ⁿ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 235—240.

which

which highly pleased *Al Amin's* mother *Zebeida*, the granddaughter of the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Mansur*; who thereupon ordered him many valuable presents. We are told likewise, that *Zebeida* founded this very year the city of *Tauris*, in the province of *Aderbijan*, as her husband had before done another, from him named *Harania*, on the confines of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Armenia*. About the same time, some disputes, that had arisen between *Hesham*, the western *Khalif*, and his brother *Abdallah*, were terminated, by the retreat of the latter, who passed over the sea into *Africa*; which restored peace and tranquillity to the *Moslem* provinces in *Spain* °.

A rebel-

lion ex-

tinguished.

THE next year, being the 176th of the *Mohammedan* æra, beginning April 29th, 792, *Yahya Ebn Abdallah Ebn Hoshn Ebn Hoshn Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Taleb* set up for himself, in opposition to the *Khalif Harun Al Rashid*, in the province of *Deylam*, and raised a powerful army to support him in his defection. To extinguish this rebellion, *Harun* sent an army of 50,000 men, under the command of *Fadl Ebn Yahya Ebn Khaled Ebn Barmac*, whom he had appointed to preside over *Ray*, or *Raya*, *Forjan*, *Al Jebel*, in the *Persian Irak*, and *Tabaristan*. *Fadl*, being arrived in *Khorasan*, wrote a kind letter to *Yahya*, and persuaded him to submit to the *Khalif*; who, upon *Fadl's* application to him, promised to take him into his protection. Upon which, *Yahya* disbanded his troops, and went with *Fadl* to *Baghdad*; where he at first met with a gracious reception from *Al Rashid*, but was afterwards put in irons, and closely confined. The same year, the *Khalif* removed *Musa Ebn Isa Ebn Musa* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Ibrahim Ebn Saleh Ebn Ali Al Hashemi* to succeed him in that post. It may be proper to inform our readers here, that *Deylam* was bounded on the E. by the region of *Tabaristan* and the district of *Ray*; on the S. by the districts of *Ray*, and *Kazvin*, and the province of *Aderbijan*; on the W. by *Aderbijan*; and on the N. by the *Hyrcanian* sea. It is divided into two parts, one of which is mountainous, going properly under the name of *Deylam*, and the other almost one continued plain, known at this time by the name of *Ghilan*. The inhabitants of this province are called *Dolomites* by *Procopius*, and *Dilimnites* by *Credrenus*. But, for a more copious description of it, our curious and learned readers may consult the authors here referred to P.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 232. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 23. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. P ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113, 114. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. GEORG. CEDREN. apud GOL. in not. ad Alfragan. p. 205. AGATHIAS, PROCOP. hist. Goth. lib. iv. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 204—210.

IN the 177th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* made *Amru Ebn Mabran* governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Ibrahim Ebn Saleh*, whom he thought fit to depose; but, in a month's time, restored him to his former post. However, *Ibrahim* seems to have been not a little affected with his disgrace, the reason of which has not been handed down to us, as he died soon after. *Abd'allah Ebn Zahar Ebn Almeit*, who came after him, was soon removed, and succeeded by *Ishak Ebn Soliman Al' Hisbemi*, whom *Al Rashid* sent to preside over *Egypt*. In the month of *September* this year, a body of the imperial forces advanced to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, with an intent to invade the *Moslem* territories; but were obliged to retire from thence the following month, without accomplishing their design. *Abd'almalec*, one of *Hejbam's* generals in *Spain*, likewise marched at the head of a formidable army as far as the cities of *Narbonne*, or *Narbonna*, and *Girona*, made himself master of them, as well as of all the other places of strength situated between them and the *Moslem* frontiers, and acquired such a large quantity of plunder in this expedition, that the fifth part of it, which fell to *Hejbam's* share, amounted to the value of 45,000 *dinars*. With this that prince finished the great mosque at *Corduba*, which had been founded by his father; and obliged the *Christian* inhabitants of the country he had conquered, and many others of their brethren settled in the neighbouring provinces, to whom he was grown extremely terrible, to carry materials for that purpose to *Corduba*, where he then resided. *Hejbam* also erected several new mosques, and repaired some old ones that were falling to ruin, in other places. He likewise built the famous bridge at *Corduba*, that remained as a monument of his magnificence for several ages. This prince consulting a skilful astrologer, in order to know the length and fortune of his reign, he was told by the artist, that he should not preside over the *Moslems* of *Spain* eight complete years; but that his *Khalifat* there should be prosperous, and he always prove superior to his enemies. This prediction at first greatly affected *Hejbam*, who remained silent for some time after it was delivered, though he amply rewarded the astrologer for the trouble he had given him. He afterwards also applied himself to the exercise of all political virtues, administered justice to the poor with so much impartiality, and treated the people in general, both *Moslems* and *Christians*, that he governed, with such affability and beneficence, that he was almost adored by the whole body of his subjects. He first invaded *Galicia* in the 175th year of the *Hejra*, where he then committed dreadful devastations; but, on his return home, was met and attacked by *Veremund*, or *Bermudo*, though with what success we are not told by any good author. Some of the *Spanish* writers, however,

ever, inform us, that, after the reduction of *Narbone*, *Girna*, and the other places above-mentioned, he made an irruption into *Biscay* and *Asturias*, laying waste all the country through which he moved; but that at last he received a signal overthrow from the forces commanded by *Alphonfus*, or *Alonza*, II. who drove him from thence with the slaughter of 70,000 men. It must nevertheless be owned, that this last article has not been so much as mentioned by any of the most authentic *Arab* historians ⁹.

Some commotions in Armenia, Egypt, and Camach betrayed to the Arabs, in the year 178. THE following year, being the 178th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashid* ordered *Ishak Ebn Solimán Al Hâshemi* to retire from *Egypt*, and made *Hazima Ebn Ayan* his lieutenant there. But *Hazima* did not long remain in possession of that honourable post; being soon after banished by the *Khalif* into *Africa*. He was succeeded by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Saleh Ebn Ali Al Hâshemi*, who appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mofabbib* to collect the tribute imposed on those who refused to profess *Islâm*, and the customs there, and on some occasions to officiate for him in the mosque. We must not forget to remark, that when *Mûsa Ebn Isa Ebn Mûsa Al Hâshemi* was governor of *Egypt*, he repaired and enlarged the great mosque at *Mesr*, and put it into the form wherein it remained to the time of *Eutychius*. It appears from *Theophanes*, that some commotions happened in *Armenia*; and that the people of that country delivered the fortrefs of *Camach*, or *Kamakh*, into the hands of the *Arabs*, the present year ¹.

Al Rashid performs a pilgrimage to Mecca on foot. THE next year, being the 179th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashid* consulted all the principal doctors of the law at *Baghdad*, to know whether he was obliged to undertake a journey on foot to *Mecca*, in consequence of a vow he had formerly made. That prince being in great perplexity and distress, and even almost overwhelmed with the afflictions he found himself obliged to sustain in the *Khalifat* of his brother *Al Hâdi*, vowed to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca* on foot, if it should please God ever to deliver him out of those troubles. However, after his elevation to the *Khalifat*, many of his courtiers remonstrated to him, that he was under no obligation to visit the *Caaba* in the manner he had proposed. Upon which, he thought fit to apply to the afore said doctors for their

⁹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 114. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 394. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 472. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii, xix, xx. p. 18. 19. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. tom. i. p. 705, 706. Francofurti, 1603. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 395, 396.

decision in so momentous a point; and they being unanimously of opinion, that his former vow was obligatory, he set out from *Baghdād* for *Mecca*, went on pilgrimage thither, and returned to his capital on foot, this present year; which was never afterwards performed by any future *Khalif*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. We are likewise told, that the roads through which he passed were covered with rich carpets, and a variety of stuffs of very considerable price. About the same time, *Al Rashid* also appointed his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi*, after the dismissal of *Abd'almalec Ebn Saleh*, to preside over *Egypt*; but, in a short time, he removed him from that post, and substituted *Musa Ebn Isa Al Hashemi* in his room^s.

THE same year, that is, the 179th of the *Moslem* æra, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, tho' others are of a different opinion, died *Abu Abdallah Malec Ebn Ans Al Asbehi Al Medini*, the founder of the second orthodox sect, who is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of *Mohammed*. He went amongst the *Arabs* by the name of the *Imam of the city of the flight*, as he was a native of *Medina*. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 90, 93, 94, or 95, (for so much do the *Moslem* writers differ about the year of his birth) and consequently attained to a very old age. Some of those writers pretend, that he was three whole years in his mother's womb. In his last illness, a friend going to visit him, found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, "How should I not weep; and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to God that for every question decided by me, according to my own opinion, I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own!" *Al Ghazali* thinks it a sufficient proof of *Malec's* directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that, being once asked his opinion as to forty-eight questions, his answer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know; it being no easy matter for one who has any other view than God's glory, to make so frank a confession of his ignorance. A certain person having once demanded of him whether it was lawful to use a porpoise, or sea-hog, for food, he answered in the negative; and, in support of his decision, observed, that tho' it was really a fish, yet the name it bore made it pass for a hog, which every *Moslem* was absolutely forbidden to eat. Nor is this to be wondered at; the imposition of names being, according to a tra-

^s D'HERBEL. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 431. *ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI.* *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 114. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 406, 407.

dition that prevails amongst the *Mohammedans*, of divine original. It may not be improper to observe, that the doctrine of *Mâlec* is chiefly followed in *Barbary* and other parts of *Africa*. The *Moslems* of the west are said to have waged war with *Alonso II.* in *Galicia*, this year, with very bad success; the forces of that prince having sallied out upon them from the mountains, intirely defeated them, cut many of them to pieces, taken a considerable number prisoners, and driven all the rest out of the province. Soon after which event, *Heshâm* departed this life, in conformity to the foregoing prediction, before he had completed the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son *Hakem*, who sat twenty six years, ten months, and twenty days, upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain*¹.

Al Rashîd
invades
the terri-
tories of
the
Greeks.

In the 180th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 16th, 796, *Al Rashîd* removed *Mûsa Ebn Isa Al Hâshemi* from the government of *Egypt*, and made his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mobdi* the lieutenant of that country a second time. He also entered the dominions of the *Greek* emperor either this or the following year, with a formidable army, took the city of *Thesbasa* in *Lycaonia*, called *Al Safsâf* by some of the *Arab* writers, ravaged the neighbouring territory, in a dreadful manner, and then returned home with an immense quantity of plunder, and without having sustained any considerable loss. This year also, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, died *Heshâm Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, and was succeeded by his son *Hakem Ebn Heshâm* in the kingdom, or *Khalifat*, erected by the *Moslems* in *Spain*. *Hakem*, or *Al Hakem*, was a prince of great prudence and resolution, and attended in most of his enterprizes with good success. His guards *du corps*, or life-guards, consisted of 5000 men, 3000 of which, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, were renegado's, and 2000 of them eunuchs. Part of them were destined for the defence of his person, and the other part he placed as a garison in his capital city. He caused justice to be impartially administered to the poorest of his subjects, brought even the greatest to condign punishment for their crimes, and was extremely charitable, liberal, and munificent. We must not omit observing, that the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd* excessively regretted the death of *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, for whom he always entertained the most perfect esteem. That prince one day desiring *Mâlec* to come to the palace, in order

¹ *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. *AL BOKHARI, ISM. ABULFED. EBN KHALECAN*, Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 294—296. *AL GHAZALI*, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ut et ipse *Pocock*. ibid. *D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.* p. 539, 540. *LAMAI, RODERIC. TOLETAN.* ubi sup. c. xx, xxi. p. 19.

to instruct his sons, the *Moslem* doctor answered, "Know-
 ledge will not wait upon any person, but is itself to be
 waited upon." "You are in the right of it," said *Harûn*;
 "and therefore they shall attend you in the place to which
 other children resort for the benefit of your instruction."
 And he was as good as his word; for he sent them constantly
 to the public mosque, where many of his subjects children
 met for the same purpose, to receive the documents of this
 celebrated sage. *Mâlec* is reported to have said, that all the
 masters, whose scholar he had been in his younger years, came
 to learn of him before their death. The funeral service was
 performed over him, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, by
 one of his disciples, or followers, named *Ebn Abu Dawib* *.

THE following year, being the 181st of the *Hejra*, com-
 mencing *March* 5th, 797, the *Khalîf* recalled his brother
Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi from *Egypt*, and sent *Ismael Ebn Sa-*
leh thither to take the government of that country upon him. 181.

About this time, *dirhems* were struck in the mint that had been
 set up at *Saurai*, *Sarai*, or *Sariyah*, a very considerable city of
Tabaristân, or *Tabrestân*; one of them coined there the preced-
 ing year having been discovered on the coast of the *Baltick*, not
 far from *Dantzick*, in the year 1722. On one side are seen the
 following words, *In the city of Saurai, one hundred and eighty*;
 i. e. Coined in that city, in the 180th year of the *Hejra*; which
 answers to part of the years of CHRIST 796, and 797. The
 reverse exhibits the following inscription, *MOHAMMED is the*
apostle of GOD, may GOD be propitious to him, and make him
happy! In the Khalifat of AL RASHID JAAFAR. Hence we
 learn (which not a little enhances the value of this *dirhêm*)
 that the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashid* was surnamed *Jaafar*, as well
 as *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Rashid*; which cannot be inferred from
 any of the *Arab* historians, nor even any of the oriental
 writers that have supplied *M. D'Herbelot* with materials for
 his very valuable work. *M. Kehr* imagines, that a great num-
 ber of those pieces were struck in the 180th year of the *Hejra*
 by *Al Rashid*, before he set out from *Baghdâd* on his expedi-
 tion against the *Greeks*, and put into the military chest, in
 order to animate the soldiery, and induce them to distinguish
 themselves in an extraordinary manner; in which, perhaps,
 he may not be very remote from truth. According to *Theo-*
phanes, the *Arabs* received a notable overthrow this year from
 the *Greeks*, at no great distance from *Ephesus*; but the *Arab*
 historians have not taken the least notice of this action, of
 which even the *Greek* author himself has handed down to

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. *THEOPHAN.*
 ubi sup. p. 396. *RODERIC. TOLETAN.* ubi sup. c. xxi. p. 19. *AL*
GHAZALI, *Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab.* p. 295.

us very few particulars. *Solimân* and *Abd'allah*, who had been driven by their brother *Heshâm* into *Africa*, having been apprized of that prince's death, and of his son *Al Hakem's* accession to the crown, assembled about this time a body of troops, to dispute the western *Khalifat* with the latter, and made the necessary dispositions for returning into *Spain* *.

and of the year 182. THE next year, being the 182d of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashid* appointed *Al Leit Ebn Al Fadl*, one of his servants, to preside over *Egypt*. Not long after, the *Khalif* sent an ambassador, with magnificent presents, to the court of *Charlemagne*, or *Charles the Great*, king of *France*, and emperor of the west, who was admitted to an audience at a place between *Vercell*, or *Vercelli*, and *Ivrea*, the *Vercellæ* and *Eperedia* of the ancients, and received with great marks of distinction by that prince. It seems to appear from *Theophanes*, that the *Arabs* made an impression, about this time, upon the imperial territories, and penetrated as far as *Amorium* in *Phrygia* with a very considerable force; but they were soon obliged to retire from thence, if we will believe this author, with some prisoners they had taken, and without having effected any thing of note. We are told by *Roderic of Toledo*, that *Solimân* and *Abd'allah* landed with a body of troops in *Spain*, and fixed their head-quarters at *Valencia*, in order to drive their nephew *Al Hakem* from thence, about the present year. The *Moslem* empire consisted now of the extensive provinces of *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, *Armenia*, *Natolia*, *Media*, or *Adherbijân*, *Babylonia*, *Assyria*, *Sindia*, *Sijistan*, *Khorasân*, *Tabrestân*, *Forjân*, *Zablestân*, or *Sablestân*, *Mawarâlnahr*, or *Great Bukhâria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Mauritania*, and others, that rendered it the most formidable and puissant state in the world. The *Moslems* were likewise now in possession of most of the provinces of *Spain*, together with some part of *France*; tho' the prince that presided over them there seems to have been independent on *Al Rashid*, who might, at this juncture, with great propriety, have been stiled the *Khalif* of the east *.

The Khâ- IN the 183d year of the *Hejra*, beginning February 12th, kân makes 799, the *Khâkân* sent a numerous army through the *Caspian* an irrup- straits, called by the *Arabs* *Bâbalabwâb*, or the gate of gates,

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 21—23. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 396. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. Chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. tom. i. p. 707.

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 115. Scriptor. rer. Germanicar. à Carolo M. usque ad Fridericum III. p. 58. ad fin. vit. Carol. M. Argentorati, 1702. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 397, et alib. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 22. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxi. p. 19.

to make an irruption into the *Moslem* territories. These ho-
 stilities were committed against the *Khalif* by the *Khákán*, in the Kha-
 order to revenge his daughter's death; who, having been be-
 trothed to *Fadl Ebn Yahya Ebn Kháled Ebn Barmac*, and *terri-*
 coming to *Bartha'a*, to be married to him, died there a natu-
 ral death: upon which, the retinue that attended her returned
 home, and gave out, tho' without the least appearance of truth,
 that she was privately destroyed. This greatly incensing the
Khákán, that prince's forces, by his order, entered *Mawarâ'l-*
ahhr, put a vast number of the *Khalif's* subjects in that pro-
 vince to the sword, and carried off above 100,000 of them
 prisoners. Either this or the following year, one of *Al Rashid's*
 generals, called *Abimelec* by *Theophanes*, with a body of troops
 ravaged the provinces of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*: upon which,
 a negotiation was set on foot between the *Khalif* and the empress
Irene, for an accommodation between the two powers; but
 without effect. Towards the close of the present year, *Mûsa*
Ebn Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu
Taleb, who had been imprisoned at *Baghdád*, was put to death
 in the prison where he had been confined, by *Al Rashid's*
 order. He left eighteen sons and twenty-three daughters be-
 hind him, and was buried in the western, or old, city of
Baghdád. About this time, *Solimán* and *Abd'allah* assembled
 their forces at *Valencia*, and had several brisk rencounters with
 some parties and detachments of *Al Hakem's* troops; tho' no-
 thing decisive happened, during the course of it, in *Spain* ^v.

In the 184th, or 185th, year of the *Mohammedan æra*, *The Chri-*
Abimelech made another irruption with a body of light-armed *stians de-*
 troops into the imperial territories, and penetrated to *Man-^{feated by}*
gana. From thence he sent a detachment to the stables of *the Arabs*,
Stauracius, which carried off the horses there, and one in *and Al*
 particular that the empress *Irene* herself sometimes used. An- *Hakem*
 other body of the *Arabs* fell into *Lydia*, where they committed *obtains a*
 terrible depredations, and returned home loaded with booty. *complete*
 A third body of troops of the same nation attacked the impe- *victory in*
 rial forces commanded by *Peter*, a patrician, put them to *Spain.*
 flight, and made themselves masters of all their baggage, pro-
 visions, and military stores. The *Christians* suffered extremely
 in the action; *Theophanes* seeming to intimate, that a vast
 number of their men, and amongst them many officers of note,
 were killed upon the spot. In the 184th year of the *Hejra*, the
Khalif Harún Al Rashid, according to *Ebn Shohnab*, likewise
 sent *Ibrahim Ebn Aglab* into the western part of *Africa*, to take
 upon him the government of a tract of very considerable ex-

^v GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 232. ABU JAAFAR AL
 TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 399. RO-
 DERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

tert there. About the same time, *Al Hokem* gave his uncles battle, and overthrew them with incredible slaughter. *Soliman*, one of them, was killed upon the spot; and *Abd'allah*, the other, with great difficulty made his escape to *Valencia*, where he was shut up by the victor's troops. This memorable battle, fought in the 184th year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe *Roderic*, so often cited here, determined the fate of *Spain*.

An account of Samar-kand, where some dir-hems were struck in 801.

THE next year, being the 185th of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 21st, 801, some *dirhems* were struck in the mint erected at *Samarkand*; one of which was found not far from *Dantzick*, in the year 1722. *Samarkand*, the capital of *Mawer-ur'lnabr*, seems to be the *Maracanda* of the antients, said by *Strabon* to be the metropolis of the *Sogdians*, and is placed by *Ebn Hawkel*, or *Ebn Hawkal*, on the southern bank of the river *Sogd*. It has always been esteemed as one of the most renowned cities of *Asia*, being situated in a most delightful tract, denominated the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, on a considerable river, that runs through the town, and twelve parasangs in circumference; at least its walls were of that extent in the time of *Soltan Mohammed Khowarazm Shâh*, before it was reduced by *Jenghîz Khân*. From the charming plain, considered by the orientals as one of the four *Tempe's* of *Asia*, in the southern part of which this city is situated, and going under the name of the *Sogd*, i. e. the plain, or valley, of *Samarkand*, the province in which it stands was called *Sogdiana* by the antients. The people of the country have a tradition, that this capital was founded by one of the princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, settled in *Yaman*, that had the general title of *Tobba*, or *successor*, tho' they do not take upon them to determine with any precision the time of its foundation; and, in support of this tradition, they pretend, that an inscription, written in the old *Hamyaritic* character, was dug up near one of the gates of *Samarkand*. If this be admitted by the learned, they must likewise allow, that the kingdom of the *Hamyarites* was formed of several very extensive provinces; the city of *Samarkand* being, according to *Al Berjendi*, the geographer, about 1000 parasangs distant from that of *Sennaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*. *Khondemir* and the author of the *Leb Tarikh*, or *Lobb Al Tawarikh*, write, that the castle of *Samarkand* was built by *Kishtash*, the son of *Lorash*, *Labrâsh*, or *Laborash*, king of *Persia*, of the second dynasty, called the dynasty of *Kay*, or the *Kaianians*; who likewise erected a wall 120 parasangs long, that inclosed the district of *Samarkand*, and defended it from the courses of the people of *Tûran*,

* THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 400. EBN SHOHNAH, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 707. Francofurti, 1603.

or *Turkeftân*. But, notwithstanding this, there is some reason to believe that this city was founded by *Alexander the Great*; at least if we will pay any regard to the authority of *Yakût Ebn Abd'allah*, the Syrian geographer. Some authors relate, that the *Moslems* first made themselves masters of *Samarkand*, under the conduct of *Katiba Ebn Moslem*, in the 88th year of the *Hejra*, and not the 85th, as we find asserted by *M. D'Herbelot*; but others believe, that they first reduced that place in the 93d year of the *Mohammedan* æra, the very year in which *Tarif* begun his conquests in *Spain*. It fell afterwards into the hands of the *Soltâns*, or *Khâns*, of *Khovarazm*, and was taken and pillaged by *Jenghiz Khân* in the year of the *Hejra* 617. But *Timâr Beg*, or *Timâr Bek*, the *Tamerlan* of the *Europeans*, restored it, rendered it more flourishing than ever, and made it the seat of his empire in the year of the *Hejra* 771. After which, it continued to be the residence of his descendants, till they were driven from thence by the *Uzbeks*, who have remained in possession of it to this day. If *Samarkand* answers to the *Maracanda* of the ancients, as the affinity between those two names may render something probable, it could not well have been founded by *Alexander the Great*; since *Maracanda* was demolished by that prince, as we learn from *Strabo*. Adjacent to this city, denominated *Samaul Han*, *Sa-ma-han*, and sometimes *Han*, by the *Chinese*, is the little hill *Cubac*, that supplies the inhabitants with large quantities of stones, out of its bowels, with which the streets of *Samarkand* are paved. The plain, or valley, in the language of this country *Sogd*, is, according to some modern travellers, about eight days journey in length, and stretches itself out from the district of *Bekhâra* to the confines of *Al Batem*; beginning above twenty parasangs above *Samarkand*. It is composed intirely of most beautiful gardens and verdant meads; the former of which the neighbouring rivers perpetually refresh with their salutary irrigations. The walls of this city, being twelve parasangs in circumference, had formerly twelve iron-gates, a parasang distant from each other, and between every two of them a centry was posted. The tops of these walls were adorned with galleries and towers, which rendered the place likewise more capable of sustaining a siege. The inner or interior city had four gates only, contained the citadel and other public buildings, and was watered by a river, carried through leaden pipes into the foss or ditch, that entered the town near the gate of *Kash*. In the days of *Ramufio*, it was as big as *Cairo*, or *Al Kahirah*, the metropolis of *Egypt*, and could at that time send into the field a body of 60,000 horse. The religions formerly tolerated here were the *Christian*, as professed by the *Nestorians*,

the *Mohammedan*, the *Magian*, and the *Sabian*; the two last of which have been absurdly confounded by *M. Kehr*. It stands about seven days journey north of the city of *Bokhâra*, and falls short at present of being so splendid as in times past; though it is still very large and populous. 'Tis fortified with strong bulwarks of earth, and its buildings are in much the same condition as those of the city of *Bokhâra*, excepting that more of its houses consist of stone, which is brought from some quarries about the town. The beautiful silk paper made at *Samarkand* is looked upon to be the best in *Asia*, and is much esteemed all over the east. The academy of sciences, that flourishes here, is at present one of the most famous seats of literature amongst the *Mohammedans*. Amongst the learned men produced by this city may be ranked the following: *Shams-addin Mohammed Ebn Ashraf Al Hoesini*, who wrote some observations concerning the method to be used in disputations, as also concerning figures and the elements of geometry, in *Arabic*, together with a recension of the commentaries upon the *Korân*; *Abu Ahmed Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Al Omari*, who penned a treatise in *Arabic* upon the art of disputing; *Abu'l Kasem*, who composed a book upon the deliverance of the mind from error; *Mohammed Ebn Mahmud Ebn Mohammed*, who published a treatise in *Arabic* upon the various readings of the *Korân*; a MS. copy of which work is said to have been brought out of the east by *Signore Pietra Della Valle*, a Roman nobleman, and to be still extant at *Rome*, by *Father Marracci*; *Abu'l Leiths Nasr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim*, who wrote a commentary upon the *Korân*, a piece, intitled, *Singular cases and allegations of law, Thesaurus jurisprudentiæ*, a beautiful copy of which is preserved in the duke of *Sax-Gotha's* magnificent library, *The instruction of the ignorant*, a collection of moral histories, and a treatise bearing the title of *Instruction preparatory to prayer*; all which were composed and written in *Arabic*; *Rocn-addin Mohammed*, a famous lawyer and civilian, as well as the author last-mentioned, who published an *Indian* philosophical and magical book in *Arabic*, at *Kanuti*, or *Kanuthi*, a city of *India*, where *Soltân Ali Mirza*, of the line of *Tamerlan*, reigned. To this piece he prefixed the title of *The cistern of life*. *Nâjib-addin Mohammed Ebn Ali*, who penned a book, intitled, *Synopsis medicinæ practicæ*, treating of the causes, symptoms, and cure, of all diseases; *Imâm Dawlat Shâh Ebn Alâeddawla Bakhti Shâh Al Ghafi*, who wrote the lives of twenty *Arabic* and six *Persian* poets. The famous poet *Al Nassafi*, who composed 2660 distichs upon all the chapters of the *Sonna*, likewise died at *Samarkand*. The celebrated lawyer *Abu Alâ' al-lab Mohammed Ebn Ismael*, born at *Bukhâra*, or *Bekhâra*, the capi-

capital of the proper *Bukhária*, and from thence surnamed *Al Bokhári*, who collected the oral traditions of *Mohammed*, that had been propagated by his followers, and reduced them to a sort of system, fled also from the fury of his enemy into the castle of *Khertenk* at *Samarkand*. This piece has always been intitled by the orientals *Al Sabib Al Bokhári*. A most ancient, elegant, and rare, MS. copy of it may be seen in the public library at *Leipsick*, said to have been written in the year of our LORD 1398. The language spoken at *Samarkand* is a dialect of the *Persic*, tho' the *Arabic* and *Mongalico-Tartarian* tongues are likewise there very well understood. The *Tartars* of *Bukhária*, or the *Uzbeks*, now in possession of *Samarkand*, which was taken from the descendants of *Tamerlan* by their ancestors, under the conduct of *Shaibek Khán*, in the year of our LORD 1517, are very fond of learned men, especially those that come amongst them from foreign parts, and greatly admire the calligraphy of the *Persians*. This *M. Kehr* learned from *M. Justus Samuel Scharfschmid*, who had been chaplain to a regiment at *Terki*, and frequently conversed with the *Tartars* of *Bukhária*. The *Uzbeks* inhabiting this tract are said to be extremely handsome; for which reason, *Arabshah*, in his history of *Timúr*, calls the men moons, and the women suns. They are vastly clean and neat in their attire; and their turbants are looked upon by the people of *Aleppo* as the finest and most elegant of any in the east. The *Bukharian* merchants resort in great numbers to the marts of *Syria*, and import into that country very considerable quantities of most excellent silk, gold, and other valuable commodities; taking in return cloth, iron, and *English* tin. The district of *Samarkand* also supplies *Persia*, and the territories of the *Great Mogul* with pears, apples, raisins, and melons, which it produces in surprizing plenty, of a most exquisite and delicious taste. As the province of *Mawarâ'nabr* has no particular *Khán*, the castle of *Samarkand* falls insensibly to ruin. When the *Khán* of *Great Bukhária* comes in the summer to pass some months at *Samarkand*, he usually incamps in the meadows near the town. The river here, which falls into the *Amú* about the 92° of longitude, would be of prodigious service to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring countries, if the inhabitants had but the industry to make it navigable. *Samarkand* stands about seven days journey of *Khojandah*, a city of *Mawarâ'nabr*, situated upon the *Sihán*, or the *Jaxartes*, in a northern direction, and five east of *Ofrushanah*, one of the principal cities of *Mawarâ'nabr*. Hence it came to pass, that *Arabshah* placed it between two rivers, that is to say, the *Jihán* and the *Sihán*, or the *Oxus* and the *Jaxartes*. Its latitude has been determined by *Ulugh*

Beigh, or *Olugh Bek*, to be $39^{\circ} 37' 23''$, tho' with more precision, by later astronomers, $41^{\circ} 20'$, and its longitude $95^{\circ} 00'$.

A description of one of these dirhems.

THE *dirhém* above-mentioned, on the anterior part, exhibits the words, *Be Samerkanda chamfen wathsamana wameatm*; that is, *In Samarkand, the 185th year*; and on the reverse, *Mohammedon resalo'llahi wakhelfatohol Emirol Amin Mohammedi Ebnol Emiri l'mo'menina Jaafara*, i. e. *Mohammed is the apostle of GOD, and the Emir Al Amin Mohammed, the son of Jaafar, prince of the faithful, is his successor*. This *dirhém*, therefore, seems to have been struck by the citizens of *Samarkand* in honour of *Al Amin*, who had before been declared his father's immediate successor, and was this very year acknowledged to have arrived at his majority, according to the custom of the orientals, when he was fifteen years old, and of age to govern the empire; as may very naturally, and without the least torture or violence, be inferred from the inscription preserved on this remarkable coin. As the inscription is written in the *Cúfic* character, the *dirhém* under consideration may not improbably have been one of the same sort with those that had *Cúfic* letters inscribed upon them, and were found, according to *Arabshah*, in the ruins of old *Samarkand*. Be that as it will, this *dirhém* apparently takes notice of a fact that has not been clearly and explicitly mentioned by any of the *Moslem* historians *.

The Khalif divides the government of his dominions

In the 186th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 10th, 802, the *Khalif Harún Al Rashid* performed another pilgrimage to *Mecca*; which proved very expensive to him. After the performance of all the prescribed ceremonies at *Mecca*, he went to *Medina*, and distributed large sums of money in alms amongst the poorer inhabitants of both those cities. He also

* GEORG. JAC. KEHR, monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c. p. 26—29. LIPSIÆ, 1724. EBN HAWKEL, apud ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. ut et ipse ISM. ABULFED. ibid. ARRIAN. lib. iii. sub fin. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. YAKUT, STRAB. lib. xi. AHMED EBN WADHEH, HASAN EBN AL MONDHERR. M. GIO. BATTISTA RAMUSIO, in vol. i. lib. Italic. *Delle Navigazioni Et Viaggi*, &c. ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. pass. PAUL. VENET. de regionib. oriental. lib. i. cap. 39. p. 33. JUSTUS SAMUEL SCHARSCHMID, apud Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi sup. p. 28. AL BIRUNI, AL BRJENDI, KHONDEMIR, Aut. LEB TARIKH, GELII not. ad Alfragan. p. 171—175, & alib. pass. Vide etiam Chorasmiæ, &c. descript. ex tabulis Abulfed. &c. & bin. tabul. geographic. NASSIR EDDIN. Perf. & ULUGH BEIGH. Tatar. op. & stud. Joannis Gravii, Oxon. 1711.

b GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 26, 29. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 232. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113. ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim.

called

called his son *Al Kasem* to the succession, after *Al Mamân*, and amongst surnamed him *Al Mutaman*. After this, he is said, by *Abu bis three Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Khondemir*, to have divided the government of his extensive dominions amongst his three sons in the following manner: To *Al Amin*, the eldest of them, he assigned the lieutenancy of the provinces of *Syria*, *Irdk*, the three *Arabia's*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Palestine*, *Egypt*, and all that part of *Africa* conquered by his predecessors, extending from the confines of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* to the straits of *Gibraltar*, with the dignity of *Khalif*; to *Al Mamân*, the second, that of *Persia*, *Kermân*, the *Indies*, *Kberasân*, *Tabrestân*, *Cablestân*, and *Zablestân*, or *Sablestân*, together with the vast province of *Mawarâlnahr*; and to his third son *Al Kasem*, *Armenia*, *Natolia*, *Jorjân*, *Georgia*, *Circassia*, or *Tcherkassia*, and all the *Moslem* territories bordering upon the *Euxine* sea. With regard to the order of succession, it has been already observed, that *Al Amin* was to mount the throne after his father, *Al Mamûn* after him, and then *Al Kasem Al Mutaman*. About this time, *Al Hakem* forgave his only surviving uncle *Abd'allah*, permitted him to reside in the city of *Valencia*, settled upon him a pension of 1000 *dinârs* a month, engaged to make him an annual present of 5000 more, graciously received his sons, and gave one of them his own sister in marriage; by which means, peace and tranquillity were intirely restored to the *Moslem* conquests in *Spain* c.

THE following year, being the 187th year of the *Hejra*, *The house* commencing *December* 30th, 802, *Al Rashid* put his favour of *Bar-rite Jaafar Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* to death; mak dif- for which different reasons have been assigned by different au- graced. thors. Some pretend, that when the *Khalif* was determined to incarcerate *Yahya Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, he committed him to the care of *Jaafar*, who suffered him to make his escape by night, and even sent a person with him to conduct him to *Fâmia*; which being resented by *Al Rashid*, tho' he at first seemed to approve of what *Jaafar* had done, it was the principal cause of his destruction. Others say, that the *Khalif* being so vastly fond both of *Jaafar* and his own sister *Abbâsa*, that he could not long be absent from either of them, in order to enjoy their company and conversation together with the less inconvenience to them, he gave her in marriage to him; permitting him to look upon her as much as he pleased, but in-

c ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 115, 116. KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. p. 19, 20.

joining him never to touch her. Notwithstanding which injunction, *Jaasar*, being once drunk, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, or rather both of them being young, as is observed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, lay with her, and got her with child. After the expiration of the usual term, she was brought to bed of twins; which *Jaasar* sent to *Mecca*, in order to avoid the fury and resentment of *Al Rashid*. But the *Khalif* being soon acquainted with what had happened, ordered *Jaasar's* head to be cut off, sent his brother *Al Fadl*, and his father *Yahya*, to prison at *Al Rakka*, where they remained till the day of their death, and commanded his sister *Abbása*, who had likewise been confined, together with her two children, to be thrown alive into a well, which was afterwards filled up; tho' he is said to have shed tears a little before this command was carried into execution. Others relate, that the *Khalif* ordered *Jaasar* to be beheaded, because he had built a house that cost him 20,000 *dinárs*; which his master considered as an evident proof of his having embezzled the public money; and, lastly, others affirm, that *Al Rashid* having taken a dislike to the house of *Barmac*, and being afraid of *Jaasar* and his father *Yahya*, as having imparted to them all his secrets, he found himself obliged to treat them in the foregoing manner. But whatever was the motive to this surprizing conduct, *Jaasar* was executed in the palace by *Mafrúr* on Saturday, in the month of *Al Moharram*, by the *Khalif's* order, when he had scarce completed the 37th year of his age. Nor could his mother, tho' she had been *Al Rashid's* nurse, prevail upon the *Khalif* to release her husband *Yahya*, and her other son *Al Fadl*, who had been *Harún's* counsellors during the space of seventeen years, from their confinement; he persisting inflexibly in his intention to depress that once favourite family, which was now become the object of his aversion, and having written to all the governors of provinces to confiscate the effects belonging to every member of it, that should be found in any part of his dominions. It may not be improper to inform our readers here, that the *Barmacidae*, or *Barmecide*, called by the *Arabs* *Baramaca*, or *Barameca*, were one of the most illustrious families of the east, being originally descended, according to some authors, from the antient kings of *Persia*; tho', if we will pay any regard to the sentiments of *Al Zamakhshari*, they deduced their origin from the city of *Balkh*. This writer relates, that the first of this family erected the stately and magnificent mosque at *Balkh*, called *Neu Babar*; which name, in *Persic*, signifies *new spring*, or *new garden*; and that they constructed this noble edifice upon the model of the temple at *Mecca*. The outside of it, in imitation of what was done to the exterior part of the *Caaba*, they covered with

with rich damask, and surrounded the whole with 360 chapels, into which the pilgrims, of whom there was a vast concourse here, usually retired, in order to perform their devotions. As the founders were the proper intendants, or keepers, of this temple, and considered that post as inseparably connected, by the right of patronage, with their family, they assumed from thence the name of *Barmac*, or *Barmer*, and ever afterwards retained both the title and the name. A certain author, however, of considerable note in the east, has not scrupled to deduce the appellation of *Barmac* from a different source ^d.

THE first who gave a very remarkable lustre to this family, *That family* which most eminently distinguished it from many others that *highly* had before made a much more considerable figure, was the *esteemed in* aforesaid *Yahya Ebn Khâled*, named at length *Abu Ali Yahya after-*
Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac, a person endued with all civil and *ages*; military virtues, and chosen by the *Khalif Al Mohdi* for governor to his son *Harûn Al Rashid*. He had four sons, *Fadl*, *Jaasar*, *Mohammed*, and *Mûsa*, who by no means degenerated from their father's virtues, but raised the glory and reputation of their house to the highest pitch. It may not be amiss to remark, that, after this illustrious family had been abandoned by fortune, and fallen under the *Khalif's* displeasure, the people had a more lively sense than ever of the important services the members of it had done them. The exalted merit and excellent qualities of those great men then appeared in a stronger light than even when they were in the zenith of their power; inasmuch that, in after-ages, they found almost as many historians to celebrate their virtues, and write their lives, as did the greatest conquerors and most powerful princes of the east ^e.

THE elevated sentiments their cotemporaries entertained of *and by* their rare and uncommon merit, in some measure appears *their co-* from the following remarkable story, which has been handed *tempora-* down to us by a *Persian* historian. The *Khalif Harûn Al ries.* *Rashid*, after he had disgraced the house of *Barmac*, forbade his subjects ever to mention that family, upon pain of death, on any occasion. But, notwithstanding this, an old man, named *Mondir*, placed himself one day upon an eminence, that served him for a sort of pulpit, opposite to one of their houses, then deserted, where he entertained all that passed by

^d ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 116, 117, 118. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 232, 233. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in *Rabi Al Abrâr*. Aut. MAOMA AL TAWARIKH. ^e ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. KHON-DEMIR, Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, &c.

with a detail of the finest and most amiable actions of those great men; making upon them a panegyric in form. The *Khalif*, being apprized of his boldness, ordered the man to be brought before him, and condemned him to die for treating with such contempt his prohibition. *Mondir* received his sentence with pleasure, and only desired leave to speak two words to the *Khalif* before his execution. This being granted, the two words he mentioned were drawn out into a long discourse; in which he insisted upon the obligations he was under to the family of *Barmac* with such force, that the *Khalif* heard him without impatience, was touched with his words, and did not only give him his life, but likewise made him a present of a very rich gold plate, that he himself used. But the most surprizing part of the old man's conduct is still behind. Having received this valuable present from the *Khalif*'s own hand, and being, according to the eastern custom, prostrate on the ground, he said, by way of acknowledgment, to his munificent benefactor, *See here a new favour that I have received from the house of Barmac!* Which words were so remarkable, that they afterwards passed into a proverb, current in every part of *Asia*, according to the report of the same historian †.

THO' almost all the members of the family, of which we have been giving our readers here some account, as well as their domestics, and other dependents, were involved in the common destruction, yet *Mohammed Ebn Yahya* did not meet with the least molestation, nor receive even the slightest injury in the minutest particular. From whence it appears, that his conduct gave no manner of umbrage to the *Khalif*, and consequently that he was not affected by the cause, whatever it might have been, that produced the foregoing alteration in that prince's disposition towards the race of *Barmac*. With regard to *Yahya* himself, he is said by some authors, to have died in prison at *Al Rakka*, in the year of the *Hejra* 196, and, by others, in the 193d year of that æra. As for *Jasfar*, his son, after *Mafrur* had struck off his head, his body was cut in pieces, and a part of it fixed upon every one of the gates of *Baghdad*. The head also, by the *Khalif*'s order, was exposed to public view on the bridge over the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of that city ‡.

Al Rashid THE same year, that is, the 187th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashid* received a letter from *Nicephorus*, soon after he had been advanced to the imperial dignity, commanding him to return all the money he had extorted from *Irene*, though this had

† AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. § ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ibi sup. p. 117.

been

been secured to him by the last treaty concluded with that of a peace princess, or to expect soon to see an imperial army in the ^{upon his} heart of his dominions. This insolent letter so incensed the ^{even} *Khalif*, that he immediately assembled his forces, and ad- ^{terms.} vanced to *Heraclea*; laying the country through which he moved waste with fire and sword. For some time, also, he kept that city straitly besieged; which so terrified the *Greek* emperor, who was afraid lest the *Arabs* should over-run all the imperial provinces in *Asia*, that he submitted to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*. Upon this, *Harún* granted him a peace, and returned with his army to *Al Rakka*. But a hard frost soon after happening in those parts, *Nicephorus* took for granted that the severity of the season would prevent *Harún* from making him another visit, and therefore broke the preceding treaty. Of which the *Khalif* receiving advice, he instantly put himself again in motion, resumed the military operations, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, forced the emperor to accept of the terms prescribed him, and to pay the tribute that had formerly been imposed upon him. After which, he retired out of the *Christian* territories, and sent *Abmed Ebn Ymael Al Hásbemi* as his lieutenant into *Egypt*. It appears from a *Persian* historian, that *Nicephorus*, before hostilities commenced, made *Harún* a present of several excellent swords, all which the *Khalif* cut in two with his famous sword *Samsamah*, as if they had been so many radishes, in the presence of the *Greek* ambassador, who brought them. This *Samsamah* was a sword that had fallen into *Al Rashid's* hands amongst the spoils of *Ebn Dakikán*, one of the last *Hamyaritic* princes of *Yaman*; but is said to have belonged originally to a valiant *Arab*, named *Amru Ebn Maadi Carb*, under whose name it generally went amongst the *Moslems*. By the present of the above-mentioned swords, *Nicephorus* gave *Harún* plainly to understand, that he was more disposed to come to blows with him, than to pay him the tribute that had been exacted of *Irene*, whom he succeeded in the empire. Some of the eastern writers inform us, that the *Khalif*, upon this provocation, immediately entered the enemy's frontiers, advanced to *Heraclea*, took that city, and even flew like an eagle to the very gates of *Constantinople* itself. The famous sword above-mentioned has been taken notice of by *Abmed Ebn Yusef* and *Al Fannábi*, in their history of the *Hamyarites*, as well as by other authors. There did not appear the least flaw in the blade, after the proof *Harún* had made of it; which clearly evinced the strength of his arm, as well as the goodness of the sword. It is said, that *Amru Ebn Maadi Carb* once gave this sword to a certain prince, who complained that it did not produce the desired effect; upon which, that brave

brave man took the liberty to tell him, that he had not fear him his arm with his sword ^b.

Nicephorus de-
seated by
the Kha-
li's forces. THE next year, being the 188th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* sent an army to invade some of the imperial provinces, which penetrated as far as *Sassáf*. *Nicephorus*, being informed of this irruption, advanced at the head of his forces against the *Arabs*, and attacked them with incredible fury, but was overthrown with the loss of 40,000 men, and received himself three wounds in the action. After which, the *Moslems* ravaged all the adjacent territory in a dreadful manner, and then returned home laden with the spoils acquired in this successful expedition ⁱ.

An histori-
cal ac-
count of
the city of
Balkh,
where
some dir-
hems
were
struck this
year. THE same year, as appears from one of them found on the coast of the *Baltick* in the year 1722, several *dirhems* were struck at *Balb*, *Balkhe*, or *Balkh*, a city of *Khorasán*, or rather of *Great Bukhária*, situated in the extremity of that province, at no very great distance from the source of the *Jihán*, the *Amú*, or the *Oxus*, upon a fine river, sometimes denominated by the orientals the river of *Balkh*. The *Persian* historians attribute the foundation of this city to *Kay-umarráz*, the first king of *Persia*, and say that he gave it the name of *Balkh*, because he met his brother upon the spot where it stood, after he had been lost a long time; *balkhiden*, or *balghiden*, in the *Persian* language, signifying to receive and embrace a friend. The first kings of *Persia*, who resided in the province of *Media*, or *Adherbiján*, considered this city, which was in *Bactria*, as one of their principal frontiers on the side of *Scythia*; and *Lohorásb*, *Lorasp*, or *Lohrásp*, having resigned his crown to his son *Kishtasp*, or *Hydaspes*, made it the place of his retreat, and was afterwards killed by *Afrasjab*, the king of *Turkeistán*. Hence it came to pass, that *Yákút Ebn Abd'allab*, of *Hamath* in *Syria*, asserted *Balkh* to have been founded by this *Lohrásp* about the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* destroyed *Jerusalem*; though there seems to be no foundation for such a notion. Some of the oriental writers make those two princes to have been the same person; and others pretend, that *Lohrásp* conferred the government of *Chaldæa* upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom they therefore consider as his viceroy, or lieutenant, there. The latter take *Lohrásp* and *Beloch*, or *Balokh*, in the catalogue of *Assyrian* kings, to have been in reality the same prince, and suppose the last name to have

^b GREG. ABU'L-PARAJ, ubi sup. p. 233. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 118. EUTYCH. ubi sup. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nigharij*. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNAB. Vide etiam THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 402.

ⁱ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 113, 119.

been

been applied to him, because he fixed his residence at *Balkh*. Both the name and situation of this place clearly evince it to have been the *Bactra* of the antients. For, the city of *Bactra*, called likewise *Zariaspa* by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, was situated under mount *Paropamisus*, a part of mount *Taurus*, or *Caucasus*, on this side the *Oxus*, according to the old geographers. And that the city of *Balkh* is seated in a plain about four parasangs from a mountain, and has its suburbs washed by the river *Debalh*, the *Bactrus* of *Curtius*, *Pliny*, *Polyænus*, and *Strabo*, which, after it has irrigated the gardens and fields in the neighbourhood of this place, discharges itself into the *Amu*, or the *Oxus*, about twelve parasangs from *Balkh*, we learn from *Ebn Hawkal*, who had himself very attentively viewed the situation of this city. Nor can any thing be more common amongst the orientals than the promiscuous use and permutation of the letters *L* and *R*; from whence it will sufficiently appear, that *Bactra* and *Balkh*, *Balkho*, or *Balch*, are words extremely similar, if not altogether the same name. The notion here advanced may also be rendered still more probable by several additional considerations, with which we are supplied by *Scharif AlEdrisi*, or the *Nubian* geographer, *Abulfeda*, and other eastern writers. We say nothing here of the reduction of *Bactra* by *Semiramis*, 600 years before the death of *Lorâsp*, or *Lobrâsp*, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*; as this historical article intirely depends upon the authority of *Ctesias*, whom we have elsewhere demonstrated to be a fabulous writer. The fertility of the soil in the territory of *Balkh*, which, according to *Abulfeda*, was the metropolis of *Khorasân*, blessed with great plenty of water, and producing large quantities of sugar-canes, likewise very well answers to the surprizing fruitfulness of *Bactria*, in conformity to the description of that country handed down to us by the antients. The district of *Balkh* is moreover said to produce hyacinths and rubies, very beautiful to behold, several of which have found their way into *Europe* at different times. Some of the eastern authors relate, that *Lobrâsp*'s general *Raham* was no other than *Nebuchadnezzar*, who subjugated *Palestine* in the days of the prophet *Jeremiah*. We are told, that *Kishtiâsh*, or *Hydaspes*, was crowned at *Balkh* in the days of the famous *Zoroastres*, or *Zerdusht*, at whose instigation he became a convert to *Magism*, and erected many fire-temples in his kingdom. We are likewise informed, that this monarch afterwards removed from *Balkh*, and fixed his residence at *Eshakbr*, or *Istakhra*, the antient *Persepolis*, in the province of *Fars*, or *Farsistân*, that is, *Persia* properly so called; and that he reigned not only over *Persia* and *Turkestân*, or the regions situated beyond the *Caspian* sea and the *Oxus*, but likewise the whole kingdom of *Flavasha*, *Habessinia*, or *Ethiopia*.

Be

Be that as it will, after a series of long and bloody wars between the oriental *Turks* and the *Persians*, the latter, under their princes of the second dynasty, are said to have made *Balkh* the capital of their empire, as its situation enabled them to dispute more easily with the former the passage of the *Oxus*. The latter kings, however, of the second dynasty, and those of the third, resided constantly at *Esfakbr*, or *Istakbr*, in the province of *Fars*, and *Tuster*, or *Susa*, in that of *Khūzestān*, the *Susiana* of the ancients. Those of the fourth dynasty chose to settle in *Irāk*, where they built the city of *Al Madāyen*, upon the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*. But, notwithstanding this, *Balkh* always remained the capital of *Khorasān*, and was actually so, when it was taken by *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, in the 27th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 647, and not by *Ahnaf Ebn Al Kais*, as we find asserted by M. D'Herbelot, in the *Khalifat* of *Othmān*. Some of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbās*, as well as the *Seljukian* princes, and those of the race of the *Samani*, having resided in other cities of *Khorasān*, as *Nisabūr* and *Merū*; the *Mogul* and *Tartar* princes also, descended from *Jenghiz Khān* and *Tamerlan*, having chosen *Herāt* for their capital; *Balkh*, *Nisabūr*, *Merū*, and *Herāt* were reputed royal cities, and assumed every one of them the title of capital of *Khorasān*. Nevertheless, *Balkh* enjoyed the peculiar privilege of being stiled *Kobbat Al Islām*, the metropolis of Islamism, and extended its jurisdiction over the territories of *Badakhshān*, or *Balakhshān*, *Khotlan*, and *Tokbarestān*; which undoubtedly rendered it, in some respects, the most opulent, famous, and conspicuous city of the vast province in which it stood. The established religion here is *Mohammedism*, tho' there may possibly be even at present some few *Magians*, whose sacred rites are performed in the old *Persic* language, are termed *Pehlavi*, or *Peh'lewān*, amongst the *Uzbeks*. That the *Christian* religion was not intirely unknown at *Balkh*, in the 8th century after CHRIST, appears likewise from an ancient monument of stone, dug up at *Si-ngan-fu*, the capital of the province of *Shen-si* in *China*, in the year of our LORD 1625, with an inscription in *Chinese*, and another in *Syriac*, upon it; a copy of which is preserved in the *Vatican* library, amongst the *Chinese* books presented by Father *Couplet* to *Innocent XI*. The *Chinese* inscription contains the names of seventy missionaries sent out of *Assyria*, or *Chaldea*, and not *Palestine*, as the *Latin* translator has falsely remarked, into the empire of *China*; amongst which we find an historical memoir in the *Syriac* language, and *Estrangelo*, or round *Chaldean*, character, to the following effect: "In the days of the father of fathers
 " *Mar Ananjesu*, the catholic patriarch, *Adam*, the presbyter,
 " suffragan, and pope, of the *Chinese*, in the year of the
 " *Greeks*

“ *Greeks* 1092. (of CHRIST 781) and *Mar Jazedbuzid*, the
 “ presbyter and suffragan of the royal city of *Chumdan*, or
 “ *Kbundán*, the son of the blessed *Millesius*, presbyter, born
 “ at *Balach*, or *Balakh*, a city of *Adatchuristán*, or *Adatkhú-*
 “ *ristán*, erected this monument of stone, upon which is in-
 “ scribed the dispensation of our Saviour, and the predica-
 “ tion of our fathers to the emperor of *China*.” Hence it
 appears, that several *Christian* missionaries visited *China* even
 in the eighth century, in order to convert the *Chinese*; and
 that the city of *Balkh* was then called *Balach*, or *Balakh*. To
 which we may add, that *Abulfeda* is intirely in the right, when
 he asserts that *Balch*, or *Balkh*, is an *Arabic* contraction of
Balah, *Balach*, or *Balakh*, as may be very naturally inferred
 from this inscription; and consequently, that *Dr. Hyde* is ab-
 solutely in the wrong, when he finds fault with the *Arab* hi-
 storian for that assertion, and affirms, that the metropolis of
Khorasán was never called *Balach*, or *Balakh*. This capital
 had likewise the name of *Bilahj* given it by *Al Firauzabadi*,
 or *Al Firúzabádi*, and that of the city of Abraham by the
Persians, probably, as is insinuated by *Dr. Hyde*, because they
 pretended to be of the *Abrahamic* religion, and frequently per-
 formed a solemn pilgrimage to *Balkh*, which was considered
 by them as sacred on that account. *Dr. Hyde* thinks, that the
 words *Bactra* and *Bactria* were derived from *Bokhára*, and
 not from *Balkh*, by the antients; but, for the reasons above
 assigned, we are by no means disposed to come into his opi-
 nion. This author informs us, that *Lohorásh*, *Lorásh*, or
Lohrásh, erected a most magnificent fire-temple at *Balkh*, de-
 nominated by him, from the name of his son, *Adur-Kishtásh*,
 or *Adur-Gushtásh*, in which he deposited all the immense trea-
 sures he was master of. The same author likewise imagines,
 that, from its founder, or rather restorer, *Lohrásh*, or *Lah-*
rásh, this city received the name of *Laraspe*, or *Larasha*,
 supposed by him to have been corrupted by the *Greek* copists,
 or transcribers, into *Zariaspe*, or *Zariaspa*; in which, per-
 haps, he may not be very remote from truth. We must beg
 leave here farther to observe, that *Adam*, the deacon, the son
 of *Jazedbuzid*, the suffragan, *Mar Sergius*, the presbyter and
 suffragan, *Sabarjesu*, the presbyter, *Gabriel*, the presbyter and
 archdeacon, as likewise the ecclesiarch of the cities of *Chum-*
dan, or *Kbundán*, and *Sarag*, or *Sarug*, and the emperor of
China himself, whose name was written in *Chinese* characters,
 are all mentioned in the aforesaid *Syriac* inscription. But, for
 a more particular account of this, our readers must have re-
 course to *Sig. Assenani*’s notes upon *Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus*,
 who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction &c.

* GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 13—15. KHONDEMIR,
 MOD. HIST. VOL. II.

Some farther particulars relating to Balkh.

THE language spoken at *Balkh* is that most elegant dialect of the *Persic* called *Deri*, which signifies *aulic*, or *belonging to the court*; it being the dialect chiefly used by the king and nobility of *Persia*, and that which principally obtains at the *Persian court*. The word *Der*, from whence *Deri* is derived, denotes a *gate*, or *port*, as well as *the court*; from which ambiguity proceeds the expression of the *Ottoman Port*, so common in *Christendom*, equivalent to that of *the Ottoman court*, *the court of the Grand Signor*, or *the court of the Othman Soltân*. The language styled by the *Persians* *Deri*, or *aulic*, which, according to *Ebn Fakhr-addîn Andjshu*, the *Indo-Persian*, who lived above 200 years ago, in the preface to his work, intitled, *Farhângh Jibânghiri*, written in *Persic*, was spoken here in the days of the *Persian* kings of the second dynasty, some of whom resided at *Balkh*. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that this most elegant dialect should be called the language of *Balkh*, the language of *Bâmniân*, a very ancient city, which is supposed to have stood upon the spot occupied afterwards by *Balkh*, or at a small distance from it, and the language of *Merû-Shahjân* and *Bokhâra*. The *Mohammedans* believe, that either the *Arabic* or the *Persian* *Deri* will be the tongue spoken in paradise. They also pretend, that, when GOD speaks gently and mildly to the *Cherubim* about his throne, he uses the latter, but when in a rougher and more authoritative manner, the former of those languages. Amongst the learned men produced by the city of *Balkh* may be ranked the following: *Jamasb*, a *Persian* philosopher, cotemporary with the famous *Zerdusht*, who wrote a treatise

AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, ISM. ABULFED. in Chorasm. descript. YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, STRAB. lib. xi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 15. CURT. lib. vii. c. 4. POLYÆN. strateg. lib. vii. c. 11. PROT. geogr. lib. vi. c. 7. EBN HAWKEL, sive EBN HAWKAL, apud ISM. Abulfed. ubi sup. ut et ipse ISM. ABULFED. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176. THEOPH. SIG. BAYER. hist. regn. Græcor. Bactrian. p. 15—19. Petropoli, 1738. BOCHART. Phal. lib. iii. c. 12. Chan. lib. i. c. 33, & alib. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABULFED. ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. p. 90—95. Univer. Hist. vol. iv. p. 272—297. vol. xx. p. 84, et alib. KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 113, 216, et alib. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 181, 182, et alib. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. not. ad Gregor. Bar-Hebræum, in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 255—257. HYD. relig. veter. Persar. hist. append. p. 493—495, et alib. MOHAMMED AL FIRAUZABAD. RUSTEMI epitomat. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. An account of the present state of North. Asia, p. 466. Vide etiam GREG. BAR-HEBRÆUM, in Chronic. par. iii. fol. 370, et THOM. MARAGENS. EPISC. in histor. monastic. Chaldaeor. par. iv. c. 2. et par. v. c. 4, 7, 10, 14.

in *Perſie* upon the moſt remarkable conjunctions of the planets, and their moſt noted effects; which *Lali* tranſlated into *Arabic* in *Egypt*, about the year of our LORD 1280. *Ali Ebn Yûnes*, a perſon of uncommon learning and piety, who decided all points of right, and all caſes of conſcience, for ſome time, amongſt the citizens of *Balkh*; but deſiſted from that practice, after he had been reproached by *Mohammed*, in a dream, for his reſolution of a difficulty to his daughter, with which the prophet was by no means pleaſed; *Sheikh Al Imâm Omar Al Baſthâmi*, a perſon of profound erudition, who lived at *Balkh*, and *Sheikh Al Imâm Afis-addin*, the *Muſii* of the ſame place, who have both been taken notice of by *Raſhid-addin Al Wat'wât*, as writers in the ſixth century of the *Hejra*, and appertaining to that city; *Abu'l Kaſſem Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah*, the author of a book, intituled, *Adab Al Fadâ*, that is to ſay, *the laws or conditions to be obſerved in a diſpute*, who had the ſurname of *Al Balkhi*, and died in the year of the *Hejra* 319. The author of a geographical treatiſe, that bore the title of *Takwîm Al Belâd*, who is always cited by *Ebn Al Wardi*, and other oriental geographers, under the name of *Al Balkhi*. *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoûnd Shâh*, or rather *Khowând Shâh*, commonly called by the European writers *Mirkhond*, who compoſed a great hiſtorical work, intituled, *Rawdhat Al Safa*, was likewise ſurnamed *Al Balkhi* by the eaſtern hiſtorians. *Mohammed Ebn Okail*, a celebrated compiler of hiſtory, and another learned man famous for his ſkill in geography, called *Al Balkhi*, were both originally of this city. *Abu Ma'ſhar*, an aſtrologer; *Abu Khâtem*, the tranſlator of the Indian author *Shanak* upon fiſhes; *Raſhid*, a celebrated poet; *Anwari*, a famous poet and aſtronomer; beſides many other learned men, that we cannot enumerate here, are ſaid to have been natives of *Balkh*. With regard to the fate this place has at different times met with, our readers will not be diſpleaſed to find the following particulars. *Balkh*, with the whole province of *Khorafân*, fell under the dominion of *Iſmael Al Samâi*, or *Iſmael Al Sammâni*, ſaid by ſome to be deſcended from the famous *Babrâm Chubin*, the firſt prince of the *Samânian* family, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, towards the cloſe of the third century of the *Moslem* æra. In the year of the *Hejra* 432, or of CHRIST 1041, *Togrol Beg*, or *Togrol Bek*, a *Turkiſh* prince of the *Seljukian* dynasty, conquered the whole province of *Khorafân*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of *Balkh*. In the 618th year of the *Moslem* æra, anſwering to the year of our LORD 1221, this city was taken by the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, under the command of *Jenghîz Khân*, who cauſed all the inhabitants to be conducted without the walls, and maſſacred without

pity. In the 771st year of the *Hejra*, or of our LORD 1369, *Tamerlan* besieged *Sultan Hosein*, the last prince of the family of *Jenghiz Khân*, in *Balkh*, and obliged him to surrender the place; which his successors kept in their hands, till they were driven from thence by the *Uzbeks*, under the command of *Shaibek Khân*, in the ninth century of the *Hejra*, and the fifteenth of the *Christian* æra. It was afterwards redeemed by *Shâh Ismael Sûfi Shâh*, but finally wrested out of the hands of the *Persians* by the *Uzbeks*, who remained masters of it almost to this day. We are told, that it was lately the subject of almost perpetual wars between the *Persians* and the *Uzbeks*, in the same manner as *Baghdâd* was between the former of those nations and the *Turks*, and the city of *Kandahar* between the *Shâh* of *Persia* and the *Great Mogul*. It was not long since the residence of a *Khân* of the *Uzbeks*, who possess the southern part of *Great Bukhâria*. Its district must be allowed to be but small, in respect of the territories of the *Khân* of *Bukhâria*; but as this produces very considerable quantities of silk, of which the inhabitants make stuffs, and is extremely fertile, and well cultivated, the *Khân* drew lately a very fair revenue from thence. His subjects were the most civilized of the *Mohammedan Tartars* of *Great Bukhâria*, to which the advantageous trade carried on between them, the *Persians*, and the subjects of the *Great Mogul*, not a little contributed. The town of *Balkh*, at present the most considerable of any possessed in those parts by the *Mohammedan Tartars*, is large, fair, and populous; and its buildings are for the most part of stone or brick. The fortifications consist of bulwarks of earth, fenced without with a strong wall, high enough to cover those employed in the defence of those fortifications. As this place is the resort of all the business transacted between the *Indies* and *Great Bukhâria*, has a fine river passing from the S. S. E. through its suburbs, which is of vast service to the town, and, in time of peace, all foreign merchants, and other travellers, have free liberty and permission to manage their affairs in it, trade flourishes extremely at *Balkh*. The aforesaid river falls into the *Amû* about the 38° 30' north latitude, upon the confines of *Great Bukhâria* and *Khowarazm*. The *Khân's* palace, or castle, is a large edifice, built after the oriental manner, and consists almost intirely of marble, of which there are very fine quarries in the neighbouring mountains. The jealousy that has long subsisted between the neighbouring powers preserved, till very lately, the *Khân* of *Balkh* in a state of independency, and not a little forwarded the extension of the trade carried on by his subjects. But he was at last obliged to submit to the *Persian* forces, under the command of *Riza Kouli Mirza*, detached by his father *Nadir Shâh*

Shâh against the *Uzbeks*, in the year of our LORD 1737, and finally to *Nadir Shâh* himself, in the year 1739, upon his return from his *Indian* expedition. We shall conclude our account of this city with observing, that the longitude of *Balkh* has been determined by *Ulugh Beigh*, or *Olugh Bek*, to be $101^{\circ} 00'$, and its latitude $36^{\circ} 41'$; though, according to the more accurate determination of the later astronomers, it stands in longitude $92^{\circ} 20'$, and latitude $37^{\circ} 10' 1$.

THE anterior part of this *dirhem* exhibits the words *Be-Descrip- Balkba thsamânen wathsamântna wameâten*; that is, *In Balkh, tion of the 188, or struck at Balkh in the 188th year of the Hejra, or of coin.*

CHRIST 804. The reverse has preserved the following inscription originally impressed upon it: *Mohammedon rasûlo ... Ilâhi wamîla namîyyétehi ... l'Emîro l' Mamûno Abd'allâhi ... bno Emîri l' Mâmenina âleya waliyy'âmadi l' Moslemîna Yahya*; i. e. *Mohammed is the apostle of GOD, and the plenitude of all his creatures: The prince Al Mamûn Abd'allah, the son of the prince of the faithful, is the high supporter of the pillars of the Moslems: Yahya, or John.* Hence we learn, that *dirhems* were coined this year at *Balkh*, in honour of *Al Mamûn*, who had been called to the succession after *Al Amîn*, by one *Yahya*, who seems to have been at least the governor of that city, if not of the whole province of *Khorasân*. The title of the plenitude, or nobility, of all creatures, here implies, that *Mohammed* was the most noble and excellent of all created beings; and that this was one of his singular properties, and a prerogative peculiar to him, who was believed by his followers to have created *Adam* and all other creatures, to have been the first prophet in the order of creation, and the last in the order of mission, to have been the prince and lord of all the sons of *Adam*, to have had the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Izrafil*, or *Israfil*, and *Azrail*, for his *Visirs*, we are informed by some of the most celebrated *Moslem* authors ^m.

THE same year, that is, the 188th of the *Hejra*, some *Other dir- dirhems* were likewise coined at *Baghdâd*; one of which is *hems*

¹ GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 14, 15. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. ubi sup. EBN AL WARDI, KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, ÂBU'L KASSEM AHMED EBN ABD'ALLAH, in *Adab Al Jadâl*, ARABSHAH, in vit. TIM. AL JANNAB. EBN YUSEF, EBN SHOHNAH, An account of the present state of Northern Asia, &c. p. 466, 467. Lond. 1729. HANWAY's historical account of the British trade over the Caspian sea, with the revolutions of Persia, vol. iv. p. 148, 205. Lond. 1753. ULUGH BEIGHI tab. geographic. op. et stud. Johan. Gravii, p. 143. Oxon. 1711. Vide etiam THEOPH. SIOEFRIID. BAYER. histor. regn. Græcorum Bactrian. p. 15—19. Petropoli, 1738. ^m GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 16. AL JANNAB. p. 223. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. 10. p. 365, 370.

struck at
Baghdád
this year.

said to have been discovered in 1722, on the coast of the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*. The following words, at the time of its discovery, were visible upon it: *Bésmi . . . láhi dbóreba hafa . . . ddirhemo bemedínati . . . Sfalami, senata thsamanen wathjamanína wameáten*; that is, *In the name of God, this dirhém was struck in the city of peace (or Baghdád) in the 188th year, i. e. of the Hejra*. The inscription visible on the reverse consists of these words, *Mohammedon rasúla . . . láhi arfúlaho bel'bóda' wadini . . . l'hakki leyodh'sbérahó ala . . . d'fáni kóllehi wálaw káreha . . . l'móshrekúna*; that is, *Mohammed is the apostle of GOD, who sent him with direction, or the right way, and the true religion, that he might render this superior to, and more conspicuous than, all other religions, tho' the associators may abhor it*. Of which inscription we have already given a particular account and explication in a preceding part of this work. M. Kehr seems to think, that the *Khalif Harún Al Rashid* caused a great number of such silver pieces to be now struck at *Baghdád*, in order to distribute them amongst his troops, during the expedition he thought fit at this time to undertake against the *Greeks*. For a farther account of that expedition, we must beg leave to refer our readers to what has been already observed on this head from *Al Makin* and *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* ⁿ.

Harún in-
vades
Phrygia
the fol-
lowing
year.

THE following year, being the 189th year of the *Hejra*, *Harún Al Rashid* removed *Abmed Ebn Ismael Al Hásbemi* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted in his room *Ebn Zeneiba*; whom he soon after deposed, and conferred the post become vacant by his amotion on *Hasan Ebn Jamil Al Azdi*. About the same time, a body of the *Khalif's* forces penetrated into *Phrygia*, overthrew an imperial army sent to oppose them, and retired into the *Moslem* territories without having sustained any considerable loss. It appears from a *dirhém* found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, that the mint set up at *Balkh* sent out some more of those pieces this year, or at least in the year of the *Hejra* 187. This coin seems to have been struck in honour either of *Al Amín* or *Al Mamún*, one of the *Khalif's* sons, or rather of the latter of those princes, whose name it exhibits, according to M. Kehr. On the first side are observable these words, *Be-Balkha, tes'en wathjamúnina wameáten, At Balkh, in the year 189*; or *Be-Balkha, sa'ben wathjamúnina wameáten, At Balkh, in the year 187*. After the words, *Mohammed is the apostle of GOD*, on the reverse, another name of the *Moslem* prophet, *wa'alakeyatoho*, and his attendant, occurs; which implies, that he was united with the

ⁿ GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 8—12. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 118, 119.

Deity in such a manner, that the divine and human natures in him were inseparable. The other part of the inscription is the same with that preserved on the reverse of the *dirhém* coined at *Balkh* the preceding year; tho' the *Cúfic* letters, of which those inscriptions are composed, as to their forms, admit of some variation °.

IN the 190th year of the *Hejra*, commencing November 27th, 805, *Harún Al Rásbid* marched into the imperial provinces with an army of 135,000 men, besides a great number of volunteers, and others who were not inrolled amongst his troops. He first laid siege to *Heraclea*, took it, and reduced it to ashes; after which, he made himself master of several other towns. He is said to have carried with him from *Heraclea* no less than 16,000 prisoners; and, after the conclusion of this expedition, to have made a descent on the island of *Cyprus*, the people of which country he pillaged and plundered in a dreadful manner. This success so intimidated *Nicephorus*, the Greek emperor, that he immediately sent the tribute due to *Harún*, and concluded a peace with the *Khalif* upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe; one of which was, that the city of *Heraclea* should never be rebuilt. About the same time, or rather whilst *Harun* was employed in the aforesaid expedition, *Ras' Ebn Al Leith* revolted against the *Khalif* at *Samarkand*, and assembled a considerable force to support him in his defection; which probably induced the latter to grant the Greek emperor so speedy a peace; tho' that prince's troops were by no means in a condition at this time to make head against him. It seems likely, from one of them found near *Dantzick* in 1722, with the words *tes'ina wameúten*, i. e. 190, upon it, that the *Khalif* caused a large number of *dirhems* to be now struck, in order to defray the expence of a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which he performed the following year. The citizens of *Toledo*, at this time, rebelled against the western *Khalif*, *Al Hakem*, in *Spain*. But that prince sent his son *Abd' alrahmán*, then only fourteen years of age, with an army against their city; who, by the assistance of one *Ambroz*, governor of *Saragosa* and *Huesca*, who betrayed them, after they had admitted him into the town, found means to enter the place, without the trouble and fatigue of a siege, put 5000 of them to the sword, after he had decoyed them to an entertainment, and intirely extinguished the rebellion that had begun to shake *Al Hakem's* throne. We are told by *Theophanes*, that the greatest part of a body of light-armed troops, sent by the Greek emperor into *Syria*, to act against the *Khalif*

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 406. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 119. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 18, 19.

there, perished, without effecting any thing; this campaign P.

Rafe' Ebn
Al Leith
makes a
great pro-
gress in
the con-
quest of
Khorasan.

THE next year, being the 191st year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* removed *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâhân* from the government of *Khorasân*, probably because he was not sufficiently attentive to the motions of *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith*, and appointed *Hazima Ebn Ayan* to succeed him in that post. The new lieutenant had no sooner entered upon the government of the province assigned him, than he sent his predecessor, who had exercised unheard-of tyranny upon the people of *Khorasân*, in chains to *Harûn Al Rashid*. The *Khalif* also deprived of his office *Khasib*, whom he had constituted collector of the revenues of *Egypt*, the preceding year. It must be here observed, that *Theophanes* places the last-mentioned irruption of the *Arabs* into the imperial territories in the present year. He informs us, that *Harûn* advanced to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia* at the head of an army, raised in *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Libya*, of 300,000 men; seized upon that city, and erected a mosque there; that he also made himself master of *Heraclea*, *Thebasa*, called *Safsâf* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Malacopæa*, *Siderpalus*, and *Andrasus*, the *Androsia* of *Ptolemy*, and detached a body of 60,000 men to ravage all the neighbouring districts. Afterwards he penetrated to *Ancyra*, took a narrow view of that fortress, and then returned home; having laid waste the circumjacent territory with fire and sword. This rapid progress of the *Arabs* obliged the emperor *Nicephorus* to send ambassadors to *Harûn* to treat of a peace; which was at last granted by the *Khalif*, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of 30,000 pieces of gold, with his own effigies upon them, and 3000 more with that of his son; as also that the fortresses ruined by the *Moslems* should never be refortified or repaired. But the *Arabs* were scarce got out of the imperial dominions, when *Nicephorus* ordered those towns to be rebuilt, and strengthened with new fortifications; of which the *Khalif* being apprized, he immediately returned with a powerful army, repossessed himself of *Thebasa*, made a descent upon the island of *Cyprus*, being assisted therein by a strong fleet, which forwarded the operations of the land-forces, demolished many churches there, and carried off a vast number of *Christians* with him into captivity. Such repeated success could not but intimidate *Nicephorus*, who thereupon was glad to conclude a fresh treaty with the *Khalif*;

P. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 234. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 12. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxii, xxiii. p. 20, 21. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 406.

upon the same terms with that he had violated before. Soon after, *Harûn* undertook a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, with his three sons, and distributed vast sums of money amongst the poor of that city, as well as *Medina*, before his return to *Baghdâd*. We must not forget to remark, that the rebel *Rasê' Ebn Al Leith* made a formidable progress in the conquest of *Khorasân* the present year 9.

THE following year, being the 192d of the *Hejra*, be-
 ginning November 6th, 807, *Harûn* marched against *Rasê'* ^{the Kha-} *lîf* ^{sends} *Ebn Al Leith*, who pretended to dispute the *Khalîfat* with ^{his son Al} him. The general rendezvous of his forces was in the plains ^{Mamûn} of *Rakka*, from whence he advanced at the head of them to *Baghdâd*. Having supplied the troops with every thing necessary at that place, he continued his march to the frontiers of *Jorjân*, where he was seized with an illness which grew more violent after he had entered that province. Finding himself, therefore, not able to pursue his route, he resigned the command of the army to his son *Al Mamûn*, appointed many experienced officers to serve under him, ordered him to march directly to *Merû* in quest of the rebels, and retired himself to *Tûs* in *Khorasân*, twelve parasangs of *Nisabûr*, not *Tûst* in *Khûzistân*, the antient *Susa*, as we find falsely asserted by *M. Kehr*. Before the *Khalîf* assembled his forces at *Rakka*, he deprived *Hasan Ebn Jamîl* of the government of *Egypt*, and sent *Mâlec Ebn Dahâm* to *Mesr* to succeed him in that post. We are told by *Khondemir*, that the *Khalîf* saw in a dream at *Rakka*, before he departed from that place, a hand over his head, full of red earth, and at the same time heard the voice of a person pronouncing these words, *See the earth in which Harûn is to be interred*. Upon which, he demanded where he was to be buried? and was instantly answered by the same voice, *At Tûs*. This greatly discomposing him, he communicated the dream to his chief physician *Gabriel*, the son of *Bakhtishua*, a *Christian*, who told him, that this ought to give him no manner of concern, as dreams were only phantoms produced by the fumes which the humours of the body sent into the brain; and that the expedition to *Khorasân*, in order to extinguish the rebellion of *Rasê' Ebn Al Leith* there, he was upon the point of undertaking, had given place to this imagination. To which the doctor added, that no better remedy could be thought of to dissipate his chagrin, than to pursue some favourite diversion that might

P ABU JAAPAR AL TARAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 119. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 407, 408. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 476—478. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 12. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 412, 413.

draw his attention another way. The *Khalif*, therefore, by his physician's advice, prepared a magnificent regale for his principal courtiers, which continued several days. After this, he put himself at the head of his troops, and advanced to the confines of *Jorján*, where he was attacked by the distemper that proved fatal to him. This increasing, he found himself obliged to leave the army, and retire to *Tús*; where the prediction communicated to him in his dream was fulfilled, as will soon more clearly appear. In the month of *September* this year, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, the *Arabs* made a descent upon the island of *Rhodes*, committed dreadful depredations there, and at last retired into their own dominions with an immense quantity of spoil. About the same time, as may be inferred from the date preserved on one of them found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, some *dirhems* were struck at *Mohammedia*, a city of *Kermán*, famous for the great number of learned men it has produced. The words that determine the place where, and the time when, this piece was coined, are, *Bel-Mohammediyyata ethsnatayni wate-s'ina wameáten*, i. e. *In Mohammedia, or struck at Mohammedia, in the year of the Hejra 192, of CHRIST 807, or rather 808.* As *Mohammedia* was not at a vast distance from *Tús*, and our *dirhim* exhibits the name *Al Amin*, it seems to have been coined in honour of that prince, a little before his father's decease. As *Al Amin* was likewise at this time carrying on his military preparations, in order to attack his brother *Al Mamán*, then commander in chief of the *Khalif's* forces in *Khorasán*, these pieces might have been struck to enable *Al Amin* to undertake the projected expedition, immediately after *Al Harún's* death; or they might have been coined by the inhabitants of *Mohammedia*, not only as an instance of their homage and loyalty to *Al Amin*, but likewise with a view of making a considerable present to that prince. At least this is the opinion of *M. Kehr*. The language spoke at *Mohammedia* is the *Persic*; which is not to be wondered at, as this city is almost situated in the very heart of *Persia*. Other *dirhems* were likewise coined this year at *Baghdád*, as appears from two of them discovered with the former in 1722. We must not forget to observe, that *M. Kehr* is inconsistent with himself, when in one place he affirms *Tús* to have belonged to *Persia*, and in another to the province of *Khorasán*; and that *Mohammedia* stood in longitude 90° 00', and lat. 31° 45'.

THE

† GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. KRONDEMÉR, ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 120. THEOPHAN. et CEDRÉN. ubi sup. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 19, 22. Vide etiam bin. tabul. geographic. NASSIR EDDIN. *Pers.*

et

THE 193d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 25th, *Harûn Al* 808, was famous for the death of the *Khalif Harûn Al Ka-Rashid's* *shid*, who departed this life the third of the latter *Jomâda* at *diath*, and *Tûs*; being then, according to *Eutychius*, forty-six, or, if *character*. we will believe *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, forty-seven, or, lastly, as others will have it, forty-eight years of age. Upon his arrival at *Tûs*, to which place the violence of his distemper obliged him to retire, he sent for his physician, *Gabriel Ebn Bakhtishua*, and said to him, "Do you remember, *Gabriel*, my dream at *Rakka*? We are now arrived at *Tûs*, the place, according to what was predicted in that dream, of my interment. Send one of my eunuchs to fetch me a handful of the earth in the neighbourhood of the city." Upon which, one of his favourite eunuchs, named *Masrûr*, was immediately dispatched to bring a little of the soil of the place to the *Khalif*; who soon returned, and brought a handful of red earth, which he presented to *Harûn* with his arm half bare. At the sight of which, the *Khalif* instantly cried out, "In truth, this is the earth, and this the very arm, that I saw in my dream." Whereupon his spirits failing him, and his malady increasing, he died three days after this frightful sight, and was buried in the same place, where a stately monument was afterwards erected in honour of the *Imâm Ali Ebn Musa Ebn Jaasar*, called by the *Persians* the *Imâm Riza*, going under the appellation of *Masbhad Riza*, or the sepulchre of *Riza*, at this day. Some authors relate, that both these princes were interred at *Senabad*, a village about a parasang distant from *Tûs*; and that *Sawri Ebn Al Motez*, who presided over the districts of *Nisabûr* and *Tûs* in the days of *Mahmûd Gazni*, adorned the spot where *Harûn* and *Riza* lay inhumed with many superb and magnificent buildings. Which place has since been so beautified and enlarged by the later *Persian* kings, that *Tûs*, with which this is now immediately connected, was at least very lately esteemed the metropolis of *Khorasân*. Nor did the territory of *Tûs* make a mean figure 500 years ago, since we are told by *Yâkût Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamathi*, that it then contained about a thousand villages and towns. It appears from *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Bashîr Ebn Al Leith*, *Rasê' Ebn Al Leith's* brother, was brought to the *Khalif* in chains, when that prince was at the point of death; who, at the sight of him, declared, that if he had had only time enough left him to speak two words, he would say, *Kill him*; and immediately ordered him to be cut to pieces in his presence; which being

et ULUGH BEIGH. *Tatar. op. et stud. Johannis Gravii, Oxon.* 1711. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185—188, 216, &c.

done, he soon after expired. *Harûn* sat about three-and-twenty years upon the *Moslem* throne. As to his person, he was tall, corpulent, and of a fair complexion; he had thick bushy hair, which had begun to grow grey, a handsome face, and a black beard: his head he took care to have shaved as often as he performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. With regard to his disposition, he was a person of such singular humanity, that, in this point, he could scarce be paralleled by any of his predecessors, of great liberality, especially to poets, being excessively fond of the *Arab* poetry, and even capable of writing verses himself, magnanimous and brave, and so devout, that he is said to have gone eight or nine times on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, whilst he was *Khalif*. He spent a considerable time in prayer every day, except when he was sick, and, during the performance of his devotions, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, made an hundred incurvations. He also distributed every day a thousand *dirhems* amongst the poor, and carried with him an hundred learned men to *Mecca*; and when he did not go thither himself, he took care to furnish three hundred persons with proper accommodations for such a journey. None of the preceding *Khalifs* had so great a number of counsellors, judges, learned men, and poets, in his palace, as *Harûn Al Rashid*. *Al Asmaghi* relates, that, on a certain day, he found *Al Rashid* all in tears, upon discovering a passage in the poetical works of *Abu'l Abâbia*, that he applied to himself, and seemed to interpret as a prediction of his death. The distemper that attacked him with great fury and violence at *Tûs* is said to have been the bloody flux, which at last proved fatal to him. The first and last day of his reign was *Saturday*. His first counsellors were *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and his two sons *Al Fadl* and *Jaafar*; after whose dismissal, he took *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabi*. He is said likewise afterwards to have delivered the privy seal to *Ali Ebn Baktar*. *Ismael Ebn Sabib* also served him in the capacity of prime minister to the day of his death. His judges were *Nûb Ebn Darâj* and *Hafas Ebn Ayât*, in the eastern parts of his dominions; and, in the western, *Al Husein Ebn Al Hosan Al Awfi*, and afterwards *Awn Ebn Abd'allah Al Masûdi*. We are likewise told, that *Mohammed Ebn Sama'a*, *Sberik Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Ali Ebn Harmala*, presided over the courts of judicature during some part of his reign. The captains of his guards were *Al Kasem Ebn Nasr Ebn Mâlec*, *Hamzah Ebn Hazem*, and *Hafed Ebn Omar Ebn Al Shojair*; and his chamberlains, *Bashar Ebn Maimân*, his servant, *Mohammed Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and *Fadl Ebn Al Rabi*. The inscription of his seal was, *Greatness, and power of God*. From what has been already observed, it sufficiently appears, that this *Khalif* was extremely

sent

fond of learned men, and cultivated himself at least some of the sciences. He obliged *Mâlec*, the author of the famous book intitled *Mawthâ*, to write an explication of that piece; who, when the *Khalif* would have shut the door of the chamber wherein that explication was made, boldly told him, that knowledge was of no manner of service to the great, except they communicated it to those of a lower degree. But, in order to have an adequate idea of the state of learning in the *Moslem* empire during this *Khalif's* reign, and perfectly to understand on what foot he set the sciences, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the history of *Tawadûd Khatûn* and *Harûn*, as well as the works of divers antient authors, that he caused to be translated into *Arabic*; a detail of which may be met with in the *Bibliothèque* of M. D'Herbelot¹.

It has been observed by some of the oriental historians, *Harûn* that *Al Mohdi* made his son *Harûn* a present of a most beautiful ruby-ring, which he wore himself, as an earnest of the succession, to which he was called after his brother *Al Hâdi*; and that the last of these princes, immediately after his accession, sent a eunuch to demand it, as of right belonging to him. This unreasonable demand so incensed *Harûn*, that, in the eunuch's presence, he pulled it off his finger, and threw it into the *Tigris*, where it remained till *Al Hâdi's* death. But no sooner had he taken possession of the *Khalifat*, than he commanded some divers to search for it; casting a lead-ring, in order to direct them, from the same part of the bridge where he stood before, when the eunuch demanded *Al Mohdi's* ring of him, into the river. The divers were so fortunate on this occasion as to find the thing sought for, without any difficulty or toil; which accident was considered as a certain prognostic of a happy and auspicious reign. One of these authors relates, that the famous *Saladin*, in the year of the *Hejra* 560, lost a ruby-ring, of almost inestimable value, which was as luckily found again as this of the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashid*².

In the 180th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashid* being seized with *The Khalif* an apoplectic fit, the physicians met at his palace, to consult *lis* about the proper means of relieving him; when *Gabriel*, the son of *Bakhtishua*, a *Christian*, and then but a very young man,

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, EBN HAWKEL, ISM. ABULFED. YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMAZI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185—188. AL AŞMAGHI et ABU'L ABAHIA, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 433, 853, et alib. pass.
² MIRHOND, EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 432.

man, declared, that, in his opinion, a vein was immediately to be opened. This was opposed by *Al Amin*, but agreed to by *Al Mamún*, as the only expedient that could be thought of to save his father's life. The *Khalif*, therefore, was blooded without delay, and recovered; after which, *Al Mamún* related to him the whole affair, and was ever after his particular favourite. As for *Gabriel*, *Harún* was so pleased with his conduct on this occasion, that he made him his principal physician, and settled a pension of 100,000 *dirbems* upon him.

as does his favourite mistress from another disorder. WHEN *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi*, the *Khalif's* brother, was prefect of *Egypt*, he made a present to *Harún* of a most beautiful damsel, of whom that prince was passionately fond. This girl being once extremely ill, and the court-physicians not being able to procure her any relief, the *Khalif* found himself obliged to apply to his brother for a doctor from *Egypt*. *Abd'allah*, upon this application, sent him the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who had great skill in physic, and who soon cured her of her distemper. This so pleased the *Khalif*, that he ordered all the churches that had been taken away from the *Melchites* in *Egypt* to be restored them, and gave the patriarch a large sum of money for the cure he had performed. This patriarch, whose name was *Balátian*, or *Balatianus*, died in the forty-seventh year of his patriarchate, and was succeeded by one *Esfát*, or *Eustatius*, at *Alexandria*, in the sixteenth year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Rashid*. Which *Eustatius* was originally a flax-dresser; but finding a treasure accidentally in the place where he beat his flax, he became a monk in the monastery of *Al Kofair*, was at last made the head of his convent, and built the church of the *Two Apostles*, together with a bed chamber for the bishop. He lived, after his advancement to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, only four years; and, after his death, one *Christopher* was elevated to that high dignity; who, having been afflicted with a paralytic disorder, appointed a certain bishop, named *Petr*, to discharge the duties of his function for him. He continued, however, in that sublime post, tho' very infirm, two-and-thirty years. In the eighth year of *Al Rashid's* reign, *Theodoritus* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and presided over the *Christians* there seventeen years. We are told by *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, or *Eutychius*, that there was so remarkable a solar eclipse, as should seem, at *Alexandria*, after evening-prayer, in *Harún's* reign, that the stars appeared, and the people were struck with terror, insomuch that they fell down upon their knees, and implored the divine protection. For other particulars relating to the churches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* in

▪ *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAXIN, ubi sup. p. 122.*

the

the *Khalifat* of *Al Rasbid*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the writers mentioned here; as a detail of such ecclesiastical affairs would by no means be compatible with our present design ^w.

A CERTAIN writer relates, that *Harún* being one day told that there was a fool at *Baghdád*, who pretended to be GOD, ^{conference} he sent for him, in order to converse with him, and discover ^{with a} whether he was really a fool or an impostor. At his first appearance, the *Khalif* said to him, "A man was brought before ^{fool at} *Baghdád*.
" me some days ago, who made himself a fool, and had a
" mind to pass for a prophet sent by GOD. I commanded
" him immediately to be carried to prison, and from thence
" brought to his trial; after the conclusion of which being
" condemned, he had his head struck off." The fool, having
heard these words, replied, "You acted on this occasion as
" became one of my faithful servants; that wretch never re-
" ceived the gift of prophecy from me, nor had he ever any
" order or mission on my part." The author, who has handed
down to us this story, adds, that, according to the principles
of the *Mohammedans*, one who is besides himself, and has lost
the use of his reason, can say nothing but what is true; since
it is GOD who speaks in him. On the contrary, he who pre-
tends to be a prophet, and to be sent by GOD, when he really
is not so, is an impostor, and can utter nothing but lies. The
greatest part of the *Moslems* believe, that fools are agitated by
the spirit of GOD, and of course reverence them as saints
transported by the divine love; and, in conformity to this sen-
timent, as M. *D'Herbelot* has rightly observed, it is a saying
not uncommon in these western parts of the world, that *truth*
is in the mouth of children and fools ^x.

THIS *Khalif*, being in *Egypt*, said once to his courtiers, ^{He ap-}
courtiers, "The king of this country formerly boasted him- ^{points an}
" self to be GOD; I therefore, in abhorrence of such pride, *Ethio-*
" intend to confer the government of it upon one of the *pian slave*
" meanest of my slaves. In consequence of which intention, ^{governor}
he chose for this effect one *Hozaiab*, an *Ethiopian*, a person of ^{of Egypt}
a most rude and clownish disposition. The king hinted at here
is *Pharoah*, who is represented in the *Korán* as saying to his
people, *I am more great and powerful than all your gods: I am*
your sovereign GOD and master. The *Egyptians* having once
complained to this *Hozaiab*, after he had been made their
governor, that the cotton they had sowed on the banks of the
Nile was carried away by an inundation of that river, he asked
them, by way of consolation, why they had not sown wool

^w EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 408—411. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.

AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 123.

^x AUT. LATHAIF, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Haroun Al Raschid*, p. 432.

these?

there? believing that wool and cotton were produced in the same manner. This answer of the governor has been taken for a piece of wit by M. D'Herbelot; tho' it has been preserved as an instance of his stupidity by Sâdi, an author of good repute amongst the *Moslems* ^γ.

He took
Safsâ.

EBN KASSEM has remarked, that the strong castle of *Safsâ* in *Natolia*, called by the *Turks* at this day *Belejek*, was taken from the *Greeks* by the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashid*, who obliged the emperor *Nicephorus* to pay him tribute, as we have already observed; but that this was retaken from the *Arabs* by the *Greeks*, who kept possession of it till the time of *Othmân*, the son of *Ortogrol*, the founder of the *Othmân*, or *Ottoman*, empire ^z.

His ad-
vice, on a
particular
occasion, to
his son.

AMONGST the remarkable sayings of this *Khalif*, the following has been handed down to us by Sâdi, or *Saadi*, the particular above-mentioned author. *Al Amin*, his son, having one day occasion, to desired him to punish a man for speaking ill of his mother *Zebaida*, he consulted his officers of justice upon the punishment proper to be inflicted on that offender. After which, he addressed himself to *Al Amin* in the following terms: "I
" would advise you, son, to forgive him, as this will be an
" action worthy a great and magnanimous prince; but if
" you cannot absolutely repress your desire of vengeance,
" nor overcome yourself on so fine an occasion, you may
" treat his mother in the same manner that he has treated
" yours ^a."

His ad-
venture
with a
woman,
whose
house had
been pil-
laged by
some of his
men.

THE *Khalif* being once marching at the head of his troops, a woman came to him to complain that some of his soldiers had pillaged her house. *Harûn* immediately made answer, "Hast thou not read, woman, in the *Korân*, that when
" princes pass with their armies through places, they destroy
" them." True," replied the woman; "but then it is also
" said in the same book, that the houses of those princes shall
" be desolate for the acts of injustice they have committed." This bold repartee, and the good sense of the woman, were so well received by the *Khalif*, that he immediately ordered reparation to be made her for the damages she had sustained ^b.

He took for
his master,
Aumâi.

HE took for his instructor in the *Mohammedan* law the celebrated doctor *Asmâi*, or *Asmaghi*, who being willing to examine things to the utmost rigour of the law, would frequently have obliged him to make a false step, if he had not been extremely

^γ SADI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 432, 433.

^z EBN KASSEM, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 433.

^a SADI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

^b AUL. RABI AL AKHAR.

well upon his guard. On such occasions as these, *Harûn* used to say to him, "You are more learned than I; but I have more sense and prudence than you." This sage's name at length was *Abu Sa'id Abd'almâlec Ebn Koraib Al Asmâi*. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 122, and died in the 215th, or 216th, year of that æra, when the *Khalîf Al Mamûn* sat upon the *Moslem* throne. He excelled in the art of grammar and eloquence, was extremely well versed in the most authentic traditions, and had a perfect knowledge of the *Korân*. These fine qualities so endeared him to the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashîd*, that he did not think it beneath him to take him for his master. But the scholar was resolved to give the first lesson, and that such a one as was worthy his high rank and capacity. He ordered *Asmâi* never to offer to teach, or instruct, him in public, and not to be too forward, or officious, in giving him his advice in private; to stay till he was asked his opinion, and then to content himself with giving a clear and precise answer to the questions put to him, without any superfluous additions; above all things, to take care not to attempt preoccupying him in favour of any of his notions, or exacting of him too high a regard for his authority; not to dwell too long on the histories and traditions he should relate to him, without his particular permission; to bring him back with softness, and without any hard words, to the paths of justice, if he should ever depart from thence in his decisions; principally to point out to him the things that were most proper for the discourses he was to make in public, in the mosques and other places; and, finally, never to talk to him in obscure and mysterious terms, such as were not easily to be understood. This doctor was something under a middle size, of great vivacity and penetration, and had a mind capable of the vastest undertakings. He was the author of many pieces; the principal of which were *Ossâl Al Kelam*, *The foundations of scholastic divinity*, and *Fahâat-wa Al Naderat*, *Rare and curious things*. We must not forget to observe, that *Isa Ebn Jaafar* said the funeral service over the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashîd*, at the time of his interment; and that *Al Hasan Ebn Al Tabtâh* was governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Mâlec Ebn Dâham*, whom he removed a little before his death, when he expired ^c.

^c ASMÂI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Asmâi*, p. 39.
 ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 120. GEORG.
 JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 23.

S E C T. XXVII.

After Al
Rashid's
death, his
son Mo-
hammed
Mûsa Al
Amin is
proclaimed
Khalif.

UPON the arrival of a courier from *Tûs* with the news of *Al Rashid*'s death, his son *Mohammed Mûsa Al Amin* was proclaimed *Khalif*, or emperor of the *Moslems*, at *Baghdâd*. This happened about twelve days after his father's decease, tho' he had been declared *Khalif* at *Tûs* the very morning *Al Rashid* died. His mother was *Zebeida*, the daughter of *Jaafar Ebn Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. He was at *Baghdâd* when his father expired. *Al Mamûn*, this prince's brother, had been called to the succession after him, by an express declaration which *Harân*, in order to render it the more authentic, had caused to be hung up in the *Caaba*. He had likewise been indulged by his father with the perpetual government of *Khorasân*, together with the command of all the troops cantoned in that province. Notwithstanding which, *Al Amin*, after his accession, formed a design to exclude him from the *Khalifat*, deprived him of the furniture and moveables of the imperial palace in *Khorasân*, which had been left him by *Al Rashid*, and, in open violation of his father's will, and the former declaration of that prince, which had been renewed a little before his death, ordered the forces in *Khorasân* to march directly to *Baghdâd*. This not a little incensed *Al Mamûn*, who thereupon expostulated with *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabi*, the general of those forces; but without effect; he punctually obeying the orders he had received from the new *Khalif*. However, *Al Mamûn* took care not to be wanting in his fidelity to his brother. He obliged the people of *Khorasân* to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Amin*, and reduced to reason some seditious spirits that had actually excited a considerable body of the inhabitants of his province to a revolt. The new *Khalif* caused *dirhems* to be struck immediately after his inauguration, as has been rendered probable by *M. Kehr*; two of which, with the words *thsalathfev wates'na wameâter*, an hundred and ninety-three, upon them, were found near *Stegen*, on the coast of the *Baltick*, the 2d of June, 1722 ^d.

Tb. Khalif *AL AMIN* being extremely addicted to drunkenness and excludes gaming, and thereby become incapable of all manner of application to business, chose *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabi* for his prime *Vizir*, from the and intirely abandoned to him the government of his dominions. *Fadl* was a very able minister; though, fearing *Al*

^d GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 239. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 124. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 13, &c.

Mamûn's resentment, if ever he should ascend the *Moslem* throne, for the ill offices he had formerly done him, he gave his master very bad advice, and such as in the end proved the total ruin of them both. He told him, that his brother *Al Mamûn* had gained the affection of the people of *Khorasân* by the good order and police he had established in his government; that his unwearied application to administer justice to those over whom he presided, had so attracted their esteem, that the forces of the whole province were intirely at his devotion; that his own conduct had by no means been relished by his subjects, whose minds were almost totally alienated from him; and that, therefore, he had only one part to act, which was, to deprive his brother of the right of succession that had been left him by his father, and transfer it to his son *Mûsa*, though then but an infant. The *Khalîf*, unhappily for himself, followed the counsel of his prime *Vizîr*, ordered *Al Mamûn's* name to be omitted in the public prayers on *Fridays*, and in the discourses made afterwards to the people by the *Imâm*, which the *Moslems* call *Khotbah*, and declared *Mûsa*, tho' still in his tender years, the presumptive heir to the crown. After which degradation of *Al Mamûn*, *Al Amin* surnamed *Mûsa*, at that time not above five years old, *Al-Nâtik Billah*, *Al-Nâtik Belhak*, or rather *Al-Nâtik B'lhak*, i. e. one who reasons and discourses in a manner agreeable to GOD, or according to truth. But several of the *Moslems*, after *Mûsa* had been proclaimed his father's immediate successor, by way of ridicule, nicknamed him *Natba Billah*, that is to say, one who, by the grace of GOD, begins to speak. The *Khalîf* also sent for his other brother from *Mesopotamia*, the government of which province his father *Harûn* had conferred upon him; and recalled *Al Mamûn* to court, under the pretext that he wanted his assistance in his councils. This unparalleled treatment so irritated *Al Mamûn*, that he was resolved to come to an open rupture with his brother, in order, if possible, to frustrate his wicked designs. Instead, therefore, of going to *Baghdâd*, as *Al Amin* had commanded him, he cut off all communication between his province and that capital; pretending, that, as his father *Harûn* had assigned him the lieutenancy of *Khorasân*, he was responsible for all the disorders that might happen during his absence there. He also coined money, and would not suffer *Al Amin's* name to be impressed upon any of the *dirhems* or *dinârs* struck in his province. Not content with this, he prevailed upon *Rasê Ebn Al Leit Ebn Sayâr*, who had been for some time in open rebellion against the *Khalîf*, to join him with a body of troops; whose example was soon after followed by *Harthema Ebn Aafan*; which put him in possession of all the vast territory of *Khorasân*. Here he bore an absolute sway, officiated in the

mosque as *Imâm*, and from the pulpit constantly harangued the people. *Al Amîn*, about this time, removed *Al Hasan Ebn Al Tabtâb* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Hâtem Ebn Hartbema Ebn Aasan* to succeed him in that post. He likewise coined a large number of *dirhems* at *Baghdâd*, to enable him to carry on the war against his brother *Al Mamûn* with vigour; one of which, with the words *arba'en wate'sina wameâten, an hundred and ninety four*, upon it, was discovered near *Stegen*, in 1722. *Theophanes* seems to represent the new *Khalîf* as a very weak prince; and intimates, that a civil war, between him and *Al Mamûn*, which occasioned a vast effusion of human blood, and many dreadful devastations, commenced soon after his accession. These were the principal transactions, if not the only events of any éclat, that happened in the *Moslem* empire, during the year of the *Hejra* 194^e.

He de- THE following year, being the 195th of the *Hejra*, be-
 clares war- ginning October 4th, 810, the *Khalîf Al Amîn* finding that he
 against his had missed his aim, and that his brother *Al Mamûn* set him at
 brother. defiance, declared war against him, and sent *Ali Ebn Isa* to
 invade *Khorasân* with an army of 60,000 men. Before his
 departure, *Zobeida*, as we are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Al Amîn's*
 mother, and mother-in-law to *Al Mamûn*, intreated that ge-
 neral to consider the latter as her own son, or at least the son
 of *Harûn Al Rashîd*; and, if he refused to obey the *Khalîf's*
 orders, three days after they had been imparted to him, to
 bring him in silver chains to *Baghdâd*. Authors, however,
 differ about the number of forces employed by *Al Amîn* in
 this expedition. Some make them to amount to the number
 above-mentioned, others reduce them to 40,000, and, lastly,
 others assert, that *Ali Ebn Isa* set out from *Baghdâd* with only
 a body of 10,000 horse^f.

His forces AL MAMUN being informed, that *Ali Ebn Isa* had begun
 over- his march for *Khorasân*, and even advanced to the frontiers of
 thrown by that province, made the necessary dispositions for giving him
 those of Al a proper reception. He put on foot all the troops he could
 Mamûn. raise with the utmost expedition, and gave the command of
 them to *Taber*, or *Tdaber*, *Ebn Hosein*, afterwards the founder
 of a considerable dynasty, and one of the greatest generals of
 the age; who, being a man of undaunted resolution, chose only
 a body of 4000 men, whom he led against *Ali Ebn Isa*, then
 incamped on a spot of ground about ten leagues from the city

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 124, 125.
 KHONDEMIR, EBN SHONNAH, GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p.
 239, 240. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 20, 30, &c. THEO-
 PHAN. chron. p. 409. f Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH,
 KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 240. ABU JAAFAR
 AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 125. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

of Ray. Ali, seeing so small a number of troops, was transported with joy, and promised himself an easy victory over them; not considering that these were all choice men, and the flower of *Al Mamûn's* forces. He, therefore, walked about carelessly in his camp, without any manner of precaution. Which being observed by *Dawd*, surnamed *Siyâh*, or, as some of the manuscripts of *Abu'l-Faraj* have it, *Shâh*, one of *Thaber's* subalterns, he, with a small party, surprized *Ali* in his camp, cut off his head; and immediately brought it to *Thaber Ebn Husein*; who instantly dispatched a courier with it to *Al Mamûn*, then at *Merû*, the capital of *Khorâsân*. The courier made such haste, that he arrived at *Merû* in four days time, tho' that city is near 400 leagues distant from *Ray*, presented the head to *Al Mamûn*, and brought him the news of a victory obtained by his general over the enemy without striking a stroke; the *Khalif's* troops betaking themselves to flight, as soon as it was known that *Ali* had been assassinated in his camp. This is the relation of *Al Mamûn's* first instance of success handed down to us by the *Persian* historians. But the *Arab* writers relate this affair in a different manner. *Al Mamûn*, according to them, joined *Harthema Ebn Afsan* with *Thaber* in the command of his forces, and ordered them to attack *Ali*, then posted on an advantageous spot of ground, about five parasangs from *Ray*. Upon which, those generals, in pursuance of their orders, marched up to *Ali Ebn Isa's* camp, gave him battle, and intirely defeated him. For some time, *Ali's* right and left wings behaved well, and forced those of *Thaber* and *Harthema* to give way; but *Al Mamûn's* main body having broke that of the *Khalif* in such a manner, that the troops which composed it could never afterwards rally, and then fallen upon the two wings which had so pushed those of *Thaber* and *Harthema* in the beginning of the action, *Al Amin's* troops could not stand their ground, but were forced to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. And what increased the general confusion, on this melancholy occasion, was the death of *Ali Ebn Isa* himself, who was killed by an arrow let fly at him by the aforesaid *Dawd Siyâh*, in the heat of the action; which absolutely obliged victory to declare in favour of *Al Mamûn's* troops. *Ali's* head was afterwards cut off, and sent as a present to that prince, who amply rewarded *Thaber* and *Harthema* for the important services they had done him. If we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Ali* thought himself so sure of an easy victory, that he told his men they had nothing farther to do, in order to obtain it (or, as the *Arabic* text of that author expresses it, to break *Thaber* to pieces like a tree) than to march over the hill of *Hamadân*. Hence it appears, that however the preceding accounts may vary in other respects, they seem to

agree in this, that the dispersion of the *Khalif's* forces, as well as the loss of *Ali*, was in a great measure, if not solely, owing to a want of precaution in that general; who could by no means be induced to think, that the enemy would have the courage to attack him, or even dare to look him in the face. But however this may be, whether *Ali* was surprized, or overthrown by the bravery and resolution of the enemy, this disaster proved of fatal consequence to *Al Amin's* affairs ^e.

Al Mamun assumes the title of Khalif.

AL MAMUN, having received advice of the death of *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mabân*, his brother's general, and the intire defeat of the army under his command, assumed the title of *Khalif*, ordered *Al Amin's* name to be omitted at the time of divine service in his turn, and made the necessary preparations for carrying the war into the very heart of the *Moslem* dominions. For this purpose, he divided his forces into two bodies, and commanded both of them to march into *Irak* by different routes. One of them obeyed the orders of *Thaber*, who directed his march towards *Abwâz*; and the other those of *Harthema*, who took the road of *Holwân*; both of them proposing to meet in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and, after their junction, to form the siege of that city. In the course of their march this year, *Al Mamun's* troops defeated a body of the *Khalif's* forces, and reduced the city of *Hamadân*, together with several other places of strength, without any considerable loss. In the mean time, *Al Amin* removed *Hâtem Ebn Harthema Ebn Aafan* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Hâyar Ebn Al Aghab* in his room. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Thaber*, with the body of troops under his command, took post in the territory of *Holwân*, incamped there, and fortified his camp, to secure it from all insults of the enemy, towards the close of this campaign ^h.

Some dirhems coined at Samarkand.

WE must here beg leave to observe, that it seems to appear from a *dirhém* coined at *Samarkand* the preceding year, and found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, not only that some of those pieces were then struck in the mint erected there, but likewise that *Al Mamun* assumed the titles of *Imâm*, *protector of the pillars of Islamism*, and *one by friendship united with Mohammed*, at that time. From whence we may infer, that he probably caused himself to be acknowledged *Khalif* in *Khorâsân* at least a year sooner than that event is said to have happened by the *Arab* historians, if not immediately after his

^e AUT. LOEB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 409.

^h AUT. LOEB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 240, 241. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univer. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 125, 126.

father's

father's decease. This, if admitted, may serve to correct those writers, and perhaps give us to understand, that the *Khalif Al Amin* had some other motives to a war with *Al Mamun* besides those they have suggested to us. The words preserved by this *dirhem* are so remarkable that we must not pass them over in silence here. On one side it exhibits *bemedinati Samarkanda sanatan arbaa wates'ina wameatan*, i. e. *At Samarkand, in the year 194*; and on the reverse, *Mohammedon rasulo . . llahi wama'lufaho l'Imamo . . l' Mamuno waliyyo amadi . . l' Moslemina Abd'allahi bno Emiri . . l' momentina*, i. e. *Mohammed is the apostle of GOD, with whom is united by friendship the Imâm Al Mamun, the protector of the pillars of Islamism, Abd'allah, the son of the prince of the faithful.* This piece seems likewise farther to intimate, that a considerable number of *dirhems* were coined by the people of *Samarkand*, with *Al Mamun's* name upon them, on account of *Rasul Ebn Al Leit Ebn Sayar's* declaration for him, and as an instance of their loyalty to him; if it will not evince that prince's first victory to have been gained in the year of the *Hejra 194*; tho' it has been placed by the oriental historians in the following year. In either of which cases it must be owned, that the antient coins of the *Arabs* may, on some occasions, illustrate matters of history, as well as those of politer nations. With regard to the word *Imâm*, it may not be amiss to remind our readers, that it properly denotes the same person as the *Latin Antistes*, or rather, for the most part, one that presides over ecclesiastical affairs¹.

NOTWITHSTANDING the surprizing progress made by *Al And al Mamun's* arms in the year of the *Hejra 195*, the province of *Mohammedia*, or at least a considerable part of that province, tho' not so very remote from *Khorasan*, seems to have persisted in an unshaken fidelity to *Al Amin* several months, if not, as is most probable, through the whole course, of that year. For, some *dirhems* were coined then at *Mohammedia* in *Kerman*, as we learn from one of them found near *Dantzick* in 1722; whose anterior face has preserved these words, *belmohammediyata chamsen wates'ina wameatan*, i. e. *At Mohammedia, in the year one hundred and ninety-five*; and, on the reverse, we discover the following inscription: *Mohammedon rasulo . . llahi wa-alakeyatoho . . l' Khalifato Mohammedon Emiro . . l' momentina al'abido*; *Mohammed is the apostle of GOD, and the Khalif Mohammed, prince of the faithful, the devout worshipper and adorer of GOD, is his attendant.* Where, by the *Khalif Mohammed*, we are plainly to understand *Mohammed*

¹ GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 30, &c. See also SALE's translation and notes upon the Korân, p. 16.

Abu Mûsa Al Amîn, the son of *Harûn Al Kashîd*, who at that time sat upon the Moslem throne. Hence it appears, that some *dirhems* were struck at *Mohammedia*, in the year of the *Hejra* 195, probably with a design to enable *Al Amîn* to pay the troops he had then in those parts on foot; as likewise that the people of this district, at least, were intirely in the interest of that unfortunate and indolent prince, when those pieces were coined. For a more particular explication of the legend and inscription preserved by the *dirhêm* now in view, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to what has been published on this head by *M. Kebr*, an author to whom we owe ourselves obliged for several hints and observations, that can by no means be judged unworthy a place in the work we are at present upon ^k.

The farther progress of *Al Mamûn's* arms.

THE following year, being the 196th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn*, who now openly disputed the *Khalifat* with his brother, failed not to improve the great advantages he had gained. He sent an express to *Thaber*, commanding him to pursue his march with the utmost expedition, and reach, if possible, the frontiers of *Irâk*, before *Al Amîn* could send any formidable army into the field. That general, therefore, upon the arrival of the express, made the necessary dispositions for immediately opening the campaign. But he had no sooner moved out of his winter quarters, in order to recommence the military operations, than he received advice of the approach of two armies, consisting each of 20,000 men, that were advancing to give him battle; but, by the assistance of his emissaries and spies, he found means to sow the seeds of discord and dissension between *Ahmed Ebn Marîd Al Shaibânî* and *Abd'allah Ebn Hamîd Ebn Kahtaba*, who commanded them; so that, instead of acting in conjunction against the common enemy, as they ought to have done, they turned their arms against one another. This enabled *Thaber* to make himself master of *Holwân*, which he took by capitulation, and then marched directly to *Ahwâz*. Here he attacked a body of the *Khalîf's* forces; but being weakened by the loss of a detachment he had left in garison at *Holwân*, under the command of *Harthema Ebn Aasan*, who had joined him before his arrival at that place, nothing decisive happened on either side. The indolence and supineness of *Al Amîn* had hitherto been one of the principal causes of the surprizing progress of *Al Mamûn's* arms in so short a time, and given such offence to the people of *Baghdâd*, that they were universally disposed to an insurrection. Of which unaccountable negligence, the following most remarkable instance has been mentioned by some of the

^k GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 19, 29.

eastern writers. When a courier arrived from the army, with the bad news of *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâbân's* death and defeat, and imparted it to the *Khalif*, he found him fishing, and so little concerned at what had happened, that he said to him, *Don't disturb my diversion; for Kuthar, my freed-man, has taken two large fishes, and I none at all.* Being, therefore, become odious to the citizens of *Baghdâd*, by such an infamous neglect of public affairs, they unanimously entertained thoughts of withdrawing their allegiance from him. To which they were farther excited by *Al Hasan Ebn Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâbân*, person of great power and authority in the army, after his arrival from *Rakka* at *Baghdâd*. They, therefore, deposed him on the eleventh day of the month of *Rajeb*, incarcerated him and his mother *Zebeida*, and took the oath of fidelity to *Al Mamûn*; though afterwards repenting of what they had done, they drove *Hasan* out of the city, took *Al Amin* out of prison, and placed him again upon the throne. They also, in a little time, seized *Hasan*, and brought him to the *Khalif*, that he might receive the reward of his late treasonable practices and instigations. That prince, however, did not only forgive him, but likewise, after having supplied him with large sums of money, carriages, horses, arms, and all sorts of military stores, sent him to command the troops posted in the neighbourhood of *Hokwân*. But he had no sooner reached the opposite bank of the *Tigris*, than he took to his heels, in order to make his escape. Of which *Al Amin* being apprized, he immediately sent a detachment in pursuit of him; which at last coming up with him, after a brave defence, cut him to pieces, and brought his head to the *Khalif*. Two of his servants also that attended him, and in conjunction with him behaved with such unparalleled resolution, that they several times repulsed the above-mentioned detachment, met with the same fate¹.

In the mean time, *Thaber Ebn Hosein* made a most rapid progress with the troops under his command. Having advanced to *Abwâz*, and attacked a body of the *Khalif's* forces posted there, as has been already observed, he obliged them to retire; though the action by no means ended in their intestine defeat. However, it so intimidated the commandant of *Abwâz*, that he thought fit to surrender that fortress to him. This opened him a way to *Wâset* upon the *Tigris*, and facilitated the conquest of that place. After which, he marched with his army to *Al Madâyen*, almost within sight of *Baghdâd*; Thaher takes several towns; which induces Egypt, Syria, Hejaz, and Yaman, to declare for Al Ma-

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 126. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 241, 243. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABULFED. &c.

the inhabitants of which town opened their gates to receive him, upon the first news of his approach. The rapidity of these conquests, and *Al Amin's* infamous administration, excited the people of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Hejáz*, and *Yaman*, unanimously to declare for *Al Mamún*, who was thereupon immediately proclaimed *Khalif* in all those provinces. All things thus apparently tending to a revolution, that prince took upon him to constitute several governors of provinces, and in particular appointed *Ayúd Ebn Mohammed* to preside, in the room of *Hâtem Ebn Harthema Ebn Afsan*, whom he deprived of the government of that country, over the people of *Egypt*. He also made the proper dispositions for improving the vast advantages he had gained, and even for putting an end to the war in which he found himself engaged the following campaign^m.

Some dir-
hems
coined at
Ispahân.
A descrip-
tion of
that city.

To furnish the powers engaged in this war with proper supplies, large quantities both of *dirhems* and *dinârs* were probably coined in several of the principal cities of the *Moslem* empire, the present year. That some *dirhems* were struck at *Ispahân*, or *Isfahân*, the capital of *Persia*, we learn from one of them found near the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722. This city, called by the orientals *Isfahân*, *Isfabân*, *Esfahân*, *Asfehân*, *Isbehân*, *Asbehân*, *Spahân*, *Suffihân*, and *Esbabâna*, seems to be the *Aspa* of *Ptolemy*, placed in *Parthia* by that geographer, though he assigns it and the adjacent places a greater latitude than the eastern astronomers and geographers; most of whom place *Ispahân* in latitude $32^{\circ} 25'$, and longitude $86^{\circ} 40'$. This conjecture is not a little countenanced by the affinity of names, as *Spahân*, *Asfehân*, *Isfahân*, *Ispahân*, &c. must be allowed very deducible from *Aspa*; tho' *Al Bicri* seems to derive those names from *Ispâh*, in the plural *Ispahân*, which in *Arabic* denotes *militia*, *troops*, &c. because, according to him, the *Parthians* assembled all their forces, drawn out of *Persia*, *Kermân*, and *Abwâz*, at this place. Some of the oriental writers have ranked *Ispahân* amongst the cities belonging to the fourth climate; tho', if we will believe *Hamdalla*, it has a better title given it to the third by its situation. It stands in a very extensive plain, surrounded by mountains, and has eight districts appertaining to it, that contain about 400 towns and villages. The fertility of the soil, the mildness of the seasons, and the fine temperature of the air, all conspire to render *Ispahân* one of the most charming and delightful cities in the world; for which reason, *Ismael Sûfi*, the first prince of the last royal family of *Persia*, that lost all its power and influence

^m ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 127. GOLII NOT. ad Alfragab. p. 121, et alib.

in that country by the dethroning of the late *Shâh Hosein*, when he came to it, gave it the title of *Dar Affultana*, or the royal seat. *Shâh Abbâs* also, his great grandson, was so taken with its pleasant situation, that he fixed his residence there. After which, this city was adorned with a superb edifice, called by the *Persians* *Dawlat-khâna*, the royal palace, a spacious market-place, a stately mosque, a noble garden divided into four parts, an extensive hippodrome, and a royal park, or place, where wild beasts were kept, consisting of 1000 acres of ground. It soon likewise received such farther accessions of grandeur, as enabled it to lift up its head above all the other cities of *Persia*. The three principal suburbs annexed to are, *Abbâs-abâd*, denominated likewise the mansion of the Taurisians, built by *Shâh Abbâs*, and belonging to the people of *Tauris*; *Julfa*, inhabited by a colony of *Armenians*, called by some *New Julfa*, there having been an antient city going under the same name in *Armenia*, upon the *Araxes*; and *Ghebr-abâd*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Kebr-abâd*, the street of the Magians, occupied intirely by the professors of *Magism*, or the antient religion of the *Persians*. The river *Zenderoud*, having its source on mount *Dimawend*, separates the city of *Ispahân* and *Abbâs-abâd* from *Julfa* and *Ghebr-abâd*; besides which, another river, called *Abi Kûren*, by means of a passage made for it through mount *Dimawend* by *Shâh Abbâs*, formerly watered part of the neighbouring tract, and united its streams with those of the *Zenderoud*. Some authors relate, that there are, or formerly were, two other streets, or suburbs, belonging to *Ispahân*; and that the *Persians* have a common saying amongst them, importing, that this city is half of the world. The district of *Ispahân*, which is in *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian Irâk*, is bounded on the east by *Khûzestân*, the *Susiana* of the antients, whose metropolis *Tuster*, situated in a plain, answers to the *Susa* of *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, and the *Shushan* of Scripture; and on the south by the town of *Semîram*, that stands at almost an equal distance from this capital and *Shîrâz*, the metropolis of *Fârs*, *Fârsistân*, or, as the antient *Persians* pronounced it, *Pârs*. At first the spot on which *Ispahân* stands was occupied by four towns, or streets, going under the names of *Kirân*, *Koshec*, *Jûbâra*, and *Derdesta*, built by *Tahmurath*, surnamed the *Demoniac*, because he was supposed to have vanquished and bound the devil, and *Jamshîd*. The *Persian* writers pretend, that *Kaykobâd*, the founder of the *Kayanian* dynasty, was the first king of *Persia* who fixed his residence here, where he chose his sepulchre; though, according to them, it did not long enjoy the prerogative of capital of that kingdom. Others relate, that the *Jews*, after their dispersion over *Assyria*, and some of the neighbouring pro-

provinces, being drawn hither by the salubrity of the water, built a small town near another, named *Fiey*, which was afterwards greatly enlarged, and became a city of very considerable note. Hence it came to pass, that *Yákút* stiled *Ispahán* the larger city of the *Jews*, in order to distinguish it from *Fiy*, two miles distant from it, that had also received the denomination of the *Jewish* city, or rather the lesser *Jewish* city; and hence a probable reason may be assigned why the *Persians* and *Armenians* should affirm, that *Ispahán* had antiently the name of *Júsh*. Some authors maintain, that the word *Ispahán*, or *Sipahán*, denoted *cavalry*; and that it was applied as a name to the city so called, because the antient kings of *Persia* assembled their cavalry, in which the principal strength of their armies consisted, here. The greatest part of the *Persian* historians attribute the foundation of *Ispahán* either to *Hushenk*, or *Houshenk*, or to *Tabmurath*, two *Persian* kings of the dynasty of *Pishdád*. It lost its title of capital of *Persia* by the translation of the royal seat, in the days of the *Khosrú's*, first to *Susa*, afterwards to *Éstakhr*, or *Isfakhra*, the antient *Persepolis*, and lastly to *Al Madáyen* upon the *Tigris*. However, in process of time, it recovered this; for *Jalúddin Málec Sháh*, one of the *Seljúkian* princes, quitted *Khorasán* and the *Arabian Irák*, where his predecessors had seated themselves, in order to fix his residence in this city. Nevertheless, it was afterwards obliged to leave this honour, upon the decline of the *Seljúkian* dynasty, to *Shiráz*, which the *Modbafferian*, or *Motbafferian*, *Soltáns* of *Persia* had made the capital of their dominions in the days of *Tamerlan*; tho' after *Ismael Súfi* had seated himself upon the *Persian* throne, it grew more flourishing than ever, and was not only made by his descendants the metropolis of *Persia*, but likewise one of the most magnificent cities of *Asia*; especially after *Sháh Abbás I.* had joined to it the suburbs, or streets, above-mentioned, and established there several colonies of *Georgians*, *Ghebers*, and *Armenians* ^a.

The modern state
of Ispahán before
the com-

WITH regard to the modern state of *Ispahán*, before the commencement of the dreadful rebellion in the year 1721, since which time the once flourishing kingdom of *Persia* has been almost one continued scene of blood, ravages, and confusion, in order to give our curious readers a general idea of it,

^a GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 24—26. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 214—218. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. 5. AL BIRAI, HAMDALLAH, SHARIF AL EDRISI, MOHAMMED BEN KOTHAIR AL FARGANI, YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, HEROD. lib. v. c. 54. STRAB. lib. xv. PAUSAN. Messen. c. xxxi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 27. NEHEM. i. 1. ESTH. i. 2. DAN. viii. 2. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF. Vide etiam ARABSHAH, in tit. Tim. aliosque scriptor. oriental. plur. we

we shall here beg leave to lay down the following particulars, ^{menement}
 This city was distinguished, no less for the magnificence of ^{of the re-}
 its buildings, than for the vast tract it inclosed; the circum- ^{bellion in}
 ference having been ordinarily computed at twenty-four miles, ^{1721.}
 including its gardens and suburbs. It was situated in a plain
 to the north of the *Zenderoud*, which separated it from *Julfa*
 and *Ghebr-abâd*, as already observed. The source of this
 river is distant only three days journey: there are various ac-
 counts concerning the course of it; but it is agreed to be of
 very small extent. *Abbâs the Great* caused a chanel to be cut
 through the mountains, thirty leagues distant; by which
 means the waters of the river *Mahmoud Ker*, called by some
 of the eastern geographers *Abi Kûren*, as has been above re-
 marked, were conveyed into the *Zenderoud*; which renders it,
 according to a very curious modern traveller, as wide and
 deep, upon the melting of the snows in the spring, as the
Seine is in the winter at *Paris*. This work, which was car-
 ried on by some thousands of men, was finished in fourteen
 years time, at an immense expence. There is a communica-
 tion between the two banks of the river by different bridges.
 The largest and finest was that of *Julfa*: it was 360 geome-
 trical paces in length, and thirteen in breadth; the two extre-
 mities of it were flanked by four round towers, with a covered
 gallery, which ranged on both sides the length of the bridge;
 the whole decorated with the richest ornaments of *Persian* ar-
 chitecture. It was joined by two causeways, made with a
 gentle descent to a double row of trees, above 3000 paces
 long. This delightful alley was lined with terrasses and plane
 trees: it was called *Toherbag*, or *four gardens*, and bordered
 with gardens belonging to the king. The length of it was
 terminated by a large pavilion towards the town, and on the
 opposite side by a building, in the royal garden, called *Hazar*
Ferib, or *thousand gardens*. The town, or suburb, of *Julfa*
 on the one side, and that of *Abbâs-abâd* on the other, stretched
 along the *Zenderoud*. From the bridge of *Julfa* to the bridge
 of *Abbâs-abâd* was about a mile and a half. The last received
 its name from the neighbouring suburb, and served as a com-
 munication to the western extremity of the town. The bridge
 of *Barbaroui*, which was less distant than that of *Abbâs-abâd*
 from the bridge of *Julfa*, was the third met with descending:
 like the latter, it was lined with galleries, and not so much in-
 ferior to it in architecture as in length. About a mile further,
 advancing eastward, was the bridge of *Shîrâz*, or *Shirâfs*, so de-
 nominated, because it was the road-way from *Ispahan* to that
 city; and near it was the village of *Cheerestân*. The city of *Is-
 pahân*, or *Isfahân*, was then in its highest pitch of splendor, and
 esteemed the largest, if we except some of the cities of *Cbina*, and
 most

most magnificent in *Asia*, with 600,000 inhabitants, exclusive of those crowds who had fled thither for shelter from different parts of the open country, and were reckoned near 100,000 souls. *Julfa* was a town situated only a mile and a half south of *Ispahân*, on the south banks of the river *Zenderoud*, or *fresh river*; on the side of which it extended almost three miles. The *Armenians* having revolted against the *Turks*, in the reign of *Abbâs the Great*, and submitted to that prince, he removed part of the inhabitants of *Armenia* into different provinces of *Persia*. Those of the antient *Julfa*, a town on the banks of the *Aras*, or *Araxes*, were transported to *Ispahân*, from whence they afterwards removed, and settled in this place; to which they gave the name of their former residence. The people who had been drawn from *Erivan*, *Sbirvan*, and the lower *Armenia*, had settled in the other suburbs of *Ispahân*; but *Abbâs*, desirous of improving this new colony, obliged them to remove to *Julfa*, together with some *Persees* of the neighbourhood of *Kermân* and *Yezd*; by which means, four new quarters were formed. Most of the *Persees* took occasion to retire from thence; so that of 1500 families, which were at first computed in their quarter, there remained only 300, all composed of artificers and labouring-men. But the *Armenians*, being an industrious active people, applied themselves to commerce, and, by their care, this colony soon arose to a flourishing condition. They were greatly encouraged by *Abbâs*, and some of his successors, inasmuch that *Julfa* had the appearance of a republic, founded in the midst of a foreign nation. But the *Persian* court at length, forgetful of its own interests, grew tired of favouring them; and, in *Shâh Hosein's* reign, their privileges, which had suffered some diminution under his predecessors, fell into contempt. This was the situation of the *Armenians* at *Julfa*, whose colony there, by such conduct, was reduced to a pretty low ebb, when the surprising revolution happened in *Persia*, in the year 1722; of which, together with its dreadful consequences, the world has been but too well apprized. However, if we will believe a very celebrated modern author, who was himself upon the spot, the inhabitants of *Julfa* amounted to 30,000 souls, had thirteen churches, and above an hundred priests, and paid the *Persian* court 200 *tomans* yearly for the free exercise of their religion, not many years before that tragical event happened. *Abbâs-abâd* is situated to the west of the city, and derived its name from *Abbâs the Great*, its founder, and has always, at least for the most part, been inhabited by *Mohammedans*. *Ghebr-abâd* was intirely occupied by the *Magians*, or *Persees*, of whose religious tenets we have already given a full and ample account, who

are said to have retained the same habit and attire that were used in the days of the antient *Persian* kings, and to have amounted lately to about 600 families, consisting only of labourers and farmers. Some of the streets were broad, handsome, and of a very considerable length; such were many of those that composed *Abbâs-abâd*, some of those that formed the town of *Julfa*, and a few of those belonging to *Ghebr-abâd*; but others of them were narrow, crooked, aloft, and arched, to the great conveniency of those walking in them. Others of them again, tho' extremely narrow, as well as turning and winding many ways, were of an incredible length, and resembled so many labyrinths. The broad and handsome streets were frequently beautified with trees planted in them, with fountains and canals in the middle of them. At a small distance from the town there were likewise public walks, adorned with rows of plane-trees on each side, ways paved with stone, fountains, and cisterns. There were also above an hundred caravansera's, for the use of merchants and travellers, many of which were built by the king and prime nobility of *Persia*. The ground was plain and even, except in that part of the city bordering upon the river, which seemed a little lower, and approaching nearer a sort of descent, than the rest. As very little rain fell here, the streets of *Ispahân* were frequently full of dust; which circumstance rendered this place disagreeable, during a considerable part of the year. However, in order to remove this inconvenience, or at least to make it more tolerable, the citizens often watered them in the summer-time, and whenever the weather was warmer than usual here. The natives admired a castle in the eastern part of the town, which they took to be impregnable, and called *Kalabi-berûk*, that is, *the citadel of benediction*. The public money, and most of the military stores, were said to be kept here; for which reason it went amongst some by the name of *Jébbekhneh*, *the armory*, or *magazine*. The building was itself extremely rude, and the penthouses belonging to it resembled a human nose. The baths and caravansera's, or inns, of lesser note in this city were almost innumerable, tho' there was but one public hospital, which was capable of containing a pretty large number of infirm people. Most of the public buildings were rather neat than magnificent; tho' the great *Meidan*, or market-place, called by the *Persians* *Meidan-besorg*, the royal palace, and the alley denominated *Toher-bag*, adjoining to it, made a very grand appearance. The *Meidan-besorg* was 660 paces long, and 212 broad; and was situated in the south-west part of the city. The antient *Meidan*, or market-place, going under the name of *Meidan-koboneh*, was 300 paces long, and 100 broad; and had its situation likewise in the south-western quarter of the town.

The

The former *Meidan* inclosed the royal mosque, called *the mosque of the Imâm Al Mohdi*; the building denominated *Kaiserieh*, where all sorts of foreign commodities were exposed to sale; and the mint stiled by the *Persians Serraab-kboneh*, where the current money of the kingdom was coined. Besides the native *Persians*, there were, according to Dr. *Kämpfer*, who resided some time here, in *Ispahân*, not many years since, above 10,000 *Indians*, all supported by trade; 20,000 *Georgians*, *Circassians*, or *Cherkassians*, and *Tartars of Dagestan*, or *Lesgees*; a considerable number of *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, together with a few of the *French* nation. The *Capuchins*, *Discalceated Carmelites*, *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, and *Austin Friars*, had likewise their convents here; though they found it impossible to make any converts in this place. The mosques and public colleges amounted to above an hundred, when Dr. *Kämpfer* was in this city. It may not be improper to observe, that *Ispahân* has produced an incredible number of learned men, amongst whom the following seem to merit our principal regard: *Abu Ismael Tograi*, a celebrated poet, and privy counsellor to *Al Mâlec Mas'ûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâb Al Seldjûki*; whose fifty-nine verses, ending in *LI.* were published by the learned Dr. *Pocock*, at *Oxford*, in 1661. *Shams-addîn Mahmûd Ebn Abu'l Kâsem Al Ashâri*, who wrote a commentary upon the *Korân*, and annotations upon *Al Beidawi's* commentary on that book, besides several other treatises of good repute. The first of the pieces here mentioned is said to contain every thing valuable in the *Keshaf* of *Al Zamakhshari*. *Abu'l Kâsem Ismael Al Esfahâni*, who composed a piece, intitled, *Targhib wa-Tarhib*, i. e. concerning the things that are to be sought after, or avoided. A copy of this is to be seen in the *French king's* library. *Sharf-addîn Abd'al Mo'men Shakerân Ebn Hebatallah*, who wrote a piece, intitled, *Athbâk adbsâhsbeeb*, i. e. *Golden leaves*, containing the lives of some of the most pious *Mohammedans*. *Abu'l Faraj Ali Ebn Hosein Al Esfahâni*, who published a treatise upon the morals of travellers, as likewise the life of *Jahedh*, of the family of *Barmac*, and a piece exhibiting the conduct of the most illustrious men of *Persia*. *Abu'l Kâsem Hasan Ebn Mohammed*, who penned a book, intitled, *Akblâk Ragheb*, i. e. *The manners and disposition of a curious person*. *Abu Nâim Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah*, who wrote a treatise containing his sentiments of the qualities of a sincere friend; wherein he gave a true portrait of many persons who deserved that character. *Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim*, who wrote upon the forty traditions. *Kamal-addîn Al Esfahâni*, a celebrated poet, who obliged his countrymen with an elogy upon *Soltân Jalâl'oddin*, and some other works held in good esteem. *Mohammed Ebn Ishak Ebn Mandab Al Esfahâni*, who composed the history

history of the city of *Ispahân*. *Omad Al Khattâb Abu Abd'allah Mohammed*, who compiled a history to which he prefixed the title of *The splendor of Syria*. He likewise drew up certain annotations and questions upon the *Sonna*. *Abu Thâber Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Salefi Al Esfahâni*, who drew up a piece, intitled, *The forty traditions applied to travellers*. *Abu Zakaria Yahya Ebn Abd'allah Al Esfahâni*, sometimes called *Ebn Mandah*, who wrote the history of *Ispahân*, and the circumjacent region. *Kawâm-addîn, Dawd Al Esfahâni*, and many other eminent writers, whose names and works we are not permitted so much as to mention by the limits prescribed us here °.

SINCE the fatal period above-mentioned, the suburb of *Julfa* ^{Some say} has been almost totally abandoned by the *Armenians*, who in-^{ter} parhabited it in very considerable numbers before. The govern-^{ticulars}ment of *Ispahân*, twenty-four leagues long, and as many broad, ^{relating to}comprehending the districts of *Tchi, Marbin, Kieraridge, Ka-Ispahân. bab, Baraan, Perhavar, Elkhan, and Roundester*, some of which were formerly well peopled, appeared a few years since little better than a desert; most of the inhabitants of that fertile and delightful tract being fled or dispersed. Multitudes of them had taken a precarious refuge in the mountains of *Lorissân*, or *Lârisân*, a particular territory lying between *Ispahân* and *Tuster*; whose lands were left untilld, and their houses mouldered into ruins. In short, all the distresses of an unsuccessful war, or the invasion of a barbarous enemy, could not have plunged the people of *Ispahân* into greater misery than the victories of their tyrannical king, *Nadir Shâh*, who seemed more solicitous to humble his own subjects than his enemies. *M. Kehr* gives us to understand, that the name *Ispahân* was deduced from the word *Sabahan, Sabians*, "be-^{cause,}" says he, "many *Sabians, Magians*, or fire-wor-shippers, have their habitations in this city." But nothing certainly can be farther fetched than this; as the *Sabians* and *Magians*, whom he here absurdly confounds, are two very different sects; the former paying an adoration either to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose reside in them, and govern the world under the Supreme Deity; and the latter thinking fire worthy of divine honours. Besides,

• HANWAY'S historical account of the British trade over the Caspian sea; with the revolutions of Persia, vol. iii. p. 114, 115, 116, 121, 122. Lond. 1753. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 214—218. EMBELBERT. KÆMPFER. amœnitat. exotic. &c. p. 163—206, &c. LEMGOVIZ, 1712. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 25. See also OLEARIUS'S travels into Persia. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Esfaban & Esfahani*, p. 323, 324, et alib. pass. PETR. DELLA VALLE, TAVERN. CHARD. voy. de Perse, &c.

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though

though the *Magians*, or *Persees*, with whom, according to him, *Ispahân* abounds, might at first have settled here in great numbers; yet this can by no means be allowed to hold true of the *Sabians*, who were by far more numerous in other parts of the east than in *Pêrsia*, where *Magism* principally, if not solely, prevailed. Nor has *Ispahân*, at least, for several ages, abounded with *Magians*, or *Persees*, as this author pretends, in support of his hypothesis; that sect having been, ever since the reign of *Abbâs I.* confined to the suburb of *Ghebr-abâd*, as has been already observed. The latitude of *Ispahân* has been defined by *Dr. Kämpfer* to be $32^{\circ} 40'$; whereas this city has been placed by *Nassir Eddin*, or *Nassir Khoaja Al Tûsi*, and *Ulugh Beigh*, or *Olugh Bek*, in latitude $32^{\circ} 25' P.$

*Descrip-
tion of the
above-
mentioned
dirhêm.*

THAT a mint was erected here, and consequently that *Ispahân* was a town of considerable note, in the earlier times of *Mohammedism*, though it made a much more considerable figure in later ages, the aforesaid *dirhêm* itself, exclusive of what might be collected on this head from the eastern writers, is a sufficient proof. This *dirhêm* exhibits the words *Bemudinati Eshabâna setten wates'ina wameâten*, i. e. *In the city of Ispahân, 196; and on the reverse, Mohammed is the apostle of God, all direction is from God.* The last of which expressions is apparently equivalent to the following assertion, *GOD alone is the true leader and director.* As the two *Arabic* terms in the inscription importing this may either be read *Lellabi sarifaton*, or *Lellabi sarimaton*, for *saramaton*, they may either be rendered *All direction is from GOD*, or *In GOD is strength*; the last of which versions makes the words perfectly equivalent to the following aphorism of the *Mohammedans*, *Lâ bâula wala kuwata êlla bellâbi*, i. e. *There is no strength or fortitude but in GOD.* As neither the name of *Al Amin*, nor that of *Al Mamûn*, occurs on this *dirhêm*, we cannot certainly say by which of those princes partisans it was coined. However, as *Thâker Ebn Hossain* reduced *Abwâz*, as well as *Wâset* and *Al Madkiyen* upon the *Tigris*, and obliged the province of *Fârs* to submit to *Al Mamûn* in 196, the city of *Ispahân* must undoubtedly have opened its gates to that prince's troops the same year 9.

THE

P HANWAY, ubi sup. vol. iv. p. 230. GOLII not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 216. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 24. ENGELBRET. KÄMPFER, ubi sup. p. 163. HYDE, hist. relig. vet. Pers. p. 128, et alib. PRID. connect. of the hist. of the Old and New Testam. p. i. b. 3. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sabi*, p. 725, 726. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 14, 15. NASSIR-EDDIN. et ULUGH BEIGH. in bin. tabul. geog. p. 105, 137. OXON. 1711. 19 GEORG. JAC. KEHR. ubi sup. p. 24—26, ASIF-ADDIN AEU ABD'ALLAH MOHAMMED EBN EDRIE

THE next year, being the 197th of the *Héjra*, *Al Mamún's* *Al Ma-*
forces, under the command of *Tháber Ebn Hósein* and *Har-*
mún's *thema Ebn Aasan*, appeared upon the banks of the *Tigris*, in *forces*
the neighbourhood of *Baghdád*, and formed the siege of that *form the*
capital. As the *Khalif Al Amin* himself was shut up in the *seige of*
place, and it had a numerous garison, the besieged made a *Baghdád*.
vigorous defence, and destroyed the enemy abundance of
men. The besiegers, however, played upon the town inces-
santly with their catapults, and were in their turn not a little
annoyed by the garison with the same sort of military machines.
The latter likewise made continual sallies, and fought like
men animated by despair, though they were always at last
beaten back into the town with considerable loss. In fine,
the siege continued through the whole course of this year;
during which, the greatest part of the city called *Asker Al*
Mohdi, or the camp of *Al Mohdi*, erected on the eastern bank
of the *Tigris*, was either demolished or reduced to ashes by
Al Mamún's troops. The citizens also, as well as the gari-
son, were reduced to the last extremity by the length and vio-
lence of the siege. The subjects of *Al Hakem* seem to have
enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity and repose through-
out the whole extent of the *Moslem* dominions in *Spain*.

IN the beginning of the 198th year of the *Héjra*, com- *Al Amin*
mencing September 1st, 813, the *Khalif Al Amin*, having *assassi-*
been deserted by his troops, as well as the principal men of *nated*.
Baghdád, who had kept a private correspondence with *Tháber*
Ebn Hósein, found himself obliged to retire to the old town
on the western bank of the *Tigris*, called the city of *Abu Jaa-*
far Al Mansúr. However, he did not take this step before
the citizens of *Baghdád*, intimidated by *Tháber Ebn Hósein*,
had formally deposed him, and proclaimed his brother *Al Ma-*
mún Khalif. *Tháber*, receiving advice of this, caused that
town to be immediately invested, planted his catapults against
it, and at last starved it to a surrender. *Al Amin*, being thus
reduced to the necessity of putting himself into the hands of
one of *Al Mamún's* generals, chose to implore the protection
of *HartHEMA Ebn Aasan*, whom he judged to be of a more
humane disposition than *Tháber Ebn Hósein*; which having
obtained, he embarked in a shallop, or small vessel, upon the
Tigris, in order to arrive at that part of the camp where *Har-*
thema was posted. But *Tháber*, being informed of his de-

EDRIS AL SHAFEI, in *Raudb arreyábin fi bikáyât-affalebin*, ABU
JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 127. ABU
JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, GREG.
ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 244. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab.
c. xxiv. p. 21.

sign, which he imagined, if carried into execution, would eclipse the glory he had acquired, laid an ambush for him, which he had not the good fortune to escape. Upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Harthema's* tent, *Tháber's* soldiers rushed out upon him, sunk his boat, drowned all his attendants, and incarcerated him in *Ibrahim Al Talhi's* house. Here he was soon after massacred by some of *Tháber's* servants, who cut off his head, and carried it in triumph to their master; by whose order it was the next day exposed to public view in the streets of *Baghdád*. *Tháber* afterwards sent it to *Al Mamún* in *Khorasán*, together with the ring or seal of the *Khalifat*, the scepter, and the imperial robe; at the sight of which, that prince fell down on his knees, returned thanks to the ALMIGHTY for his good success, and made the courier who brought them a present of a million of *dirhéms* *.

Some farther particulars relating to him.

SOME of the eastern writers relate, that *Al Amin*, a little before his death, imagined himself in a dream to sit upon a very high thick wall, and saw, as he thought, at the same time *Tháber* sapping its foundations. Nor did he appear to desist from that operation, till the wall he undermined was absolutely levelled with the ground. This had such an effect upon *Al Amin*, as the *Arabs* are naturally superstitious, that he resolved never to deliver himself up to the mercy of that general. Other prognostics likewise, according to the oriental historians, preceded this prince's death. Finding a moth in his cloaths the very day he was killed, as soon as he saw it, through an unaccountable impulse, he cried out, *God deliver me from every great misfortune that may happen!* *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* being one night along with him, a little before the surrender of old *Baghdád*, called the city of *Al Mansúr*, in the golden palace there, he sent for one of his singing girls, named *Da's*, to entertain them with some of her songs. After they had exhilarated themselves with a few glasses of wine, she sung some verses taken out of the works of the celebrated poet *Al Nábigha Al 'Ja'di*, that have been preserved by *Al Makin*; which he could not forbear considering as prefaces of his approaching fate, and which obliged him to speak with a sigh the following words: *When destiny defeats our projects, we ought to look upon as useless all precautions.* The same night, which did not precede this prince's murder above two or three days, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* and the *Khalif* heard a voice clearly and distinctly pronouncing these words, from the neighbouring bank of the *Tigris*, *The*

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 127, 128. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 241, 242. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 431.

subject of your consultation is determined; which, being afterwards repeated, threw the latter into such an excess of inquietude and grief, that he immediately fell out of his seat. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Al Amin* was supplied with the vessel in which he attempted to escape out of *Tháber's* hands, by *Harthema Ebn Aasan* himself, who attended him therein; that *Tháber's* men, who gave chase to them in little boats, attacked them with stones and naphtha, and at last sent their shallop to the bottom of the river; that *Harthema* was with much difficulty saved, being dragged out of the *Tigris* by the hair of his head; that the *Khalif* was taken with only an old ragged mantle over his shoulders, his breeches on, and a turbant upon his head, at no very great distance from *Basra*; that he was incarcerated in a house, to which *Tháber's* soldiers conducted him, till midnight; and that several *Persians*, sent by *Tháber* for that purpose, then entering the room wherein he was confined, with drawn scymitars in their hands, immediately dispatched him, and cut off his head, which was soon after carried by a courier to *Al Mamún* in *Khorasán*. The afore said tragedy was acted either on the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth day of the month *Al Mobarram*, before *Al Amin* had completed the thirtieth year of his age, and after he had reigned four years and about seven or eight months. He had a handsome face, little eyes, and thick bushy hair. He was tall, fat, extremely robust, and of a fair complexion. Some of the eastern writers have represented him as vastly liberal, tho' at the same time as rash, imprudent, cruel, intirely attached to his pleasures, and indolent to the last degree. As a farther instance of his infamous supineness, it may be observed, that he and his freed-man, *Kátbar* were playing at chess, without the least apprehension of any impending danger, when *Al Mamún's* forces pushed the siege of *Baghdád* with so much vigour that the city was upon the point of being carried by assault. Soon after his accession, he purchased for large sums of money great numbers of eunuchs, who were brought from all parts of his dominions to *Baghdád*, constantly attended him day and night, and had, together with his free women, of whom he was likewise extremely fond, the principal share of his favours. Nay, he is said to have divided all his jewels, besides many other things of inestimable value, amongst them. He also commanded the different provinces of the empire to send to his court all such persons as were the most expert at chess, and other games then in vogue amongst the *Arabs*, allowed them pensions, and spent the most considerable part of his time amongst them. Of the vessels which he constructed on the *Tigris*, one resembled a lion, another an elephant, another a vultur, another a serpent, and another an horse. He

scarce ever associated either with his officers or relations; but gave himself up almost intirely to women (ten of which, that understood music, used frequently to perform on the lute together before him) wine, and diversions of various kinds. His principal counsellors, or *Visirs*, were *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabi*, *Ismael Ebn Sabih*, and others; his judges, *Ismael Ebn Hamid Ebn Abu Hanifa*, *Abu'l Bahra Ebn Wahab*, and *Mohammed Ebn Sam'ā*; the captain of his guards *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Māhān*; and his chamberlain *Al Abbās Al Fadhl Ebn Al Rabi*. The inscription of his seal was, *Mohammed trustab in God*. In his days, according to *Eutychius*, the emperor *Nicephorus* departed this life; and, in the third year of his *Khalifat*, if we will believe the same author, *Thomas*, surname *Tamrīk*, was advanced to the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, in which sublime station he remained about ten years. In fine, as this *Khalif*, whose body was buried at *Baghdād*, most shamefully neglected all affairs of government, no very memorable event, or action of éclat, happened, during the whole course of his reign †.

S E C T. XXVIII.

He is succeeded by his brother Al Mamūn.

THE same day that *Al Amin* was assassinated, the people of *Baghdād* proclaimed his brother *Al Mamūn* the second time *Khalif*. His mother was *Marajel Al Bādaghēisia*. At the time of *Al Amin*'s death, *Thāher Ebn Hosein* occupied the eastern, and *Harthama Ebn Afsan*, the western part of *Baghdād*. *Hamid Abd al Hamid Al Tūsi* was posted also with a body of troops at a place about four parasangs from that city. Soon after his accession, the new *Khalif* removed *Thāher Ebn Hosein*, whom he appointed to preside over *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, from the government of *Irāk*, and substituted *Al Hosein Ebn Sabal* in his room. He likewise deprived *Ayād Ebn Mohammed* of the lieutenantancy of *Egypt*, and sent *Al Metalleb Ebn Abdallah Al Jerā'i* to succeed him in that post; but this governor being soon deposed, *Al Abbās Ebn Mūsā Ebn Isa Al Hāshemi* was dispatched to *Egypt*, to take upon himself the direction of affairs there. About the same time, the new *Khalif*, whose name at length was *Abu'l Abbās Al Mamūn Abu Ja'afar Abdallah Ebn Harūn Al Rashid* constituted *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal* his *Visir*; or rather, according to the *Persian* historians, confirmed him in that exalted charge, to which he had advanced

† KHONDEMIR, AL NABIGHA AL JA'DI, apud Abu Isazfar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 129, 130 ut et ipse ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 242, 243. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414—417.

him before his elevation to the *Moslem* throne. The *Khalif* also gave *Al Fadl* the title, or surname, of *Dbî'l-Riyâsatain*, i.e. *the person having two principalities, or sublime employments*, because he committed to his care the civil and military government of all his dominions ^u.

THE following year, being the 199th of the *Hejra*, commencing August 21st, 814, the new *Khalif*, who resided still at *Merû* in *Khorasân*, was alarmed with the news of commotions brought him from several parts of the empire; the most dreadful of which was that excited by *Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Ismael Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, commonly called *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ*, at *Cûsa*. The people of that city being incensed at *Al Mamûn*, for permitting *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, his *Visir*, to manage all things solely by his own authority, were easily prevailed upon by *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ* to espouse the interest of the house of *Ali*, or, as they termed it, that of the prophet himself. *Mohammed*, therefore, found it no difficult matter to assemble a considerable body of the malecontents; the command of which he gave to *Abu'sarâyâ*, an officer who had served under *Harthema Ebn Aafan*, the preceding year. This officer, not thinking himself rewarded according to his merit, left *Harthema* in disgust, retired to *Cûsa*, and took the oath of allegiance to *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ*, as the prophet's lawful successor, there. Being now at the head of his new master's forces, he drove *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal's* deputy from *Cûsa*, and in several engagements defeated the troops sent against him by the *Khalif's* governor of *Irâk*. This enabled him to advance to *Basra*, which he possessed himself of without any considerable loss. By these signal advantages, *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ's* forces, under the conduct of *Abu'sarâyâ*, began to grow formidable, and to give no small inquietude to the *Khalif*; especially since the scene of action, as well as the neighbouring tract now wholly occupied by the rebels, was situated at so small a distance from the city of *Baghdâd* itself ^w.

IT seems to appear from *Roderic of Toledo*, that the people of *Calaborra*, the *Calaguris* of the antients, rebelled likewise about this time, against *Al Hakem*, the western *Khalif*, upon receiving advice of which revolt, that prince sent *Abd'alkarim*, one of his generals, with an army to bring

^v ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 131, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 243. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 416—419. AUT. LOEB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABULFED. hist. gen. AL JANNAB. ^w ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 131, 132. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 120—124.

them to a sense of their duty. It may also be inferred from *Theophanes*, that one usurper made himself master of *Damascus*, with the territory appertaining to it, another ravaged *Palestine*, a third set up for himself in *Egypt*, and a fourth in the western part of *Africa*, the present year. But we shall content ourselves with barely mentioning these rebellions here, as no clear and distinct account of them has been handed down to us by any of the *Arab* historians *.

Abu'sar-
râya is
beheaded,
and there-
bellions in
Irâk and
Arabia
extin-
guished.

THE next year, being the 200th of the *Hejra*, was remarkable for several material occurrences that happened in it. *Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irâk*, having finished his military preparations for reducing the rebels of that province to the obedience of the *Khalîf*, sent *Harthema Ebn Afsan* with a powerful army against *Abu'sarâyâ*; who, after the death of *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtîbâ*, had caused the authority of *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* to be recognized by the troops under his command. *Abu'sarâyâ*, finding himself not able to make head against the *Khalîf's* forces, fled to *Cûsa*, and even abandoned that city upon their approach. After *Harthema Ebn Afsan* had possessed himself of the place, and taken the inhabitants under his protection, he sent a detachment in pursuit of *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid* and *Abu'sarâyâ*, who had made their escape; which soon came up with them, took both of them prisoners, and conducted them, by *Harthema's* order, to *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irâk*. Several of their accomplices likewise, who were taken at the same time, attended them, under the same escorte, to the governor's residence. After they had been brought before him, and he had had some conversation with them, *Al Hasan* sent *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid* to *Al Mamân*, then at *Merâ* in *Khorâsân*; but ordered one of his executioners to cut off the head of *Abu'sarâyâ*. Notwithstanding what is insinuated to the contrary by *Theophanes*, the province of *Egypt* seems to have enjoyed a profound repose under the administration of *Al Motalleb Ebn Al d'allah*, who succeeded his predecessor *Al Abbâs Ebn Mûsa Al Hâshemi*, and *Affari Ebn Al Hakem*, both this and the preceding year. After the extinction of the rebellion in *Irâk*, *Harthema Ebn Afsan* took a journey to the *Khalîf's* court at *Merâ*; where he accused *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, his *Vîsir*, of concealing from him the true state of his affairs, and advised him to reside at *Baghdâd*, that he might be, as it were, in the centre of his empire, and consequently much nearer the greatest part of his frontiers. On the other hand, *Al Fadl*, being ap-

* RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxiv. p. 21. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 421.

prized of this accusation, told the *Khalif*, that *Harthama* had excited *Abu'lsarāyā* to the late revolt, and done him many ill offices in other respects. This so exasperated *Al Mamūn*, that he commanded *Harthama* to be first severely drubbed, and afterwards thrown into prison; where he was soon put to death by an assassin sent thither by *Al Fadl* for that purpose. About the same time, *Abd'alkarim*, after he had besieged *Calahorra* in *Spain*, obliged the people of that place to submit to *Al Hakem*, the western *Khalif*, and ravaged the territory belonging to them in a dreadful manner, returned to that prince's residence loaded with spoil. The calamities attending the distracted state of the *Arabs* at this juncture obliged many of the *Christians*, according to *Theophanes*, to abandon *Palestine* and *Syria*, and to take refuge in the island of *Cyprus*. *Ibrahim Ebn Mūsa Ebn Jaafar* caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalif* in *Yaman*, as did *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar* at *Mecca*, the present year. But as neither of these usurpers was long supported in his attempt, the commotions in those parts were appeased without any great effusion of *Moslem* blood.

IN the 201st year of the *Hajra*, beginning July 30th, 816, *Great Ali Mamūn* called *Ali Ebn Mūsa Ebn Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn AbuTaleb*, after his death, to the succession, gave him his daughter *Omm Habiba* in marriage, and ordered him to repair immediately to his court at *Morā* in *Khorāsān*. He also surnamed him *Al Radi min Al Moham-med*; alluding thereby to his being one of *Ali's* descendants, and of the family of *Mohammed*. He moreover commanded his troops to lay aside their black cloaths, such as the members of the house of *Al Abbās* constantly wore, and to put on others of a green colour, the principal characteristic of the prophet's family, in their room. He likewise wrote to the governors of provinces, to let them know, that he had found none either of the race of *Al Abbās* or *Ali* more pious, excellent, or learned, than *Ali Ebn Mūsa*; and therefore had nominated that young prince to succeed him in the *Khalifat*. He sent an express to *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irāk*, in particular, with orders to him to repair forthwith to *Baghdād*, to oblige the inhabitants of that capital to dress themselves in green, and to exact of them a recognition of *Ali Ebn Mūsa's* right to the succession. This step, however, greatly alarmed the members of the house of *Al Abbās*, who were found the preceding year to amount to above 30,000 souls, and threw the whole

† *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 132, 133. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 418, 419. THEOPH. N. ubi sup. p. 21—23. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED, AL JANNAB,*

city into confusion; many of the *Moslems* there absolutely refusing to comply with the *Khalif's* orders. Nay, the principal officers of, the families of *Al Abbās* and *Hassem* assembled on this occasion, resolved formally to depose *Al Mamūn*, and to proclaim his uncle *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* emperor of the faithful in his room. It is intimated by some of the eastern writers, that *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, the first officer of the empire, made profession of the sect of *Ali*, entertained the highest veneration for the family of that *Imām*, and inspired his master with the same sentiments; which produced the aforesaid impolitic conduct. It must here be observed, that the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, look upon this *Ali Ebn Mūsa* as one of the twelve great *Imāms*, whom they regard as the twelve great pillars of *Islamism*. However, the measures pursued at this juncture by the *Khalif* now in view might have proved the total ruin of his affairs ².

Ibrahim
Ebn Al
Mohdi
proclaimed
Khalif
there.

THE following year, being the 202d of the *Hejra*, the forces cantoned about *Baghdad*, excited to this revolt by the friends of the houses of *Al Abbās* and *Hāsem*, withdrew their allegiance from *Al Mamūn*, and created his uncle, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi*, *Khalif*. However, the troops commanded by *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal*, the governor of *Irāk*, persisted in their fidelity to the former of those princes, and even attacked *Ibrahim's* forces several times; tho' nothing decisive happened on either side. After his inauguration, *Ibrahim* made a speech to the people; wherein, like others in the same situation, he promised them all the happiness and advantages that their hearts could desire. Upon which, *Cūfa*, with its dependencies, submitted to him. *Ibrahim's* exaltation, and the courage of his faithful subjects in *Irāk*, hastened *Al Mamūn's* journey to *Baghdād*. Upon his arrival at *Sarkhas*, or *Sarakhas* (which is undoubtedly the true reading in *Al Makin*) a town of *Khorāsān*, and not at *Bāghdād*, as is intimated by some of the *Persian* historians, he gave private orders to an assassin to murder *Al Fadl Ebn Sabal*, his *Visir*, who had been the chief cause of all the disturbances in the empire, in a bath; and afterwards put the murderer to death, for the perpetration of a crime which he pretended to abhor. This *Al Fadl* is said to have been the first *Arab* who inserted his surname in the letters that he wrote. The people of *Corduba* in *Spain* rebelled this year against *Al Hakem*, the *Khalif* there; but were reduced to his obedience by *Abd'alkarim*, his gene-

² ABU, JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 133. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 243. KHONDEMIR, AUT. LOEB AL TAWARIKH, GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 512, 513. EBN SMOONAH. See also SALE's prelim. disc. p. 175—178.

ral, who entered their city by force at the *new gate*, cut off all the ringleaders, hanged above 300 of the rebels, and suffered some of them to escape. *Al Hakem*, however, according to his usual clemency, pardoned the wives and children of those who had been concerned in the revolt. This rebellion is attributed by *Roderic* to the opulence, luxury, and pride, of the *Moslems* settled in that part of *Spain* ^a.

THE following year, being the 203d of the *Hejra*, com-^{The troops} mencing *July* 9th, 818, *Ali Ebn Mûsa Al Radi*, called by ^{at Bagh-} the *Persians* *Riza* the *Imâm*, having taken a surfeit, by eat-^{dâd depose} ing too many grapes, or, as others write, having been poi-^{Ibrahim} soned, died at *Tûs* in *Khorasân*, the last day of the month ^{Ebn Al} *Sasar*; and was buried, by *Al Mamûn's* order, near the se-^{Mohdi.} pulchre of his father *Harûn Al Rashid*. This *Ali Ebn Mûsa* has been represented by the *Arab* writers as a most abstemious and religious youth. His death not a little affected the *Khalif*, who therefore continued the remainder of the year at *Tûs*. In the mean time, great commotions happened at *Baghdâd*. The troops there deposed *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mobdi*, surnamed by them *Al Mobarak*; who, in order to escape their fury and violence, was obliged to hide himself about the middle of the month *Dhu'l-hajja*, and to remain concealed till *Al Mamûn's* arrival at *Baghdâd*. That usurper, whom some likewise call *Ebn Shaklah*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, sat upon the *Moslem* throne at *Baghdâd* almost two whole lunar years ^b.

THE next year, being the 204th of the *Hejra*, beginning ^{The fa-} *June* 28th, 819, the *Khalif Al Mamûn* entered *Baghdâd*, at ^{mons Al} the head of his forces that had attended him from *Khorasân*, *Shafei* and were all, in compliance with his former order, dressed in ^{dies in the} green. However, in about a week's time after his arrival at ^{year of the} *Baghdâd*, he thought fit to revoke the order he had made *Hejra* three years before, and to command both the people and ²⁰⁴⁻ the army always to appear in black, as heretofore; which produced the desired effect, and intirely conciliated the affections of all his subjects to him. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the famous *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Edris*, surnamed *Al Shâfeî*, the author of the third orthodox sect of the *Sunnites*. He was born either at *Gaza* or *Ascalon* in *Palestine*, in the year of the *Hejra* 150,

^a ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 133, 134. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 418, 419. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185. Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 134. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 244. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 418, 419.

the same day, as some will have it, that *Abu Hanifa* died, and was carried to *Mecca* at two years of age, and there educated. He died in *Egypt*, whither he went about five years before. Some authors relate, that he came to *Baghdad* in 195, and performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, from whence he returned in 198, and afterwards took a journey into *Egypt*, where he had formerly heard that celebrated doctor and Imam, *Málec Ebn Ans*. He is held in the highest repute amongst the *Sunnites*, for his excellency in all points of learning, and was much esteemed by *Ebn Hanbal*, his cotemporary, who used to say, that *he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body*. *Ebn Hanbal*, however, had so ill an opinion of *Al Sháfí* at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him; but some time after, one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after *Al Sháfí*, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade them to follow him, and did it himself? To which *Ebn Hanbal* replied, *Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule, thou wilt profit thereby*. *Al Sháfí* is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method; one wittily saying, that the relators of the traditions of *Mohammed* were asleep, till *Al Sháfí* came and waked them. He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been observed by a good author. *Al Ghanáli* tells us, that *Al Sháfí* used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him, that he never so much as once swore by *GOD*, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, *I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue*. The following saying is recorded of him, viz. *Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time, is a liar*. He also used to say, that, for sixteen years together, he never rose from table satisfied, as imagining that a full meal would disqualify him both for study and devotion. We are informed, that when his mother was with child of him, she dreamed that the planet *Jupiter* fell out of her womb into *Egypt*, and that a part of it passed from thence into several other regions; from whence the interpreters of dreams, whom she consulted on this occasion, inferred, that she should be brought to bed of a son who should first instruct the *Egyptians* in all kinds of useful knowledge, and afterwards impart the same instruction to other nations. He wrote a book upon the foundations of *Islamism*, which comprized all the essentials both of the civil and canon law of the *Moslems*; as also two others, one of which was intitled *Soman*, or *Sennan*, and the other *Mefnad*, upon the

the same subject. His doctrine was held in such high repute amongst the *Sannites* in the time of *Saladin*, that he founded a college at *Cairo*, or *Al Kabirah*, in which no other was permitted to be taught. The magnificent mosque and college erected at *Herâs* in *Khorasân* by *Gayatb'oddin*, third *Soltân* of the *Gaurian* dynasty, was appropriated to the use of the doctors of *Al Shâfi'i's* sect: and the doctors of the city of *Farab*, or *Fariab*, in the *Transoxana*, according to an eastern writer of good note, were all of the same sentiments. There is a history of these doctors, or followers of *Al Shâfi'i*, that bears the title of *Thabakat Al Shâfi'iât*, in which they are ranged in different classes. The *Shâfi'ites* were formerly spread into *Mawarâ'lnahr*, and other parts eastward, but are at present almost intirely confined to *Arabia*. With regard to the *Moslem* traditions, it is said that *Al Shâfi'i* received them from *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, and transmitted them to *Zohari*. For, it is looked upon as a point of no small importance by the *Mohammedans* to know the canal by which those traditions, that deduced their source from the prophet himself, have been conveyed down to them. We must not forget to inform our readers, that *Affari Ebn Al Hakem* likewise departed this life in *Egypt*, over which country he had been sent by *Al Mamûn* to preside, and was succeeded there by his son *Mohammed Abu-nafr*, the present year ^c.

In the 205th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *June 17th, 820*, nothing very material happened in the *Moslem* empire, as far as can be collected from the oriental historians. We are told, however, that *Al Mamûn*, now finding himself in peaceable possession of the *Khalifat*, conferred this year upon *Thâber*, and his descendents, the government of *Khorasân*, with almost an absolute and unlimited power, in order to recompence the signal services done him by that general. Some of the eastern writers also relate, that *Al Shâfi'i* was alive, and continued to propagate his doctrine, as usual, throughout the whole course of the present year ^d.

The following year, being the 206th of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Abu-nafr Ebn Affari*, lieutenant of *Egypt*, died at *Mesr*, or *Al Fostat*, and was succeeded by his brother *Abdallah Ebn Affari*, whose pretensions to the government were

The province of Khorasân is settled upon Thâber Ebn Hosein, and his descendents.

Al Hakem and Mohammed Abu-

^c ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. BEN KHALECAN, AL ZAFARANI, apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 296, ut et ipse Poc. ibid. AL GHAZALI. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Schâfi'i*, p. 766. et Poc. ubi sup. p. 197, 295—297.

^d KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 545, 546, et alib. BEN SHORRAN; AUT. LOBB, AL TAWARIKH, Poc. ubi sup. p. 296.

supported

nafr Ebn supported by the soldiery. The same year, *Al Hakem Ebn Affari* die. *Heshâm Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, king of *Spain*, or rather the western *Khalif*, likewise departed this life at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, in the 27th year of his' reign. He left behind him nineteen sons and twenty-one daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Abd'alrahmân*, then about forty-one years of age. During some of the last years of *Al Hakem's* reign, the *Christians*, animated by the dissensions that reigned in the *Moslem* part of *Spain*, took *Barcelona* and other places, and committed dreadful ravages in their dominions. However, an end being put to those dissensions, *Al Hakem* was making preparations for war, in order to recover the places that had been lost, when he was surprized by death. But an accurate and particular account of the *Moslem* transactions in *Spain*, during this period, has not been handed down to us by any of either the eastern or western historians *.

As does
likewise
Thâher
Ebn Ho-
sein.

THE next year, being the 207th year of the *Mohammedân* æra; that renowned general *Thâher Ebn Hosein* died at *Merû* in *Khorasân*, after he had been two years governor of that vast province. He was liberal, prudent, magnanimous, and brave, and had all the great qualities requisite to form a consummate general. He is said, by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, to have given an *Arab* poet 300,000 *dinârs* for a few verses he brought him, intended as a panegyric upon some of his heroic actions; and to have told him, that he would have made him still a larger present, had his verses been more numerous. This *Thâher Ebn Hosein*, according to some of the oriental authors, was the founder of the dynasty of the *Thâberians*; for a particular account of which, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the *Persian* historians. It appears from *Cedrenus*, that the *Moslems* of *Spain* had landed a body of troops in *Crete*, defeated the imperial forces sent against them, and made themselves masters of at least a considerable part of that island, before the present year †.

According
to some au-
thors, Al
Shâfêi
dies in
208.

WE meet with no remarkable events in the year of the *Hejra* 208, recorded by the eastern historians; unless we will admit, that the famous *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Edris Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Othmân Ebn Shâfêi*, surnamed *Al Shâfêi*, who, according to some, was born in *Yaman*, and of whom we have already given a particular account, died this year, as certain authors pretend ‡.

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. *RODERIC. TOLETAN.* ubi sup. c. xxiv. p. 21, 22. *D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.* p. 9.

† *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 135. *Aut. LOEB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.* p. 545, 1017, 1018, et alib. *GEORG. CEDREN.* ubi sup. p. 508 -- 511.

‡ *AL GHAZALI; POC.* in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 296, 297. JS

IN the year of the *Hejra* 209, nothing remarkable happened in the eastern territories of the *Moslems*; at least no *rebels* material event has been mentioned as happening there at this *against* time by any of the most celebrated *Arab* historians. However, it appears probable from *Roderic of Toledo*, that *Abd'al-rahmân in-lab*, *Al Hakem's* uncle, who had resided many years at *Vu-Spain* *lencia*, about this very time rebelled against *Abd'alrahmân*, that prince's son, who was then settled upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain*. But *Abd'alrahmân* marched against him, dispersed the troops he had assembled, and forced him to betake himself to a precipitate flight; a few days after which defeat *Abd'allah* expired. The rebellion being thus extinguished, *Abd'alrahmân* ordered *Abd'allah's* wives and children to be brought before him, and very liberally supplied them with every thing they stood in need of. He likewise ordained, that, for the future, children should always inherit their parents estates and effects; and that these should never devolve to brothers and sisters, or other near relations, and much less to persons of another family, when issue was left by the deceased, as had sometimes formerly happened amongst the *Moslems* in *Spain*^b.

THE following year, being the 210th of the *Moslem* æra, *Ibrahim* beginning *April* 24th, 825, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* was *Ebn Al* taken in women's cloaths by night, together with two of his *Mohdi* wives, in the latter *Rabi*, after he had lain concealed near *pardon*ed seven years. The centry they attempted to pass, who was an *by the* *Ethiopian*, asked them who they were, and what they did *Khalif* there at so unseasonable an hour? The answer returned by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* not being satisfactory, the centry carried them all three before the officer then upon duty; who ordering *Ibrahim's* face to be uncovered, his beard immediately appeared. This induced the officer to send him under an escorte to the *Khalif's* palace, where he continued till the next morning under arrest; and being then brought before *Al Mamân*, that prince not only pardoned him, but admitted him likewise to his entertainments, and made him a present of ten thousand *dinârs*. As the particulars of the conference held between *Ibrahim* and the *Khalif*, on this occasion, have been related at large by *Al Makin*, we shall not insert them here, but refer our curious readers to that author himself for their farther satisfaction in this matter. This year *Al Mamân* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber Ebn Hossin*; who, towards the close of it, set out for that country from *Baghdâd*, in order to fix his residence thereⁱ.

^b RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 9.

ⁱ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 135, 136.

The Moslems victorious in Spain. THE next year, being the 211th of the *Hejra*, commencing April 13th, 826, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber Ebn Hosein* arrived in *Egypt*, and, in the month of the former *Rabi*, entered upon the government there. After the amotion of *Abd'allah Ebn Affari*, he also appointed *Ayâd Ebn Ibrahim* his *Visir*. About this time, *Abd'alkarim* retook *Barcelona* from the *Christians* in *Spain*, and reduced the other places the *Moslems* had lost, during the continuance of their late dissensions. The *Khalif* likewise forbade all his subjects to make honourable mention of *Mohâwiyah*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Ommiyah*, and to prefer him to any of the prophet's companions, the same year ^k.

The Arabs make a descent in Sicily. IN the 212th year of the *Hejra*, beginning April 2d, 827, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber Ebn Hosein* removed *Ayâd Ebn Ibrahim* from the high office of *Visir*, and substituted in his room *Isha Ebn Yezid*. The *Khalif* likewise, this year, commanded his subjects to admit *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* to have been the most excellent of all men, except *Mohammed*. This happened in the month of the former *Rabi*. Nay, it seems probable from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that the *Khalif Al Mamûn*, at this time, issued out a public edict, declaring the *Korân* to be created, which was confirmed by his successors *Al Motasem* and *Al Wâthek*, who whipt, imprisoned, and put to death, those of the contrary opinion. But, at length, *Al Motawakkel*, who succeeded *Al Wâthek*, put an end to these persecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releasing those that were imprisoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point. We must not forget to observe, that the *African Moslems* made a descent in *Sicily* about the middle of the month of *July*, the present year ^l.

The Khalif appoints two new governors of provinces. THE following year, being the 213th of the *Mohammedan* æra, the *Khalif Al Mamûn* removed *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* from the government of *Egypt*, and sent his brother *Al Motasem* to take upon himself the government of that country, and *Syria*. He also appointed his son *Al Abbâs* to preside over *Mesopotamia*, and some of the neighbouring provinces. He likewise made a present to each of the new governors, as well as to *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, of 500,000 *dinârs* ^m.

^k ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 136. ROD. TOLETAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 9. ISM. ABULFED.

^l Chronic. Sicul. ab anno CHRISTI 827, ad annum CHRISTI 963. ex codice Arabico Cantabrigiens. edit. à JOANNE BAPTISTA CARUSIO. in hist. Saracenico-Sicul. var. monument. &c. p. 5.

^m ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 136, 137.

IN the 214th year of the *Hejra*, nothing very material happened in the eastern provinces of the empire; but the western Moslems in Africa carried on great military preparations, in order to make another descent in Sicily. Nay, according to some authors, about this time, they took and destroyed the city of *Selinus*, in that island. The western Moslems were now grown in a manner independent on the *Khalif*. *Ibrahim Ebn Aqlab*, who had been sent governor into the western parts of Africa by the *Khalif Harûn Al Rasbid*, in the year of the *Hejra* 184, assumed to himself almost an absolute power in that country, and conquered a large extent of territory for himself and his descendants; over which they presided as sovereign princes about 112 years. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Al Mamûn* received *Abu Dolaf*, one of his brother *Al Amin's* friends, into favour, and appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* to preside over *Khorasân*, the present year °.

THE next year, being the 215th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn* assembled a powerful army, in order to undertake an expedition against the imperial territories. Having finished his military preparations, he set out from *Baghdâd*, at the head of his numerous forces, on the 27th day of *Al Moharram*, and made himself master of a fortress called *Karra* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; which he ordered to be dismantled. He also possessed himself of several other places of strength, and then marched to *Damascus*. *Abu Solimân Al Darâni*, a person of uncommon sanctity, *Makki Ebn Ibrahim Al Balkbi*, one of *Al Bokbârî's* doctors, and *Abu Zeid Seid*, a famous grammarian and philologist, according to *Abulfeda*, died this year °.

THE following year, being the 216th of the Moslem æra, and makes *Al Mamûn* received advice, that the Greek emperor had put about 1600 of the citizens of *Tarsus* and *Al Mashfiyab* in Cilicia to the sword. To revenge which affront, he took post with a formidable army before a considerable Christian town, which immediately surrendered to him. From thence he detached his brother *Al Môtasem* with a body of troops, to penetrate farther into the imperial territories; who made himself master of no less than thirty of the enemy's castles. He also sent *Yabya Ebn Asem* with another detachment to *Tawaba*; who carried the place by storm, laid a great part of it in ashes, and then returned to the army, which soon after marched to *Damascus*. *Omm Jaafar Zebeida*, *Al Amin's* mother, died the present year. In

° EBN SHOHNAH, GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 512, 513. ZONAR. p. 173. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. Saracenicar. r. r. in Sicil. gestar. epit. 87. Panormi, 1720. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 137. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 215.

the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the *Khalif* put himself at the head of the troops to be employed in the *Egyptian* expedition p.

Al Mamûn reduces the city of Taima.

ON *Friday* the seventh day of the month *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 217, commencing *Feb.* 7th, 832, *Al Mamûn* entered *Egypt*, and soon after attacked the city of *Taima*, probably the present *Tamiea*, with all his forces. Having obliged it to surrender, he carried away with him all the inhabitants prisoners; and, towards the close of the month *Safar*, departed out of *Egypt*, taking the route of *Damascus*, where he arrived in due time, without having sustained any considerable loss. Soon after his arrival here, he received a letter from a member of the house of *Ommiyah* in *Syria*, with an account, that *Merwân*, surnamed *Al Himâr*, had hid a treasure under some pillars at *Hebron*: upon which, several labourers were sent, by the *Khalif's* order, to discover them; who, amongst other things, dug up a great number of chests filled with 10,000 waistcoats, the extremities of whose sleeves were greased in a most filthy manner. For, *Merwân* having been extremely fond of sheep's kidneys, and a most voracious glutton, he used to tear that part out of the carcases of the animal, when roasted whole, with his own hand; by which means he so smeared the extremities of the aforesaid garment's sleeves, that he could never afterwards wear it. However, he always deposited it in a chest, with others in the same condition, prepared for that purpose, and put on a clean one in the room of it; at least this was the account of the matter given now to the *Khalif* *Al Mamûn* by the celebrated doctor *Al Asmai*. Which if we admit, we must of course conclude, that *M. D'Herbelot*, or rather the author he follows, is guilty of a mistake, when he makes this *Asmai* to have died in the 215th, or 216th, year of the *Hejra*. The *Khalif*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was so pleased with this piece of intelligence, that he made a present of all those garments to the person he was obliged to for it; who sold them, as curiosities, for a sum amounting to 10,000 *dinars* 9.

Favoured rebellions in Egypt.

AL MAMUN undertook the *Egyptian* expedition, in order to suppress the rebellion of the *Al Bimaida*, or the descendants of FORTY (as the name imports in *Coptic*) *Christians* of good note, who made a considerable figure when the *Moslems* first conquered *Egypt*. These *Al Bimaida*, who were in all likelihood seated at *Taima*, refused to pay the tribute usually ex-

P ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 137. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 216. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 285, 286, 287, 293—296. 9 ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 137. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 244, 245. Pococke's description of the East, vol. i. p. 56. Lond. 1743. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 428—431.

acted by the *Moslems* of those who profess the *Christian* religion: upon which, *Al Mamûn* and his brother *Al Môtasem* marched against them with an army into *Egypt*, in the year of the *Hejra* 217, intirely defeated them, put many of them to the sword, dispersed the rest, and carried away their women and children prisoners to *Baghdâd*. *Al Mamûn* himself, being highly pleased with the success that attended his army in this expedition, made a triumphant entry into *Mesr* and *Al Fostât* on the fourteenth day of the month *Safar*, and departed out of *Egypt* in the former *Rabî*, the same year, according to *Ebn Batrik*, or *Eutychius*; tho' these particulars are passed over in silence by other writers. The *Khalif* likewise, during his residence in *Egypt*, the present year, erected a tower, or castle, on mount *Al Mokattam*, which he called *Kobbat Al Hawa*, the tower of desire; and permitted two of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who were *Christians*, to build a church, denominated first from them the church of the two gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and afterwards the church of the *Romans*, upon a spot of ground at a small distance from it. He also erected a *Mikeas*, *Mikiâs*, or measuring pillar, in order to determine the gradual increase of the *Nile*, at *Sbûrât*, a place belonging to the village of *Banbanûdah*, in the country of *Al Sa'id*, *Thebais*, or the upper *Egypt*; and repaired another of those pillars at *Akbmîn*, in the same region, which was gone greatly to decay. Some years before the late rebellion of the *Al Bimaidæ*, *Al Sari*, or *Assari*, *Ebn Al Hakem*, and his son *Mohammed Ebn Al Sari*, or *Assari*, *Ebn Al Hakem*, had withdrawn their allegiance from the *Khalif*, and usurped the government of *Egypt*; but all the commotions there were appeased by *Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, or *Obeid'allah Ebn Thâber*, as he is named by *Eutychius*, sent into *Egypt* by *Al Mamûn* for that purpose, who seized upon all the treasures amassed by those usurpers, and ordered them to be conducted to *Baghdâd*. This *Abd'allah* likewise obtained a permission from the *Khalif* to annex the palace of *Dâr Al Raml*, or *Dâr'l Raml*, to the great mosque at *Mesr*. With regard to mount *Al Mokattam*, we must beg leave to observe, that it consists of a ridge of mountains extending to the eastern part of *Al Sa'id*, or *Thebais*; for a farther account of which, as well as of mount *Al Teilamon*, appertaining to the western part of that tract, our curious readers may have recourse to *Yakût Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamathi*, *Ijmael Abulfeda*, and the rest of the oriental geographers.

† EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 420, 421, 428—432. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 100, 101, &c. YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, ABULFED. &c. See also SHAW's physc. and miscelian. observations in *Egypt*, p. 433—436, &c.

The Khalif makes an irruption into the imperial territories.

THE same year, the *Khalif* made another irruption into the imperial territories, invested *Lûlûa*, and pushed the siege of that fortress with the utmost vigour for an hundred days together; but being obliged to return home, he left *Ajîf*, or *Ôjî-aîfâ*, his general, with the greatest part of the troops employed in this expedition, to continue the siege. That commander was so little upon his guard, that he was surprized by a party of the garison, who sallied out of the town, took him prisoner, and, after a detention of eight days, sent him back to the *Moslem* camp. In the mean time, *Theophilus*, the *Greek* emperor, advanced with a powerful army to force the *Arab* general to raise the siege; of whose motions the *Khalif* being apprized, he hastened with a numerous body of troops to the relief of his forces before *Lûlûa*. But *Theophilus* receiving advice, that the whole *Arab* army, commanded by the *Khalif* himself, was marching to attack him, he immediately drew off; not thinking it proper at that time to hazard a battle with so potent an enemy. This so intimidated the besieged, that they opened their gates to *Ajîf*, without giving him any farther trouble, and were taken under the *Khalif's* protection. We must not forget to observe, that the *African Moslems* landed a body of troops in *Sicily* the preceding year, and made themselves masters of the city of *Messina* there. They put *Theodotus*, the commandant, who probably made a vigorous defence, to the sword; and plundered *Lipari*, called *Lipara* by the antients, the chief of the *Æolian* or *Vulcanian* islands, on the coast of *Sicily*, about the same time. These advantages so animated them, that they advanced to *Panormus*, or *Palermo*, laid siege to that city, and, without any great difficulty, possessed themselves of it, the present year. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that the *Greek* emperor made some overtures for an accommodation to the *Khalif*, after the reduction of *Lûlûa*; and that the terms of peace offered at this time by the *Christian* monarch were rejected by that prince¹.

Al Mamûn dies.

THE object of *Al Mamûn's* last expedition into *Egypt*, according to some of the eastern historians, was the reduction of the rebel *Aydûs*, who had revolted against the *Khalif*, and began to grow formidable there; which having effected, he penetrated into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, advanced to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and took fourteen or fifteen towns from the *Christians* in that tract. Having finished this expedition, he moved at the head of his forces towards *Baghdâd*; and, in his march, incamped upon the banks of the *Badandûn*, or rather,

¹ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 244. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. Cod. Arab. Cantabrigienf. et JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 5. et in Saracen. rer. epit. p. 88. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. gen. five chronic. ad an. Hej. 217.

as some of the oriental writers will have it, near the source of that river. Here he and his brother *Abu Ishak Al Môtasem* one day went into the water; after which, admiring the clearness and freshness of the stream, he could not forbear saying to his courtiers, "Nothing would give a better relish to the water of this river than some of the fresh dates of *Azad*." Which words were scarce out of his mouth, when it was told him, that some mules were arrived with a considerable quantity of those dates in the camp. This tallying with the *Khalif's* present appetite, he ate so immoderately of them, and afterwards drank such vast draughts of the water of the *Badandûn*, that a violent fever immediately ensued, which put a period to his days on the nineteenth, or, according to *Abulfeda*, the eighteenth, of the month *Rajeb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 218. We are told by *Abu'lFaraj*, that, a little before his death, he deprived his brother *Al Kasem Al Mûtamen* of the right to the succession that had been conferred upon him by his father *Harûn Al Rashîd*, and declared his other brother *Abu Ishak Al Môtasem* his only lawful heir; tho' this event is said to have happened before *Al Mamûn's* last expedition into *Cilicia* by other historians. As soon as this affair was settled, he apprized the provinces of it by a letter, signed by himself and his successor *Abu Ishak Al Môtasem Ebn Harûn Al Rashîd*, which he dispatched to the governors of them at their respective residences, with all possible expedition. When he was at the point of death, his physician *Ebn Mâsawaih* approached him, and another person, who desired him to make a confession of his faith, or to communicate his religious sentiments to the people about him. But his speech failing him, he could only say, "O thou who never diest, have mercy upon me now dying!" After which, he almost immediately expired, and was carried to *Tarsus*, where his son *Al Abbâs* and his brother *Al Môtasem* buried him in the house of *Khakân*, one of *Harûn Al Rashîd's* favourite eunuchs. Some writers relate, that the astrologers foretold his death should happen at a place called *Rakka*, or *Arrakka*; and that as soon as he was informed by the people about him, that the town, or village, upon the *Badandûn*, where he lay sick, went by that name, he expected there, in conformity to their prediction, to meet with his approaching fate. The same year in which he died, he ordered *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*, the governor of *Baghdâd*, to oblige the judges and masters of traditions to assert the creation of the *Korân*; and to punish, with the utmost rigour and severity, all who should presume to maintain the contrary opinion. Amongst other delinquents, who incurred the *Khalif's* displeasure on this occasion; a celebrated Arab historian has mentioned *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, a

famous *Sonnite* doctor, and *Mohammed Ebn Nûh*, surnamed *Al Mafrûb*, who were loaded with irons, and sent to the *Khalîf's* camp; but *Al Mamûn* was surprized by death, upon the banks of the *Badandûn*, before his arrival. His successor *Al Môtasem*, however, commanded *Abmed Ebn Hanbal* to be whipt in a cruel manner. We must here observe, that the *Khalîf's* son *Al Abbâs*, by his father's order, repaired the city of *Tawaba*, a little before the last irruption into *Cilicia*, and enlarged it with so many additional buildings, that it was a mile square, had three streets and four gates, and was considered afterwards for some time as one of the principal cities in those parts.

*Descrip-
tion of his
person and
character.*

AL MAMUN was forty-eight, or, as others will have it, above forty-nine, years of age at the time of his decease. He reigned twenty years, five months, and thirteen days; or above twenty-two years, if we suppose his reign to have commenced at the beginning of the siege of *Baghdâd*. With regard to his person, he was of a middle stature, of a fair complexion, though tinged with yellow, and had a long beard of a greyish colour. Some, however, have represented him as a person of a comely countenance, with a beard perfectly grey, and of a ruddy or sanguine, or, as others will have it, of a swarthy, complexion. As for his disposition, the eastern writers have painted him as endued with all royal virtues; as full of sweetness, liberal, of great clemency, a consummate general, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. He is also said to have applied himself particularly to the speculative sciences, and to have made a very considerable progress in them; which induced him, at a vast expence, to encourage learned men to resort from all parts of the world to *Baghdâd*. He likewise spent immense sums in purchasing curious books, written in *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, and *Greek*, in order to have them translated into *Arabic*. One of the aforesaid authors finishes the portrait of this prince with saying, that he was, without contradiction, the greatest and most renowned prince of the house of *Al Ablâs*, a race more fruitful in heroes than any that ever swayed the sceptre amongst the *Moslems*. Through the whole course of his reign, he favoured indifferently all learned men of whatsoever religion they were; who, on their part, in return, contributed to the utmost of their power to raise the glory of this monarch to the highest pitch. This they did by the presents which they made him

† *MIRKHOND*, *AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH*. *GOLII* not ad *Alfragan*. p. 233. *GEORG. JAC. KEHR*, ubi sup. p. 17. *KHONDE-MIR*, *EBN SHOHNAH*, *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR*. *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 138. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. p. 245, 246. *ISM. ABULFED*. in *chron.* ad an. *Hej.* 218. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 434, 435.

of their works, collected from all the most rare and curious productions of the learned men of the east, whether *Indians, Jews, Magians*, or oriental *Christians* of every sect. He seems to have been most famed for his skill in astronomy, and the accurate observations which he made. He used to say, "If men knew what an excess of clemency there is in me, I should be perpetually visited by the most notorious offenders." *Abulfeda* relates, that this *Khalif* heaped his favours upon the descendants of *Ali*, and restored to them the territory of *Fadak*, or *Fidak*, that formerly belonged to their common mother *Fatema*, of which, by the tyranny of his predecessors, they had been so long and so unjustly deprived.

BEFORE we conclude our account of this *Khalif*, we must beg leave to observe, that the master appointed him by his father *Harûn Al Rashîd* was the famous *Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Hamzah Bahaman Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Firâz*, a *Persian* by nation, but extremely well versed in all kinds of *Arab* literature. This doctor was a slave of the *Asadites*, and surnamed *Kassai*, or *Kossî*, from the decisions he had made against luxury, and in favour of sumptuary laws. He was so excellent a grammarian, that he baffled in a dispute *Sibwâh*, the *Persian*, who was before esteemed the best grammarian of his age. The *Khalif Harûn* one day meeting *Kossâ*, asked him in a very civil manner how he did? To which he answered, with a good deal of wit and elegance, "If I had never received any other fruit from my studies than the favour you do me to think of me, that would be sufficient to make me happy." Another day, *Kossâ* coming to the door of *Al Mamûn's* apartment, in order to instruct him, as usual, that prince, who was then at table with his friends, sent him a distich upon the leaf of a myrrh-tree, importing, "that there was a time for study, and a time for diversion, and that he was then entertaining his friends." Which *Kossâ* answered by a tetrastich on the back of the same leaf, couched in the following terms: "If you could once perceive the excellency of knowledge, you would undoubtedly prefer the pleasure arising from thence to that which you at present taste; and if you knew who was now at your door, you would immediately get up, come to him, and prostrate yourself on the ground, to thank and praise God for the favour he vouchsafes you." The young prince had no sooner read this than he left his companions, and waited upon his master with the utmost deference and respect. This doctor was the author of a book, intitled, *Nafais Alarais*

* GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 138, 139. EUTYCH. ubi sup. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 17. KHONDEMIR. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 218. Vide etiam D'HERB. Bibl. orient. p. 546.

*wa-Kessas Al Anbia, The history of the patriarchs and prophets from the creation of the world; a translation of which into Persian is to be met with in the French king's library. Kessâ died in Khorasân, or, according to Abulfeda, at Ray, whither he attended the Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd, in the year of the Hejra 189 *.*

Al Ma-
mûn
blamed by
the Son-
nites for
falling in-
to the er-
rors of the
Motaza-
lites.

AL MAMUN, notwithstanding his amiable qualities and rare intellectual endowments, had the weakness to fall into the errors of the *Môtazalites*, and was blamed by the more severe doctors of the law for not being sufficiently orthodox in the religion of the *Mohammedans*. The same doctors by no means approved of his introduction, or rather improvement, of philosophy and the other speculative sciences amongst the *Moslems*. For, the *Arabs* had not yet accustomed themselves to read many books besides those relating to their religion. They did not begin even in earnest to cultivate astronomy before the reign of this *Khalif*, who was himself a great proficient therein *.

Some far-
ther par-
ticulars
relating to
this Kha-
lif.

AL MAMUN's first prime minister, or *Vizir*, was *Fadl Ebn Sabal*, surnamed *Dhî'l Riyasatain*, as has been already observed; after whose tragical exit, his brother *Hasan Ebn Sabal*, *Omar Ebn Sa'id*, *Ahmed Ebn Abu Khâled*, and *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf*, successively filled that sublime and important post. Some, however, maintain, that he was his own prime minister, after *Fadl Ebn Sabal*'s death; which, in our opinion, very well accords with what has been related of this *Khalif* by the eastern historians. The first captain of his guards was *Zobeir Ebn Masaijeb Al Dobbi*, who was succeeded by *Thâber Ebn Al Hosein*, of whose exploits we have already given our readers a full and ample account. *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim* had also for some time assigned him the command of that corps. His chamberlain, whilst in *Khorasân*, was *Al Hosein Ebn Abu Sa'id*, and afterwards *Ali Ebn Abu Sâleh*, *Abd'alhamîd Ebn Shabib*, *Mohammed Ebn Sâleh*, *Ismael Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sâleh*, and others who have not been named by the oriental writers. His judges were *Mohammed Ebn Omar Al Wafîdî*, *Mohammed Ebn Omar Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Mahrûmî*, *Basbar Ebn Al Walîd*, and *Yahyâ Ebn Aftem*; the last of whom, by some point of ill conduct, incurred the *Khalif*'s displeasure. The first day of *Al Mamûn*'s reign is said to have been *Monday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The symbol, or inscription, of his seal was, *Ask of GOD, and he will give you*. Some of the *Christian* writers inform us, that *Mark*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, died at *Alexandria* in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mamûn*, and was succeeded

* AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in *Rabi Al Abrar*, EBN SHOHNAH, GEOR. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFEDA. in chron. ad an. Hej. 189. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Kessai*, p. 961.

* EBN SHOHNAH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. GREG. ABU FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 246, 247.

in the patriarchal see there by one *James*, who presided over those of the *Jacobite* persuasion ten years and eight months. In this patriarch's time, the monasteries, that had been taken from the *Christians*, were restored, and re-occupied by the monks, who had been formerly driven from thence. He was a person of uncommon sanctity, and, if we will believe some of the aforesaid authors, restored to life again the son of one *Makara*, a person of great distinction, belonging to *Nabruh*; who was so affected with this illustrious miracle, that he distributed the third part of his substance amongst the poor, and built at his own expence a church in *Jerusalem* solely for the use of the *Egyptians* resorting to that place. In this *Khalif's* time, *Diomysius*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, took a journey into *Egypt*, in order to have a conference with *Abdallah*, or *Obaidallah*, *EbnThâberEbnAlHosein* there, and abode for some time in the *Jacobite* patriarch's house. In *Al Mamûn's Khalifat*, a grievous famine likewise raged at *Jerusalem*, which seems to have been occasioned by vast swarms of locusts, that devoured all the fruits of the earth, and even every thing green, in the neighbouring tract. The extreme scarcity of provisions, or rather the total want of them, at this juncture, drove almost all the *Moslems* from the holy city; which gave *Thomas*, the patriarch, an opportunity of repairing the roof of the church of the *Resurrection* there. For this purpose, he purchased the trunks of fifty tall cedars and firs, which were imported from the island of *Cyprus*. The expence of this reparation, which was very considerable, was wholly defrayed by one *Bocâm*, a rich native of *Bûtab*, or *Bûrah*, in *Egypt*. The patriarch made use of forty beams, or rafters, on this occasion; that number having been suggested to him by forty martyrs, who appeared to him in a dream, and seemed to support the roof that was upon the point of falling down. After the return of *Abdallah Ebn Thâber* to *Jerusalem*, in his way to *Baghdâd*, the *Christians* were accused of having enlarged, and made an addition to, the aforesaid roof; upon which, *Abdallah* sent for the patriarch, ordered him and many others to prison, and threatened to have them all publicly whipped, if, upon inquiry, he found the *Moslems* capable of supporting their accusation. However, by the intervention of an antient *Mohammedan*, on whom he bestowed a sum of a thousand *dinârs*, and engaged to supply him and his posterity, as long as any of them should remain, with the same monthly allowance of provisions that the priests and deacons themselves were furnished with, out of the revenues of the said church, for his assistance in this affair, *Thomas* pacified *Abdallah Ebn Thâber*, escaped the ignominious punishment with which he had been threatened, and obtained the

the absolute approbation of all the principal *Moslems* then residing in *Jerusalem* of what had been done. After *Thomas's* death, which happened in the seventh year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mamûn*, one *Basilab*, who had received his education from his predecessor, succeeded him in the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, and continued in that see twenty-five years. One *Ayub*, or *Jab*, seems to have been constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, in the first year of *Al Mamûn*, according to *Eutychius*; but this does not tally with what has been observed of *Dionysius*, the patriarch likewise of this see, as that author makes *Ayub* to have presided over the church there no less than thirty-one years. As *Al Mamûn* was convinced, that the improvement of the mind ought to be the principal object of a wise man's attention, and was much preferable to the pursuit of those pleasures in which the vulgar, as well as others placed in more exalted stations, do for the most part take their chief delight, he did not only treat with the greatest marks of distinction those learned men whom he invited to *Baghdâd*, but likewise spent as much time in their company as the affairs of state would permit, encouraged his subjects by his example to read the books they both translated and wrote, and even constantly attended their disputations. The principal astronomers that flourished in his days were *Habash Al Merwazi*, an inhabitant of *Baghdâd*, who wrote three books of astronomical tables, or calculations, intitled, *Al Send Hend*, *Al Momtahan*, and *Al Shâb*; *Ahmed Ebn Kethair Al Fargâni*, or, as others call him, *Mohammed Ebn Ketir Al Fargâni*, known likewise amongst the *Europeans* by the name of *Alfraganus*, whose book, intitled, *Elements of astronomy*, with *Gelius's* version and notes upon it, is held in considerable repute amongst the learned; *Abd allah Ebn Sabel Ebn Nâbakht*, a person famous for his skill in astronomy, and much esteemed by the *Khalif*; *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa Al Khwarazmi*, whose astronomical tables, intitled, *Al Send Hend*, were reckoned sufficiently exact; *Masballah*, the Jew, for his uncommon skill in abstruse literature, looked upon as the phoenix of his age, who flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mansûr*, and died after *Al Mamûn's* accession to the throne; and *Yahya Ebn Abu'l Mansûr*, of whose skill in astrological matters we have an instance handed down to us by *Abu'l-Faraj*. The most celebrated physicians in *Al Mamûn's* days, some of whom he employed in translating into *Arabic* a considerable number of those physical treatises purchased of the subjects of the *Greek* emperor by the *Khalif*, were *Yahya Ebn Batrik*, *Al Mamûn's* freed-man, who had a happy talent at translations, with regard to his hitting upon the true sense and meaning of his author, tho' he did not write elegant *Arabic*, and was better versed in philosophy than physic; *Sabel Ebn*

Ebn Sábúr, surnamed *Al Kawfaj*, who lived at *Ahwáz*, and consequently wrote in the dialect of *Khúz*, or *Khúzeistán*; *Yahya Ebn Mâfûa*, who likewise made a very considerable figure in his profession; *Jîurgis*, or *George*, *Ebn Bakhtishua*, of whom we have spoken before; *Isa Ebn Al Hakem*, who also enjoyed a very advantageous character; and *Zakariâ Al Tifûri*, who practised with good success. Besides these, *Al Mamûn* had another physician, called *Gabriel*, by one of the *Arab* writers, who attended him every morning before any of the others, and had for some time assigned him a monthly pension of 1000 *dirhéms*; but, falling afterwards into disgrace, he was forbidden to appear in the *Khalif's* presence, and his pension was reduced to 150 *dirhéms*. We must here beg leave to remark, that the *Arabs* discovered a passion for the study of physic in the earlier times of *Islamism*; that art being of such vast utility to all ranks and degrees of men, even when they applied themselves almost solely to the study of their own language, and of the *Mohammedan* civil law, founded upon the precepts and determinations of the *Korân*. For, this was undoubtedly the state of learning amongst the *Arabs*, whilst the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah* sat upon the *Moslem* throne. But, after the elevation of the family of *Al Abbâs* to the *Khalifat*, the cultivation of the sciences began soon to be in vogue. *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, the second *Khalif* of that race did not only attain to a good degree of knowledge in the *Mohammedan* civil law, but likewise made some progress in the study of philosophy and astronomy; which arrived at a much higher degree of perfection in the reign of his great grandson *Abd'allah Al Mamûn*. For, that prince not only hired learned men, whom he had assembled from all parts of his vast dominions for that purpose, to translate the books he had purchased of the *Christians* at an immense expence, but likewise promoted by all possible motives the study of those branches of literature they were written upon, and even pursued with an almost unparalleled ardour that study himself. But, for a more explicit and particular account of this *Khalif's* thirst after knowledge, as well as of his wonderful propension to favour and animate learned men, we must beg leave to refer our curious and intelligent readers to the authors cited here.

Y ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 139, 140. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 420—437. AL KADI SAED EBN AHMED AL ANDALOS. apud Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. ut et ipse GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ibid. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Al-fragan. p. 1, et alib. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAN. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

S E C T. XXIX.

Al Mótasefem is proclaimed Khalif.

AL MÓTASEM, or *Abu Ishak Mohammed Ebn Harún Al Rashid*, surnamed likewise *Billah* by some of the oriental historians, was saluted *Khalif* the same day his brother *Al Mamún* died, that is, the 18th or 19th of the month *Rajeb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 218. His mother *Máredah*, or *Márudah*, was one of the concubines of the *Khalif Harún Al Rashid*. Some of the *Moslem* commanders at *Tarsus* were inclined to favour the interest of *Al Abbás*, son to the deceased *Khalif*; but that young prince having himself taken the oath of allegiance to *Al Mótasefem*, all the officers of the army, as well as those belonging to the court, soon followed his example. *Al Mótasefem* ascended the throne by virtue of *Al Mamún's* express nomination of him to the *Khalifat* after his decease, which was made to the prejudice of his own son *Al Abbás*, and the exclusion of his other brother *Al Mútamen*; tho' the latter had been called to the succession after him by their father *Harún Al Rashid*. The first thing the new *Khalif* did was to issue orders for the demolition of the additional part of *Tawába*, that had been built by *Al Mamún's* son *Al Abbás* in the late reign; which were immediately executed, all the arms and warlike stores to be met with in the town carried from thence, and the inhabitants, who had been transplanted thither from other cities, commanded to return to their former habitations. In the beginning of the month of *Ramadan*, *Al Mótasefem* arrived at *Baghdád*, and soon after was inaugurated there. About the same time, the *Khalif* received advice of the great progress made by the rebels in *Persia*, and *Persian Irák*, who were headed by one *Bábec*, an enemy both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the *Moslems*. This *Bábec* was surnamed *Al Herremi*, or *Al Khorremi*, and *Khorremdin*, either because he was of a certain district near *Ardebil* in *Adherbiján*, called *Khorrem*, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in *Persian*. He first appeared in the year of the *Hejra* 201, when he began to take upon him the title of a prophet. We do not find what particular doctrine he taught, when he now made open profession of his impiety; but it is said his system of religion differed from all the others then known in *Asia*. He gained a great number of devotees in *Adherbiján* and the *Persian Irák*, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the *Khalif Al Mamún*, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and particularly *Ebn Hamid*, one of them, with his own hand; by which victories he became so formidable, that *Al Mótasefem*

Motāsem was obliged to employ the whole forces of the empire against him. The general sent to reduce *Bābec* was *Haidar Ebn Kātū*, surnamed *Afshin*, a Turk by nation, who had been brought a slave to the *Khalif*'s court, and, having been employed in disciplining the *Turkish* militia there, had acquired the reputation of a great captain. As the rebels had made themselves masters of *Al Jebāl* and *Hamadān*, and were very strong, *Afshin* was resolved to bring them to a battle as soon as a proper opportunity offered; which having done, he overthrew them with prodigious slaughter, putting no less than 60,000 of them to the sword, and driving the rest into the imperial territories. He first marched at the head of his army towards the province of *Adherbijān*, and spent a good deal of time in rebuilding all the castles between the cities of *Arzanjān* and *Ardebil*, that had been demolished by *Bābec*'s troops. This step he judged previously requisite, in order to secure all the passages and defiles, and thereby put a stop to the incursions of the rebels ².

THE following year, being the 219th of the *Hejra*, commencing January 16, 834, *Mohammed Ebn Al Kāsem*, one of *Ali*'s descendants, appeared in arms against the *Khalif*, and *Al Kāsem* seized upon a considerable part of the province of *Khorasān*. He was, however, at last defeated by the *Khalif*'s forces, taken prisoner, and brought to *Al Motāsem* at *Baghdād*. Being sent to prison, he was for some time there confined; but at last, by what means we have not been told, he made his escape, and was never afterwards seen. The same year, *Kendi*, *Al Motāsem*'s governor of *Egypt*, died at *Mesr*, and his son *Metassir*, or *Modassir Ebn Kendi*, was appointed by the *Khalif* to succeed him. It appears from some of the eastern writers, that *Afshin* made himself master of *Isfahān*, or *Ispahān*, and *Hamadān*, the two principal cities of *Al Jebāl*, or the *Persian Irāk*, and several of *Bābec*'s castles, notwithstanding the great annoyance given him by the rebels, though he could not reduce the whole country to the obedience of the *Khalif*, the present year ³.

ABOUT this time, a very severe persecution was carried on by the *Khalif* against all who denied the creation of the *Korān*. *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, the founder of the fourth sect of the *Sunnites*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak here-

² ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 140, 141. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 436, 437. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 252. KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBBALTAWARIKH, EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 158, 159.

³ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 141. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 438, 439. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

after,

the crea-
tion of the
Korân.

after, refusing to acknowledge the *Korân* to be created, was scourged in so cruel a manner that he fainted away, having been almost flayed alive, by order of the *Khalif Al Môtasem*, and afterwards imprisoned. The same punishment would have been inflicted upon *Abu Harâm Ebn Al Bacâ*, had he not escaped it by a notable evasion, which was of signal service to him. He allowed the *Korân* to have been placed, given, or instituted, by GOD, and that every such thing was created; though he would not in direct terms admit the conclusion naturally flowing from those premises. In fine, he conceded the *Korân* to be endued with one of the essential properties of a created being, though he endeavoured to evade standing to the immediate consequence of such a concession ^b.

A great
overthrow
given Bâ-
bec by Af-
shîn.

THE next year, being the 220th of the *Hijra*, *Afshîn*, having fortified the passes in the mountains, and posted proper detachments of troops there to defend them, descended into the plain, and incamped near a village called *Arfû*, or, as some will have it, *Ashâk*, where he offered the enemy battle. *Bâbec*, notwithstanding the great losses he had sustained, accepted the challenge; but, after a sharp engagement, was entirely defeated, and constrained to fly with the shattered remains of his troops first to *Mogân*, and afterwards to *Casbabâd*, the place of his nativity, where he had at that time erected his principal fort. His army must have been extremely numerous before the beginning of the action, if, as we find asserted by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, he lost in it above 100,000 men. Be that as it will, *Bâbec*, finding no other way to escape, was obliged to retire into the *Gordyeen* mountains, where he fortified several posts; from whence he greatly incommoded the *Khalif's* forces that pursued him thither, frequently intercepting their provisions, and destroying them abundance of men. In fine, *Al Môtasem's* general found it impossible to dislodge him from those posts during the course of the present year ^c.

Bâbec still
supports
himself
against
Afshîn.

THE following year, being the 221st of the *Moslem* era, *Mûsa Ebn Abu'l Abbâs Al Shabâni* was continued by the *Khalif* in the government of *Egypt*, to which post he had been advanced by that prince after the death of *Modaffir Ebn Kendi*, the preceding year. *Bâbec* still remained in the *Gordyeen* mountains, and defended himself against the *Khalif's* troops. However, *Afshîn* took several of his strong-holds, and forced some of his fortified posts, though he could not

^b GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 252, 253. EBN KHALECAN. ^c ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 253. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 158.

bring the war in those parts to a conclusion the present campaign^d.

IN the 222d year of the *Hejra*, beginning December 14th, Bâbec reduced, and 836, *Afshin* carried on the war with great vigour against Bâbec, and shut up that impostor in *Cashabâd*, *Badû*, or *Al Badh*, as it is sometimes called by the Arab historians; which place he straitly besieged. Hither that rebel found himself obliged to retire, after *Afshin* had reduced all his castles one after another with invincible patience, and forced all his retrenchments in the mountainous tract of the *Curds*, as his last resource. The fortress of *Cashabâd*, being a place of considerable strength, he defended himself there with great bravery for several months; but at last, finding he should be obliged to surrender the town, he made his escape into a neighbouring wood, from whence he soon after came to *Afshin*, upon that general's promising to procure for him the *Khalif's* protection. But *Afshin* had no sooner got him into his power, than he ordered an executioner, who attended him for that purpose, first to cut off his hands and feet, and afterwards his head. This is the account handed down to us by *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*. Other writers, however, relate, that, just before the surrender of *Cashabâd* to the *Khalif's* forces, Bâbec found means to escape thence in disguise, after he had with great bravery sustained several assaults, with his son *Abd'allah*, and his general *Modwiyah*, into *Armenia*, where he was betrayed in the following manner. *Sabel Ebn Sanbat*, an *Armenian* officer, happening to know him, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, *Sabel* clapt himself down by him; at which Bâbec being surprized, asked him, how he dared to take that liberty unasked? *It is true, great king*, replied *Sabel*, *I have committed a fault; for who am I that I should sit at your majesty's table?* and immediately sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, *Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them*. After this, *Sabel* sent him to *Afshin*, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister, and wife, to be ravished before his face; for so Bâbec used to treat his prisoners. *Afshin*, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to *Al Motasem*, by whose order he was put to an ignominious death. The *Khalif* was then at *Sar Man Ray*, *Sarra Manray*, or *Samarra* (for it went by all those names) a city of *Irâk*, on the

^d ABU JAASAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

eastern bank of the *Tigris*, a little above half a degree to the west of *Baghdâd*; where he first ordered *Bâbec's* hands and feet to be cut off, and then his head, after his belly had been ript open in the presence of a great number of spectators. The body was fixed upon a gibbet, erected for that purpose, in the town, and the head sent into *Khorasân*. This man had maintained his ground against the power of the *Khalifs* above twenty years, and had cruelly massacred 250,000 people; it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or child, either of the *Mohammadans*, or their allies. Amongst the prisoners taken at *Casbabâd*, there was one *Nûd*, who had been one of the ten men employed by *Bâbec* in his executions; and who owned, that, in obedience to his master's commands, he had destroyed above 20,000 *Moslems* with his own hands. To which he added, that vast numbers had also been executed by his companions; but that of these he could give no precise account. *Casbabâd* was taken in the month of *Ramaddân* this year; after which, *Ajîf Ebn Anbasa* reduced the *Zatalbdiens*, who inhabited *Al Batayeh*, or the fenny tract between *Wâset* and *Basra*, to the obedience of the *Khalif*, and conducted many of them prisoners to *Baghdâd*. The *Khorremites*, not *Herremites*, as they are called by M. D'Herbelot, nor *Hazemites*, as they are denominated by Dr. Pococke, in his *Latin* version of *Abu'l-Faraj*, or sectaries of *Bâbec*, which remained after his death, seem to have been intirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by the oriental historians*.

The Khalif makes an irruption into the Greek empire.

THE next year, being the 223d of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 3d, 837, the emperor *Theophilus* invaded the *Moslem* territories with an army of 100,000 men. He penetrated as far as *Zabatra*, or *Zabtara*, took and demolished that city, put all the men therein to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity. From thence he advanced to *Malatia* in *Cappadocia*, seized upon that place, killed great numbers of men he found in it, and took about 1000 of the *Moslem* women there prisoners. He also made himself master of several other towns, the inhabitants of which he treated with excessive cruelty, putting out the eyes, and cutting off the noses and ears, of the men, and carrying away the women captives, according to some of the *Arab* historians. The *Khalif*, receiving advice of these hostilities, and of the barbarous conduct attending them, marched against the *Greeks* with a more formidable army than any of those with which his predecessors had formerly made war upon that na-

* ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 141, 142. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 253, 254. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 438, 439. D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

tion.

tion. This army he divided into several bodies, which entered the imperial territories by different routs, and reduced several fortresses belonging to the *Christians*, before any enemy appeared to oppose them. *Ancyra*, in particular, we are told, he took, and laid in ashes; though *Ayûb*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, who attended the *Khalif* in this expedition, could have prevailed upon him to have saved it, had the inhabitants, as he desired, opened their gates to that prince, when he first presented himself before the town. Some of the *Greek* writers, on the other hand, pretend, that the *Moslems* were the aggressors in this war, and made an irruption into the imperial provinces several years before, treating the emperor's subjects with their usual barbarity, without having received either from that prince himself, or any of the people belonging to him, the least provocation. Be that as it will, as *Theophilus*, in ravaging *Syria*, had, according to one of them, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the *Khalif*, destroyed *Zabatra*, or *Sozopetra*, the place of his nativity; he ordered every one of his soldiers to engrave upon his shield the word *Amorium*, the birth-place of *Theophilus*, ranked amongst the cities of *Phrygia* by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, which he was resolved, at all events, to destroy. These circumstances, however, have been wholly omitted by the *Moslem* authors. The *Khalif* first advanced to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and from thence moved into *Phrygia*; of which the emperor being apprized, he marched at the head of his forces to *Dorylaeum*, distant about three days journey from *Amorium*. There, in a council of war, several of his officers advised him to decline an engagement with the *Arabs*, whose army was far more numerous than that of the *Greeks*, and to transport the inhabitants of *Amorium* to some other place. But the emperor, imagining such a proceeding would reflect no small disgrace upon him, resolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly sent thither a strong detachment, under the command of *Ætius*, general of the East, *Theodorus Craterus*, *Theophilus Bubutzicus*, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, the *Khalif*, having made the proper dispositions for investing the city, detached a body of 10,000 *Turks*, with a strong party of *Armenians*, to try the strength of the emperor's forces. The two armies faced each other at *Dazymenum*, and soon came to a general action, wherein the *Arabs* were at first put to the rout; but the *Greeks*, in pursuing them, were so galled by the arrows of the *Turks*, that they not only gave over the pursuit, but betook themselves to a disorderly flight. A body of *Persians*, however, in the emperor's service, though abandoned by the rest of the army, stood their ground, and surrounding the emperor,

ror, who was present in the engagement, made head against the enemy, and at last, by favour of the night, retired in tolerable good order. According to *Abulfeda*, the right wing of the Moslem army was commanded by *Ashbin Ebn Kaas*, the left by *Ashnas*, and the main body by the *Khalif* himself, in this expedition. *Al Mutasem*, informed of the good success of his troops, marched directly to *Amorium*, and, being there joined by his victorious forces, laid close siege to the place; which, after a long and obstinate resistance, was betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, who had abjured the Christian religion. The *Khalif*, enraged at the great loss he had sustained during the siege, which, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, continued about 55 days, put most of the men to the sword, carried the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. Some of the eastern historians relate, that the Greeks lost in the aforesaid action above 30,000 men. The *Khalif's* forces being distressed for want of water, in their return home, the Christian prisoners rose upon some of them, and murdered them; which so exasperated the *Khalif*, that he put 6000 of the Greeks, who had been principally concerned in exciting that commotion, to death. Of the inhabitants of *Amorium* 30,000 were slain, and as many taken prisoners, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Al Mutasem* having discovered in his march, that some of his officers had engaged themselves to support *Al Abbās Ebn Al Mamān's* pretensions to the *Khalifat*, he forbade his subjects to supply that prince with liquids of any kind; so that, according to *Abulfeda*, he died of thirst at *Manbij*, and was buried in that city, the present year. *Zabatra*, *Zabtara*, or *Sozopetra*, whose destruction occasioned the terrible fate of *Amorium*, stood between *Samosata* and *Malatia*, a day or two's journey to the south of the latter, and has been mentioned by *Ismael Abulfeda*, *Mohammed Al Firauzabādi*, and other oriental writers. It must here be observed, that, according to the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, the *Khalif* did not discover the conspiracy that had been formed against him before his arrival at *Sarra Men-ray*, then the seat of the *Khalifat*, after his return from the Grecian expedition. The conspirators, if we will believe those authors, proposed to assassinate his two best friends, *Ashbin* and *Ashbah*, and afterwards to elevate his nephew *Al Abbās* to the Moslem throne. But their design being detected, they were punished with death; and *Al Abbās* himself was shut up in a close place, where he had provisions sent him, but was allowed nothing to drink. In this condition he languished for some time, and at last miserably perished with thirst. *Eutychius*, however, seems to intimate, that *Al Abbās's* death hap-

pened, whilst the *Khalif* was on his march from *Zabatra*, and consequently before he arrived at *Sarra Manray* ^f.

THE following year, being the 224th of the *Hejra*, *Abd Allah Ebn Thâher*, the *Khalif Al Môtasem's* governor of *Khorasan* in *Tabrestân*, marched against *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran*, who had set up *Tabrestân* for himself in *Tabrestân*, with a powerful army, defeated him in several engagements, and at last took him prisoner. This put an end to the rebellion in those parts, and restored the country, that had been the scene of these commotions, to its former tranquillity. As for *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran*, *Abd Allah* sent him to *Al Môtasem*, who ordered him to be whipt to death; after which, his body was affixed to a gibbet, at a small distance from that erected for *Bâbec*. About the same time, the *Khalif* removed *Mâsa Ebn Abûl Abbâs Al Shâibânî* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Mâlec Al Hîndî* to preside over that country in his room. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mobâdî* died this year, in the month of *Ramaddân*; as did likewise, in the 68th year of his age, *Abu Obeid Al Kasem*, who had rendered himself extremely famous by his skill in the *Arabic* tongue ^g.

IN the 225th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* *Al Môtasem* 12th, 839, *Abu Delaf* and *Ali Ebn Mohammed Al Madâyenî*, sem *dis-* two persons of considerable note, departed this life. It ap- *covers a* pears from some good authors, that *Affhîn*, the captain-general *conspiracy* of the *Khalif's* forces, endeavoured to excite *Mâsiâr*, the go- *that had* vernor of *Tabrestân*, to a defection; of which the *Khalif* being *been form-* apprized, as well as of his impiety, he having been actually *ed against* discovered to be an idolater, and to have a prepuce, he ordered him to be thrown into prison, towards the close of this year ^h.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 226, *Affhîn*, captain-general of *Affhîn* the *Khalif's* armies, and his greatest confident, having been executed accused of holding a secret intelligence with that prince's *for trea-* enemies, was executed for the treasonable practices he had *sonable* been guilty of. After the execution, his body was fixed up *practices* on a gibbet, erected near those that exhibited the bodies of *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran* and *Bâbec*. This was no sooner done, than some of the *Khalif's* officers searched *Affhîn's* house, and

^f ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 142. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 254. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 528—532. JOAN. CUROPAL. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 438—441. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 223. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZAB. in Kam. Ptol. geogr. lib. ii. c. 8. STRAB. lib. xii. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 269, 270. D'HERB. & EUTYCH. ubi sup. ^g ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & ABULFED. ubi sup. ^h KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, p. 143. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 225. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 254.

found in it a great number of idols, which they immediately burned. They likewise reduced to ashes several impious books, discovered there, and written to instruct others in his execrable opinions. This year, *Al Mótasem* took the government of *Egypt* from *Málec Al Hindi*, and gave it to *Asbás*, one of his menial servants. About the same time, *Abu'l Hadzail Ebn Al Hadzail Al Bafri*, a famous *Mótazalite* doctor, departed this life, extremely regretted by all his sect¹.

Al Mótasem dies.

THE next year, being the 227th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 21st, 841, the *Khalif Al Mótasem* died at *Samarra*, either in the 48th or 49th year of his age. The distemper that carried him off is said to have been a fever; after the first attack of which, he was blooded by his principal physician's order, but without effect. He expired on *Thursday*, the 18th of the former *Rabi*, and left eight sons and as many daughters behind him. He reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days. He was also the eighth *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbás*, was elevated to the *Maslem* throne in the 218th year of the *Hejra*, was born in the month of *Shaabán*, being the eighth month of the year, fought eight battles, possessed 8000 slaves, and had 8,000,000 *dinárs*, and 80,000 *dirhems*, in his treasury at the time of his death. These circumstances induced the *Arabs* to surname him *Al Motbamen*, i. e. the *ostentatious*, or the *eighth*, according to some of the best oriental writers. As the people of *Baghdád* disturbed his repose by their frequent revolts and commotions, he took the resolution to abandon that city, and to build another, in order to fix his residence there. The spot he chose for this purpose was called *Katúl*, near the city of *Sarra Manray*, in the *Arabian Irak*, and not in *Syria*, as we find advanced by *M. D'Herbelot*. Here he erected this new city, which was first called *Samarra*, and afterwards *Sarra Manray*. According to *Mirkhond*, this *Khalif* had 130,000 pied horses in his stables at *Samarra*, about whose necks he ordered sacks full of earth to be hung, which they carried to a place in the city he had marked out for that purpose. The earth brought hither in this manner formed a pretty high terras, on which he built a large saloon, from whence he could easily discover every thing that passed in the city. This terras gave name to the magnificent palace of *Samarra*, which was ever after called by the *Arabs* *Tel Almekhali*, i. e. the *hill of sacks*; *Almekhali*, in their language, denoting a sort of sacks hung about the horses necks, in which they carry their straw and oats, according to the common usage of the east².

WITH

¹ KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 254, 255. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 226.

² ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR.

AL

WITH regard to *Al Môtasem's* person, he is said to have *Descrip-*
 had a handsome face, red hair, a long beard, a broad breast, *tion of his*
 and to have been of a fair complexion. He was of a middle *person, and*
 stature, and so extremely robust, that he once carried a bur- *character.*
 den of a thousand pounds weight, if we will believe some of
 the *Arab* writers, several paces. As to his disposition, he was
 brave to a great degree, and punctual in the discharge of re-
 ligious duties; though he has been represented by some of the
 oriental historians as intirely attached to the sentiments of the
Môtaçalites. These heretics maintained, as has been already
 observed, that the *Korân* was created, and stuck not to accuse
 those of infidelity, as assertors of two eternal beings, who held
 the contrary opinion. However, they were opposed in this
 notion by the *Sonnites*, or orthodox *Mohammedans*, who be-
 lieved the *Korân* to be uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the
 very essence of GOD; or, as others have expressed it, the
 word of GOD, and consequently uncreated, as well as the Di-
 vine Being from whom it did originally proceed. This *Khalif*
 kept a greater number of forces on foot, particularly horse,
 than any of his predecessors. He also vastly increased the
 number of boys at court, for whom he provided about 50,000
 satchels, or little bags, in which they sometimes carried their
 provisions. The *Moslem* historians celebrate this *Khalif* for
 his greatness of soul, and mention one of his actions that ap-
 pears in a very singular light. Being once, say they, sepa-
 rated from his companions in the country, he met with an old
 man standing by his ass, which had fallen down upon the
 ground, in a very dirty place, with a load of thorns upon his
 back. This sight so affected the *Khalif*, that he immediately
 alighted from his horse, in order to assist the old man, and
 raise up his beast; which having done, though he spoiled his
 cloaths by this generous action, he rejoined his retinue, and
 afterwards made him a present of 4000 *dinârs*. He was the
 first of the *Khalifs* who added the name of GOD to his own.
 For, he ordered himself to be surnamed *Bi'llah*, in GOD, or by
 the grace of GOD; in which he was followed by several of his
 successors, who to their names added the words *Billah*, in GOD,
Beemri'llah, by the order of GOD, *Ala'llah*, on GOD, and in GOD,
 and *Ledini'llah*, for the faith of GOD, or for the worship of GOD.
 When the *Greeks* took and sacked the city of *Zabatra*, an *Arab*
 woman of the house of *Al Abbâs* is said to have been taken pri-
 soner by a horseman there; and, the very moment she was

AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 143, 144. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.
 p. 255. EUTYCH. ubi sup. MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHNAH, D'HER-
 BE. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motafsem*, p. 639. GOLII not. ad *Alfra-*
gan. p. 230. 231. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABAD. in *Kam*. ABUL-
 FED. ad an. Hej. 227.

seized, to have cried out, " Succour me, O *Al Môtasem* ! " Upon which, the horseman said to her, by way of ridicule, " See, here comes *Al Môtasem* on his pied horse, to your assistance." This adventure being some time after related to the *Khaltf*, who was then at a great distance from *Zabatra*, he instantly swore, that he would not think of any other enterprise before he had released this woman. Accordingly he marched at the head of his forces, in the midst of winter, to that city, and attacked the *Greeks* posted there with such vigour, that he intirely defeated them. This victory opening him a way to the place where the woman, who cried out to him for relief, was detained, he arrived there effectually to her succour, and delivered her out of the hands of her enemies. But, for a more particular and circumstantial account of this affair, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the eastern historians cited here ¹.

Some farther particulars relating to him.

In the fourth year of the *Khaltfat* of *Al Môtasem*, *Sophronius* was placed in the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, where he continued about thirteen years. He was a person of uncommon prudence and sagacity, and an excellent philosopher. In the seventh year of this prince's reign, one *Jahn* was also constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*; but, being extremely ill used by the *Christians* there, he soon found himself obliged to retire from that city. Whilst *Al Môtasem* sat upon the *Moslem* throne, the king of *Ethiopia* was likewise engaged in a war with some of the neighbouring powers; during whose absence, the queen thought fit to banish one *James*, a bishop of that country, and to substitute another bishop in his room. *James*, immediately after his expulsion, fled into *Egypt*, and the *Ethiopians* were visited with a pestilence; which was considered as a punishment inflicted upon them for the violence that had been offered that prelate. The king of *Ethiopia*, therefore, upon his return from the wars, reproved his wife for what she had done, and recalled the bishop from his exile; which occasioned great rejoicings amongst his subjects. About the same time, the patriarch of *Alexandria* sent some bishops, whom he had ordained for that purpose, as missionaries, into the western part of *Africa*, called *Pentapolis* by the antients, and particularly to the city of *Kairwân*, the metropolis of that country. *Dionysius*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, also died in the *Khaltfat* of *Al Môtasem*, and was succeeded by one

¹ ABU JA'AFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 219, 220. MIRKHOND, EBN SHONNAH, HAMDALLAH EBN ABU BECR EBN AHMED EBN NASSIR AL MOSTAWAFI AL KAZWINI, in *Tarikh-Khwaridab*, ISM. ABULFRED. ubi sup. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 639, 640.

John in that patriarchal see. When *Salmauiyah*, one of the most celebrated physicians of the *Moslem* court, lay upon his death-bed, the *Khalif* visited him in tears, and asked him who should take care of his health after his decease. *Salmauiyah* replied, "That busy-body *Yabya Ebn Maf-wiyah*; but take none of his compound medicines." Soon after which, *Salmauiyah* died; and the *Khalif* was so affected with the irreparable loss he sustained by that tragical event, that he immediately broke out into the following sorrowful exclamation, "I shall soon follow him; for the preservation of my life and health has been intirely owing to his skill." He likewise abstained from all kinds of food the whole day of *Salmauiyah*'s decease, ordered a bier to be brought into the palace, and the funeral service to be performed, in his presence, with candles and perfumes, after the *Christian* manner. And he had great reason to be under the vast concern he expressed on this melancholy occasion. For, *Salmauiyah* bled him twice a year, and, after each venesection, ordered him some cooling physic; by which means, he enjoyed a good state of health as long as that physician lived. *Yabya*, on the contrary, prescribed him a cathartic before he underwent the aforesaid operation; which, not agreeing with his constitution, gradually altered the habit of his body, and at last terminated in his death, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. He is said to have survived *Salmauiyah* only twenty months by that historian. His first prime minister was *Al Fadl Ebn Merwan*; after whose amotion, *Mohammed Ebn Hammad Ebn Ab-Lalmah*; *Al Ziyat*, the scribe, or secretary, acted in that capacity for him. His supreme judge was *Abmed Ebn Abu Dawud*; and those who acted under him, *Sbaib Ebn Sabel*, *Mohammed Ebn Sama'a*, *Abd'allah Ebn Galeb*, and *Abu Jaafar Ebn Isa Ebn Hasan Al Basri*. The captain of his guards was *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*; his chamberlains, *Simá*, the *Turk*, his freed-man, *Wasif*, the *Turk*, who bore the same relation to him, and *Bagá*, one of the same nation. His ordinary chamberlains were *Mohammed Ebn Asen Al Hanaki*, *Yakub Ebn Ibrahim*, *Atab Ebn Atab*, and *Mohammed Ebn Hammad Ebn Dankasb*. The inscription of his seal was, *GOD is the confidence of Abu Ishak Ebn Al Rashid, and he believes in him*. The first and last days of his reign are said to have been *Thursday*; with which observation we shall beg leave to conclude our history of the *Khalifat* of this potent prince.

^m EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 440—443. ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 144, 145. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164. HONAIN, apud Greg. Abu'l-Far. ubi sup. p. 255, 256. ut et ipse GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ibid. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

S E C T. XXX.

Al Wāthek Billah ascends the Moslem throne after Al Mótasem. **AL-WATHEK BI'LLAH** was proclaimed *Khalif* the same day his father *Al Mótasem* died; that is, the 18th of the former *Rabí*, at *Sarra Manray*, and inaugurated afterwards at *Baghdád*. His mother's name was *Karátís*, or *Farátís*, and his own at large *Harún Al Wáthek Billah Abu Jaafar Ebn Al Mótasem Ebn Harún Al Raschid*. About this time, *Theophilus*, the Greek emperor, died, and was succeeded by his son *Michael*; who being then only six years old, his mother *Theodora* took upon her the administration. *Abd' alrahmán* still governed the *Moslems* in *Spain*, and seems to have gained several advantages over the *Christians* there. The new *Khalif* adhered to the errors of the *Mótazalites*, as well as his predecessor *Al Mótasem*; and even, at the instigation of *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd* and *Mohammed Ebn Hammád Ebn Abd' almaléc Al Ziyát*, carried on a most fierce and violent persecution against the *Sommites*, particularly those who denied the creation of the *Korán*. His mother is said to have been a *Greek* by nation. In consequence of his attachment to the *Mótazalites*, he entertained the most favourable sentiments of all the members of the house of *Ali*. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that *Raja Ebn Aybb*, with a body of troops assigned him for that purpose by *Al Wáthek*, suppressed a rebellion of the *Kaisians* at *Damascus*, and beheaded 1500 of the rebels there, this year ⁿ.

The Moslems invade Sicily.

THE following year, being the 228th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 10th, 842, *Al Wáthek* dismissed his judges and secretaries of state, and extorted from them, either for real or pretended crimes, very considerable sums of money. According to *Al Noweiri*, *Al Wáthek* undertook this year an expedition against the island of *Sicily*, and landed a body of troops there. Soon after this descent, he laid siege to *Messina*, and in a short time made himself master of that city; which conquest, continues this author, was followed by that of the whole island. However, this invasion has been intirely passed over in silence by the *Chronicon Siculum*, already cited here, which we take to be a piece of exceeding good authority; tho' it seems to have been mentioned by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Abulfeda* observes, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al*

ⁿ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 145. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 257. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 442, 443. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 533, 534, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 152, 153, &c. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxv. p. 22. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 227. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Wáthek*, p. 911.

Aglab was then the *Emir*, or governor, of the island, and resided at *Palermo*. He likewise informs us, that this *Aglabite* commander reduced many cities there, and carried off from thence a very considerable number of prisoners, together with a large quantity of spoil, in the 228th year of the *Hejra*. 'Tis probable, therefore, that *Al Noweirî*, or rather *M. D'Herbelot*, has mistaken the *Khalif Al Wâthek* for the *Emir Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab*; especially as we find not the least intimation of *Al Wâthek's* having undertaken such a *Sicilian* expedition in the *Tarikh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. Be that, however, as it will, we may infer from *Abulfeda*, that this *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab* first took upon himself the government of *Sicily*, and assumed the title of *Emir* of that island, the present year. It also appears from the *Cbronicon Siculum*, that this prince's new subjects were greatly infected by vast swarms of locusts about the same time °.

THE next year, being the 229th of the *Moslem æra*, *Al The Nor-Wâthek* recalled *Ali Ebn Yahya* from *Egypt*, and appointed *mans* *Isa Ebn Mansûr* to preside over that country in his room. *vade* *Khalf Ebn Heshâm* died this, and *Abu Tamim Ebn Aws*, a celebrated poet of the tribe of *Tay*, the preceding year. The *Normans* sent a fleet, consisting of fifty-four large ships, and as many gallies, with a body of land-forces on board, according to *Roderic*, at this time, to *Lisbon*, in order to drive *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, the western *Khalif*, out of *Spain* °.

IN the 230th year of the *Hejra*, commencing September and are 18th, 844, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Husein* departed this driven life. He was an excellent officer, a great encourager of learned from men, particularly poets, and had been successively governor *thence by* of *Khorasân*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. This year the *Normans*, *Abd'al-* called *Magians* by *Abulfeda*, advanced with a formidable *rahmân's* fleet, and a powerful body of troops on board, from *Lisbon* forces. to *Seville*, and laid siege to that city. From thence they moved to *Cadiz*, and attempted to make themselves masters of that place. But being repulsed in all their attacks both upon that fortress and *Seville*, and receiving advice that *Abd'alrahmân* was marching against them at the head of a numerous army, attended by a strong squadron of ships, they

• ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL NOWEIR. apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. Excerpt. ex chronol. univ. ISM. ABULFED. ex codic. Arabic. MS. in Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Escorial. apud Joan. Baptist. Carus, ubi sup. p. 18. Chronic. Sicul. Arabic. Cantabrigienf. apud Carus. ubi sup. p. 5.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. AL NOWEIR. apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. TARIKH AL MACREB, &c.

thought fit to retire to *Lisbon* with uncommon precipitation; and were finally driven from thence by that prince's forces without any considerable loss.

A cartel settled between the Christians and the Moslems.

THE following year, being the 231st of the *Hejra*, beginning September 7th, 845, a cartel for the exchange and redemption of prisoners was settled, according to *Abu'l-Feraj*, between the *Moslems* and the *Christians*, upon the banks of the river *Al Lames*, the *Lamus* of *Ptolemy*, about a day's journey from *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. The person sent by *Al Wâthek* to conduct this affair on the part of the *Moslems* was one *Kbâkân*, an eunuch, who received orders from his master not to redeem any of the *Mohammedan* captives, that refused to assert the creation of the *Korân*, and would not deny all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye. The *Arab* prisoners redeemed on this occasion amounted to 4460 men, besides 800 women and children, and about 100 belonging to the *Khalif's* allies, who all entered the *Moslem* camp on the tenth day of the month *Al Moharram*. *Moharek*, an *Arab* musician, *Abu Yakûb Yûsef Ebn Yahya Al Bowaitbi*, a disciple of the famous *Al Shâfeî*, who was incarcerated for denying the creation of the *Korân*, and *Ebn Al Arabi*, a celebrated philologist of *Cîsa*, who left many learned productions behind him, died this year. A body of *Al Wâthek's* troops, in the winter, made an irruption into the *Christian* provinces; but were soon obliged to retire by the severity of the season, and the enemy's detachments sent against them. Of the *Arabs* 200 perished with cold, as many were taken prisoners, and a great number drowned in the *Badandûn*; so that the *Khalif* sustained a pretty considerable loss in this unfortunate expedition.

Al Wâthek dies.

THE next year, being the 232d of the *Hejra*, the *Moslems* defeated a large body of the *Sicilian* forces near *Enna*, called at present by the natives *Castro Giovanni*, and put 9000 of them to the sword. After which, they seized upon that fortress, as well as the adjacent territory dependent upon it. They also fortified the citadels of *Modakah*, the *Motuca*, or *Motya*, of *Ptolemy*, and the *Modica* of the moderns, which they had reduced the preceding year. The *Khalif Al Wâthek* died on the twenty-third, or the twenty-fourth, day of the month *Dhu'l-hajja*, and his brother *Al Motawakkel* said the funeral service over him. With regard to the cause of his death, authors are not agreed. We are told by *Abulfeda* and *Abu'l-*

9 ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 146. AL NOWEIRI, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 230. 1 GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. GOLII. not. ad Allragan. p. 253. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 231. GEORG. CAREN. ubi sup. p. 541, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi.

Faraj, that, being troubled with the dropsy, he continued for some time in a stove, and found himself thereby greatly relieved; which induced him to stay in it, heated more than usual, the next day longer than before. This, continue the same writers, affected him in such a manner, that he expired upon the spot; though his attendants were not sensible of his death, till they viewed him lifeless in his litter. On the other hand, we are informed by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that, being extremely addicted to venery, he ordered his physician to prepare him some provocatives, and those of the most powerful kind. The doctor, unwilling to comply with his commands, represented, that they would prove of fatal consequence to him. However, the *Khalif* persisting in his resolution, the physician assured him, that if he would take only three drachms of lion's flesh properly prepared in red vinegar, it would produce the desired effect. This provocative, therefore, he made use of in his drink, and it soon put a period to his days. A little before his death, falling prostrate on the ground, he burst out into the following ejaculation, *O heavenly king, whose reign is eternal, have mercy upon a poor prince, whose reign is fleeting and transitory!* He sat on the *Moslem* throne five years, nine months, and six days, or, as others will have it, five years, seven months, and thirteen days. Some authors relate, that, whilst the people were assembled after his death to elect his successor *Al Motawakkel*, a lizard, or rather newt, came out of the garden adjoining to the palace, plucked out his eyes, and greedily devoured them; and that this was not perceived before his body was washed, in order to be interred. With regard to his person, he was of a fair complexion, a middle stature, and had a very broad breast. His beard was also extremely thick and bushy, and he had a white speck in his right eye. As to his disposition, he was a prince of great honour, valiant, an admirer of the *Arab* poetry, and a munificent rewarder of those who excelled in that branch of literature. In most points of conduct, he imitated his uncle *Al Mamân*, particularly in his attachment to the sect of the *Mosaxalites*. He confirmed the edict made by *Al Mamân* relating to the creation of the *Korân*, and persecuted with uncommon barbarity all who presumed to maintain the contrary opinion. This greatly alienated his subjects from him; which encouraged *Ahmed Ebn Nasser Ebn Mâlec*, surnamed *Al Khorai*, one of the most celebrated of those doctors who bore the title of *Al Hafedh*, that is to say, *the preserver of the* PROPHEPIC TRADITIONS, entered into a conspiracy against him. This doctor found means to engage many of the principal lords of *Baghdâd*, and several other doctors, in an attempt to dethrone *Al Wâshék*, and to fix himself upon the

Moslem

Moslem throne. But the conspiracy being discovered by the governor of *Baghdâd*, he seized *Ahmed* in his own house the day before it was to be carried into execution, and sent him in irons to *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, then the residence of the *Khalîf*. Upon his arrival there, he was immediately brought into *Al Wâthek's* presence, who, without saying a word of the conspiracy, pressed him to assert the creation of the *Korân*; which he refusing to do, and absolutely persisting in the common sentiment of the orthodox *Moslems*, who unanimously admit the eternity of that book, the *Khalîf* was so enraged, that he instantly drew his scymitar, and cut off the traitor's head with his own hands².

He imitated in all things his uncle *Al Mamûn*.
He was also liberal and charitable to a great degree, having taken great care that no poor people should be found in any part of his vast dominions; inasmuch that not a single beggar was to be met with, through the whole course of his reign, either at *Mecca* or *Medina*. He was particularly fond of astrology, and having in his last illness conferred with some of his wise men, who were the most famed for their skill in that art, upon consulting his horoscope, they assured him, that, from the present moment, his reign should be continued fifty years; though he is said not to have lived above ten days after the prediction. The principal of these astrologers was *Al Hasan Ebn Sabel Ebn Nubakht*. This occurrence has been mentioned both by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians¹.

His death predicted by a remarkable dream.

It has been already observed, that *Al Wâthek* imitated in all things his uncle *Al Mamûn*. He was therefore extremely delighted with the study of the sciences, and not a little caressed all men of letters. He was also liberal and charitable to a great degree, having taken great care that no poor people should be found in any part of his vast dominions; inasmuch that not a single beggar was to be met with, through the whole course of his reign, either at *Mecca* or *Medina*. He was particularly fond of astrology, and having in his last illness conferred with some of his wise men, who were the most famed for their skill in that art, upon consulting his horoscope, they assured him, that, from the present moment, his reign should be continued fifty years; though he is said not to have lived above ten days after the prediction. The principal of these astrologers was *Al Hasan Ebn Sabel Ebn Nubakht*. This occurrence has been mentioned both by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians¹.

AN oriental writer likewise relates, that *Ahmed Ebn Nazir* having been thrown into prison, because he refused to acknowledge the creation of the *Korân*, and the impossibility of seeing GOD hereafter in paradise with corporeal eyes, received from the good company he found in the place of his confinement no small degree of consolation. For, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, the *Khalîf's* *Visir*, who persecuted the *Sunnites* in a cruel manner, filled all the prisons of *Samarra* with orthodox *Moslems*. Amongst these there was one *Ahmed Ebn Israil*, a famous astrologer; to whom, as well as to many others of his fellow-prisoners, *Ahmed Ebn Nazir* related,

¹ Chronic. Sicul. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. FILIP. PARÛT. PTOL. geograph. lib. iii. cap. 4. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 232. GREG. ABU L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 258. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 444, 445. KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 911. ² JAMA'O'DDIN MOHAMMED AL AWKI, in *Jam' Al Hakaiât wa-Lam' Al Raqaiât*, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM. ABULFED. GREG. ABU L-FARAJ, et KHONDEMIR, ubi sup.

that

that a phantom had appeared to him in his dream the preceding night, and assured him that *Al Wâthek* should die in a month's time. The astrologer then being desired to calculate that prince's nativity, in order to discover what truth there was in this nocturnal prediction, refused to be concerned in so dangerous an affair. However, the last day of the month being come, he said to *Ahmed Ebn Nazir*, "What do you say now of your dream, since the term pointed out by your phantom is almost expired?" To which *Ahmed* replied, *Many things may still happen before the conclusion of the approaching night*. After which, about the second watch of the same night, a considerable number of people arrived at the prison-door, with advice of the *Khalif's* decease ^u.

OTHER authors inform us, that *Al Wâthek*, by eating and drinking to great excess, and that frequently when he had no appetite at all, together with his immoderate use of women, brought himself into a dropsy; of which he was cured by a celebrated physician of *Nisabûr*, who advised him to live more temperately for the future, as a relapse must prove fatal to him. But notwithstanding this salutary advice, the *Khalif* soon began to pursue his former irregular course of life, and was consequently in a short time afflicted with the same distemper, of which, in conformity to the doctor's prediction, he died within the space of a very few months ^w.

ONE of the same authors remarks, that the *Khalif Al Wâthek* had so terrible an eye, that having a little before his death cast an angry glance of it upon one of his domestics, who had been guilty of some fault, the man was instantly out of countenance, and fell backwards upon another person that stood at a small distance from him. Which very eye, by a most extraordinary accident, was plucked out of the *Khalif's* head, according to this writer, by an animal resembling a pole-cat, that slipt between his face and a linen-cloth which covered it, whilst he lay dead in the palace ^x.

SOME of the *Arab* historians have observed, that *Al Wâthek* himself was a tolerable good poet, as well as a rewarder of those who excelled in drawing up poetical compositions; that he sung well, and had an excellent voice. He made, in the second year of his reign, one *Sergius*, who had been a great enemy to those of his own communion, and was for that reason very disagreeable to them, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, where he resided in that capacity sixteen years. He likewise filled the patriarchal see of *Antioch*, which became vacant in the sixth

^u JAMALO'DDIN MOHAMMED AL AWKI, ubi sup. ^w AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, MIRK-HOND, JALALI, KHONDEMIR, &c. ^x AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, ubi sup.

year of his *Khalifat*, with one *Nicholas*, who presided over the *Christians* there twenty-three years. We must not forget to remark, that the above-mentioned *Al Hasan Ebn Sabel Ebn Nubakht* was the greatest astronomer, as well as astrologer, of the age in which he lived, and wrote a treatise upon the *Arwâq*, or mansions of the moon. With regard to this *Khalif*'s ministers and servants, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlek Al Ziyât* was his principal counsellor, or *Visir*; the captain of his guards *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*; his chief judge *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd*; and his chamberlains *Aytâh*, the Turk, his freed-man, *Bagd*, the Turk, his menial servant, *Wasif*, the Turk, his freed-man, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Dankash*, *Anbâb*, his servant, *Ahmed Ebn Amer*, and *Mohammed Ebn Asem Al Jabali*. The first day of his reign was *Friday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The inscription of his seal was, *GOD is the confidence of Al Wâthek*. Some writers make him to have been thirty-two, others thirty-four, and, lastly, others thirty-six, years of age at the time of his decease.

S E C T. XXXI.

He is succeeded by his brother **AL WATHEK**'s death was no sooner known than his brother *Al Motawakkel Ala'llah* was saluted *Khalif* by the people of *Samarra*, and afterwards acknowledged as such by all the provinces of the empire. His mother *Shajâ*, *Al Mîsajem*'s concubine, was of *Khowârazmian* extraction. *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd*, *Al Wâthek*'s principal judge, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlek Al Ziyât*, his *Visir*, and *Wasif*, the Turk, together with several other leading men, at first had an intention to proclaim *Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Mobtadi*, *Al Wâthek*'s son, *Khalif*; but *Wasif* afterwards objecting to this, on account of his tender years, they dropped their design, and agreed to invest *Jaafar Abu'l Fadl Al Motawakkel Ala'llah Ebn Al Mîsajem*, the late *Khalif*'s brother, then about twenty-six years of age, with the imperial dignity. The new *Khalif* removed the governor of *Egypt* from his office, soon after his accession, and conferred upon *Anbâb*, one of his friends, that lucrative post.

Wasif determines the choice of the grandees in favour of Al Motawakkel. As *Al Mobtadi*, *Al Wâthek*'s son, was incapable of officiating publicly in the mosque, on account of his tender age, *Wasif*, upon mature deliberation, thought he should be guilty of a great sin, if he concurred with the other principal officers of the empire in advancing that young prince to the dignity of *Imâm*; and therefore determined their choice of a love-reign pontiff, who was to be emperor of the faithful, in favour of *Al Motawakkel*.

Y ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 147. EUTYCH. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 147, 148. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 446, 447. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 259.

your

MOHAMMED EBN HAMMAD EBN ABD'ALMALEC AL MOHAM-
ZIYAT having treated *Al Motawakkel* ill, in his brother's life-med Ebn
time, that prince repented the injuries he had then met with, soon Abd'al-
after he ascended the *Moslem* throne. He, therefore, sent him mâlec Al
to prison in the year of the *Hejra* 233, and ordered a person Ziyât put
to keep him awake there for several days and nights together. to death by
Mohammed being after this suffered to take some repose, slept the Kha-
a whole day and a night; and, after he awoke, was thrown lif's order.
into an iron-furnace, lined with spikes, or large nails, heated
red-hot, where he was miserably burnt to death. Some au-
thors, however, relate, that he received fifty stripes upon his
belly, and as many upon his back, and soon after expired.
This counsellor, or *Vizir*, spoke his mother-tongue fluently
and properly, and was extremely well versed in the *Arab*
grammar and poetry. But he was haughty, foolish, vain-
glorious, iniquitous in his conduct, and intirely void of com-
passion. He was likewise a stranger to modesty, excessively
fond of power, and covetous to the last degree. He never did
any person a good office, frequently saying that pity was a na-
tural weakness, and liberality folly. It appears from some of
the *Arab* writers, that he composed verses during his confine-
ment, though none of these have been handed down to us.
The new *Khattif* appointed his son *Al Montaser* to preside over
the peninsula of the *Arabs*; and, about the same time, *Abu*
Zakaria Yabya Ebn Moain Ebn Awn Al Baghdâdi, a famous
Hâfedh and *Imâm*, and a disciple of *Ab Shâfi'i*, departed this
life, in the 75th year of his age. The *Moslems* reduced *Leon-*
tini, the *Lentini* of the moderns, called by the *Arabs* *Lenti-*
nah, and made a farther progress in the conquest of *Sicily*, du-
ring the course of this year ^b.

THE following year, the *Aglabite Arabs*, settled in Sicily, The west- made themselves masters of the city of *Ragusa* with very in- ern Mos- considerable loss. About the same time died *Abu Kbaishamablems take* *Zobr*, a famous *Sonnite* doctor, *Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaasar*, *Ragusa*. a celebrated *Háfedh*, and *Mohammed Ebn Mobasbar*, a *Métazalite* of *Baghdád*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, after the death of *Mohammed Ebn Hammád Ebn Abd'almálec Al Ziyát*, began

• **KHONDEMIR.**

^a KHONDEMIR. ^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MA-
KIN, ubi sup. p. 148. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 233. Chron-
ic. Sicul. Arab. Cantabrigiens. MEL. lib. ii. cap. 7. PLIN. lib.
iii. cap. 8. PTOL. ubi sup. FIL. PARUT. ubi sup. to

to think of allaying the heats raised amongst the *Moslems* by his predecessors *Al Motaſem* and *Al Wâtſek*, who persecuted with great cruelty those that refused to embrace the tenets of the *Motazalites*. A famine this year made terrible havock amongst the *Arabs* in *Sicily* &c.

Al Mota-
wakkel
settles the
ſucceſſion
upon his
ſons, and is
angry
with the
Chri-
ſtians.

In the year of the *Hejra* 235, ſeveral remarkable occurrences happened amongst the eaſtern *Moslems*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel* ſettled the ſucceſſion firſt upon his eldeſt ſon *Al Montaſer*, after him upon his ſecond ſon *Al Mo'taz*, and, finally, upon his third ſon *Al Mowaiad*. He alſo gave each of them two banners, or ſtandards, a black one and a white one; the former of which diſtinguiſhed them as heirs apparent to the crown, and the latter as their father's vicegerents, who had the government of the empire divided amongst them. To *Al Montaſer* the *Khalif* aſſigned *Africa*, from *Ariſſ* in *Egypt* to the moſt weſtern limits of that vaſt tract, as likewiſe the provinces of *Kinnifrin*, *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Diyar Beer*, *Diyar Rabia*, *Mawſel*, or *Moſul*, *Habab*, *Al Ayât*, *Al Khâbûr*, *Karkisia*, *Tecrit*, the region bordering upon the *Tigris*, *Mecca* and *Medina*, *Al Yaman*, *Hadramaut*, *Yamâma*, *Babrein*, *Al Sind*, or *Sindia*, *Abwâz*, *Sarra Manray*, *Cuſa*, *Miſeidân*, *Al Hajrân*, *Sharuzûr*, *Kom*, *Kûſân*, and *Al Jaiâl*, with its dependencies. To *Al Mo'taz* he aſſigned *Khorasân*, *Tabreſtân*, *Ray*, *Persia*, *Armenia*, and *Adherbijân*. And laſtly, on *Al Mowaiad* he conferred the provinces of *Dimiſhk*, or *Damaſcus*, *Hems*, *Al Ordan*, and *Paleſtine*. This diſiſion has been celebrated by the *Arab* poet *Ibrahim Ebn Al Abbâs*, ſome of whole verſes have been preſerved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. *Al Motawakkel* alſo about this time commanded all the *Chriſtians* and *Jews* in his dominions to wear a leathern girdle, called by the *Arabs* *zonar*, and a ſort of badge on their cloaths, in order to diſtinguiſh them from the *Moslems*. He likewiſe forbade them to make uſe of iron ſtirrups, and enjoined them, according to *Eutychius*, to paint the figures of devils, or elſe of hogs and apes, on the doors of their houſes; which, as the ſame writer will have it, was occaſioned by the imprudent conduct of *Bakhtifrua*, the *Khalif's* phyſician, a *Chriſtian*, who had incurred his maſter's diſpleaſure. About this time, one *Mahmûd Ebn Faraj*, a famous impoſtor, pretended to be *Mofes* reſuſcitated, and plaid his part ſo well that ſeveral people believed on him, and attended him when he was brought before the *Khalif Al Motawakkel*. That prince, having been an ear-witneſs of his extravagant diſcourſes, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which was accordingly executed; and his diſciples were imprifoned till they

• *Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrig. KHONDEMIR, ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 234. Vide etiam D'HÉRIB. Bibl. or. p. 640, 911.*

came to their right minds. *Hasan Ebn Sahel*, *Isbak Ebn Ibrahim Al Sauli*, the musician, and *Abdallah Ebn Ragbhan*, the poet, died the present year ^d.

THE next year, being the year of the *Hejra* 236, commencing July 15th, 850, this *Khalif*, who had openly declared himself an enemy to the house of *Ali*, forbade his subjects, under the severest penalties, to go on pilgrimage to the tomb of that *Imâm*. Soon after which, he ordered the pulchre of *Hosein*, *Ali's* son, called in *Arabic* *Mashhad Hosein*, in the plains of *Kerbela*, where that *Imâm* was killed, to be entirely razed; and, in order the more effectually to efface all traces of it, he was resolved not to content himself with ploughing, or breaking up, the ground on which it stood, but likewise to draw a canal of water over it. However, if we will believe the *Shiites*, he could not carry his design into execution; the water not approaching the tomb, but keeping its distance out of respect. Hence that water was denominated *Hair*, which signifies *astonished* and *respectful*; a name which has since been applied to the sepulchre itself, on account of this miracle. Notwithstanding which, some pretend, that the place of *Hosein's* interment was always unknown ^e.

WE are told by an eastern author, in conformity to the *Shiite* traditions, that the night after *Al Motawakkel* had issued this impious order, he saw *Ali* in a dream, who reproached him with the outrages offered to his family, and gave him seven blows with the famous sword *Dbu'l-Fakar*, used by the prophet himself in all his engagements, after the battle of *Bedr*, which he held in his hand. This, according to one of his wise men, well versed in the interpretation of dreams, portended some signal disaster to him, that should happen by way of punishment for the hatred he bore *Ali* and his descendants. And, in consequence of this prediction, continues the same writer, the *Khalif* was assassinated two days after by some *Turks*, at the instigation of his eldest son *Al Montaser*; who, after the perpetration of this horrid parricide, commanded some of his servants to collect the pieces into which his father's body had been cut. These amounting to seven, that prince from thence inferred, that the murder had been clearly foretold by the preceding dream, which was most evidently verified by that tragical event. But here it may not be improper to observe, that this *Shiite* fiction must necessarily be exploded by all persons of the least pene-

^d ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 149. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 259. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 448, 449. EBN SHOHNAN, ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. ^e KHONDE-MIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 260. MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

*Rebellion
in Arme-
nia.*

tration; since *Al Motawakkel's* edicts, mentioned here, preceded at least eleven years the assassination of that prince.[†]

In the year of the *Hejra* 237, beginning July 5th, 851, the *Khalif* sent *Yusef Ebn Mohammed* to preside over *Armenia* and *Adherbijan*; who, upon his arrival at *Ekklat*, or *Akklat*, caused *Bokrât Ebn Asbat*, an *Armenian* nobleman, to be secured, and sent in chains to *Al Motawakkel*. This so incensed the noblesse of *Armenia*, that, in conjunction with *Musa*, who had married *Bokrât's* daughter, they assembled a body of troops, in order to take vengeance of *Yusef Ebn Mohammed* for the affront he had offered them. Coming up, therefore, with him at the castle of *Mâsh*, they attacked him with such bravery, that, after an obstinate engagement, they intirely defeated him, and put both him and the forces he commanded to the sword. The *Khalif* no sooner received advice of this unexpected rebellion, than he sent *Bogâ*, the *Turk*, with an army to suppress it; which he did effectually, and fully revenged *Yusef's* death, killing above 30,000 of the rebels, and taking a vast number of them prisoners. After this, he advanced to *Tessis*, a city of *Georgia*, that had assisted the rebels, laid siege to it, and in a short time reduced it to ashes, together with 50,000 of its inhabitants, who all perished in the flames. *Yusef's* defeat happened in the middle of the month of *Ramadân*, and the extinction of the rebellion, as well as the destruction of *Tessis*, consequential to that event, soon after. About this time, died *Hotem Al Asam Al Balkhi*, a celebrated *Moslem* saint. The same year, *Al Motawakkel* appointed *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hosein* to preside over *Al Sarta*, the districts of *Al Sawâd*, and the territory of *Baghdâd*. Either this or the preceding year, *Abd'alrahmân* paved the streets of *Corduba* in *Spain* with stone, and built an aqueduct, with leaden pipes, which copiously supplied that city with water from the neighbouring mountains. The present year also, according to *Abulfeda*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab* died in *Sicily*, after he had reigned there about nine years, in the month of *Rajeb*. He was succeeded by *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Al Fadl Ebn Yakûb Ebn Nazara*, who subdued many places in *Sicily*, and overthrew the *Christians* near *Enna*, which, by reason of its surprizing strength, they had made the capital of their part of the island, instead of *Syracuse*. This signal victory, which was gained on *Thursday*, the fifteenth day of the month of *Shawâl*, the present year, put *Al Abbâs* in possession of *Enna*, where he erected a mosque for the use of the *Moslems* that were settled there. This defeat given the *Chri-*

[†] JAMALO'DDIN MOHAMMED AL AWKI, in *Jamé Al Hakaiât wa Lamé Al Rawaiât*, GREG. ARV'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 260, 262. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

Scians, according to *Abulfeda*, in the year of the *Hejra* 237, seems to be no other than that mentioned by the *Cambridge Chronicle*, as happening about five years before. But whether the writer of that *Chronicon*, or *Abulfeda*, whose authority is undoubtedly of great weight with regard to all the *Moslem* transactions in the east, is to be followed in the point before us, we leave to the determination of our more learned and intelligent readers &c.

THE following year, the *Greeks* fitted out a fleet of 300 ships; The an hundred of which, under the command of an admiral, set *Greeks* sail for *Dimyâs*, or *Damiata* in *Egypt*. Here, upon their arrival, *ravenge* they landed a body of troops, seized upon the town, at that *some parts* time destitute of a garison for its defence, plundered and burnt of *Egypt*. it, and carried off with them 600 *Moslem* women into captivity. From *Damiata* they advanced to *Mesr*, which they pillaged and laid in ashes, and then retired to their own ports. After which, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel* ordered *Damiata*, in order to secure it from all future insults, to be fortified with a strong double wall on the side of the river, and on that of the continent with a triple one; which rendered it one of the most impregnable fortresses in *Egypt*. This year died at *Corduba* *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem Ebn Heshâm*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, after he had reigned thirty-one years and five months in *Spain*. He left behind him forty-five sons and forty-two daughters, and was succeeded by his son *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*. About the same time also departed this life *Ranimir*, the son of *Veremund*, king of *Galicia*, whose son *Ordanius*, according to *Roderic of Toledo*, succeeded him in his kingdom, frustrated all the attempts of the *Arabs* upon his dominions, and reigned 35 years. Other authors, however, make *Ranimir*'s death, and his son *Ordanius*'s accession, to have preceded *Abd'alrahmân*'s decease above 20 years ^b.

THE year of the *Hejra* 239, commencing *June* 12th, 853, *Nothing* produced no action of éclat in the *Moslem* empire; at least *remark* none that has been taken notice of by any historian. *Mah- able hap-* *mûd Ebn Gailam*, of *Merû* in *Khorasân*, one of *Al Bokhârî*'s *pens* in the doctors, died this year. We are told by an author of good re-^{year of the} *pute*, that *Al Motawakkel* published an edict forbidding the *Hejra* 239.

^a GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 260. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 642. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 149. ISM. ABULFED. in chronic ex cod. MS. Arabic Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Escorial. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. MS. Cantabrigienf. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. cap. xxvi. p. 23.

^b GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 260, 261. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 238. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 149. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. Chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 709. Francofurti, 1603.

Christians and Jews to ride on horseback in any part of his dominions, and permitting them in their journeys to make use only of asses and mules, the present year. Which law is considered by the *Turks* as in force at this very day¹.

Ar rebellion in Spain. THE next year, according to *Abulfeda*, *Abu Othmân Mohammed*, the son of the famous *Al Shâfi*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Khâled*, of the tribe of *Calb*, a follower of the same celebrated *Moslem* doctor, departed this life. About the same time, the *Khalif* appointed his second son *Al Mo'taz* to superintend all the mints erected in his dominions, and ordered his name to be stamped on all the *dirhems* coined in the empire. This year likewise, if we will believe *Roderic of Toledo*, the people of that city rebelled against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, and were supported in their defection by *Ordonius*, who sent one of his relations with a body of troops to their relief. However, *Mohammed* advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of *Toledo*, and found means to decoy the rebels into an ambuscade, that he had posted in a proper place at a small distance from the town. The consequence of which was, that he easily defeated them, put 7000 of the *Moslems*, and 8000 of the *Christians* to the sword, and took prisoners a great number of both; many of whose heads he struck off, and sent some of them to the maritime towns, and others to *Africa*, as evident tokens of the glorious victory he had obtained².

The emperor's forces take Aincuria from the Arabs. THE following year, a body of the imperial troops advanced to *Aincuria*, entered the place, made the *Moslem* garison prisoners of war, and carried off all the women and children into captivity; after which, several brisk actions happened in those parts between the *Christians* and the *Arabs*. About the same time, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem* placed numerous garisons in *Curita*, *Talavera*, and *Calatrava*, and made incursions into some of the neighbouring provinces. This year, the famous *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, the founder of the fourth sect of the *Sunnites*, died at *Baghdâd*, and was followed to his grave by 800,000 men and 60,000 women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, that, on the day of his death, no less than 20,000 *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, embraced the *Mohammedan* faith. We must not forget to observe, that the *Moslem* forces took *Bethirab*, or *Buteria*, not far from *Leocata*, in *Sicily*, the preceding year¹.

IN

¹ ABULFED. ubi sup. ad an. Hej. 239. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 640.

² ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 240. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 149, 150. Roderic. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 150. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 242, beginning May 10th, 856, *They are* the *Greeks* penetrated to *Somijāt*, or *Samosata*; but were soon surprised obliged by the *Moslems* to retire from thence to *Amīd*, or *Amida*, and de- on the borders of *Armenia*. After which, they abandoned *Me-* seated by *the Kha-* *ṣ. botamia*, which they had entered, and returned into their own *li's* dominions; though they carried off with them about 10,000 *troops.* prisoners, and plundered a great number of villages in their retreat. This seems to be the expedition mentioned by some of the *Greek* writers, when they inform us, that the *Moslem* gar- rison of *Samosata* sallied out upon the *Christian* forces, then before the town, surprized them in their camp, whilst they were at divine service there, and forced them to abandon the siege, the third day after it had commenced. We are told, by some of the *Arab* authors, that several violent shocks of an earthquake happened this year in *Komās*, or *Komes*, a pro- vince of *Tabreṣtān*, in the month of *Shaabān*, attended with unusual noises, that demolished many towns and villages there, did incredible damage, and buried 45,096 men in the ruins of the houses that were overturned. The greatest part of these perished at *Dāmegān*, placed in latitude 36° 30', and longitude 89° 30', by the eastern geographers, the capital of that province. *Syria*, *Persia*, *Khorasān*, and *Al Yaman*, were all visited with the same calamity, according to these writers; who farther observe, that mount *Al Akra'*, or *the bald mountain*, in the neighbourhood of *Laodicea*, or, as 'tis called by the *Arabs*, *Al Ladikia*, at the same time fell into the sea; by which surprizing accident most of the inhabitants of that city were destroyed. *Mohammed Abu'l Abbās Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwān*, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son, *Abu Ibrahim Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*; as did likewise *Yabya Ebn Aṣṭem*, a most cele- brated master of jurisprudence. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmān Ebn Al Hakem* sent also an army, under the command of *Al Mondar*, one of his relations, to lay waste the territory of *Toledo*, that still refused to submit to him, the present year. The *Moslem* general executed his orders with excessive rigour and severity, either carrying off or destroying all the corn, fruits, and grapes, of that district. Notwithstanding which, the ci- tizens of *Toledo* sent some of their forces, after *Al Mondar's* departure, to possess themselves of *Talavera*. But the com- mandant of that fortress having been apprized of their design, met them at the head of his troops, gave them battle, and intirely defeated them; taking many of them prisoners, and killing 700 upon the spot, all whose heads he sent as an agree- able present to his master *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmān Ebn Al*

301. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. Canta- brigiens. JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 6.

Hakem, who then held his residence at *Corduba*, the capital of the *Moslem* dominions in *Spain* ^m.

The Khalif resides about two months at Damascus.

THE year of the *Hejra* 243, commencing *April* 30th, 857, has not been distinguished by any remarkable event. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, however, set out for *Damascus*, with an intention to make that city the seat of the *Khalifat*, the 20th day of the month *Dbu'lhajja*. He also ordered several buildings to be erected there in the following month *Safar*, designing to transfer all his treasures from *Sarra Manray* to that place. Soon after his arrival at *Damascus*, the *Turkish* soldiery mutinied for their pay; which having received, they returned to their duty. Notwithstanding this, he conceived an aversion to his new capital, and returned to *Sarra Manray*, after he had resided at *Damascus* only two months and a few days. He entered that metropolis on *Monday* the 22d of the latter *Jomada*, to the great joy of all his subjects there. This year died *Ibrahim Ebn Al Abbās*, and *Al Hareth Ebn Asad*; the latter of whom was expelled *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal's* school, for being a reasoner, or one principally guided by his own judgment in his decisions. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'abrahman Ebn Al Hakem* also undertook another expedition against the city of *Toledo*, besieged the place in form, and destroyed the famous bridge over the *Tajo* there, which threw the citizens into a terrible consternation, the present year ⁿ.

The Greeks, according to the Christians, sur-prize and defeat the Arabs, in their turn.

THE next year, the *Khalif* commanded *Abu Yusef Yakkub Ebn Ishak*, surnamed *Ebn Al Sekkit*, a famous philologist, extremely well versed in all kinds of polite literature, to be put to death, for his attachment to the house of *Ali*. About the same time, that prince deprived *Bakhtishua*, his physician, of all the riches he had acquired in his service, and banished him into *Babrein*. The *Greek* writers relate, that 30,000 *Arabs* about this time marched into the imperial territories, surprized a body of 45,000 *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, headed by the emperor himself, and put them to a shameful flight. The emperor narrowly missed being taken prisoner in the action; having been delivered out of the enemy's hands by *Mannuel*, one of his officers, when he was in the most imminent danger. It seems to appear from the *Cambridge Chronicle*, that the *Sicilian Moslems* were worsted in an action by sea the present year ^o.

THE

^m ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 545, 546. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 158. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 261. ISM. ABULFED: in geogr. & chron. SAID EBN ALI AL JORJANI, EBN HAWKAL, SHARIF AL EDRISI, GOLII NOT. ad Alfragan. p. 192. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

ⁿ ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

^o GEORG. CEDREN.

THE following year, beginning, amongst the, *Moslems*, *Terrible* April 8th, 859, many cities in the western provinces suffered *earth-* greatly from earthquakes; by which great numbers of their *quakes in* houses were overturned. Violent shocks were likewise felt at *several* *Baghdád*, where the *Khalif's* palace was in danger of being *parts of* overthrown, *Al Madáyen*, *Bális*, *Al Rakha*, *Harrán*, *Ráfa'lain*, or *the Mos-* *Ráfa'lain*, *Hemus*, *Damascus*, *Al Roba*, or *Edeffa*, *Tarsus*, *Masísa*, *Adana*, and the maritime parts of *Syria*. At *Antioch*, 1500 houses, *pire.* and above ninety towers belonging to the wall that surrounded the city, are said to have been thrown down; which, together with the frightful and unusual noises heard amongst the ruins, so terrified the inhabitants, that they fled for safety into the neighbouring fields. We are told likewise by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that mount *Al Akra'* above-mentioned, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Abu'l-Faraj*, stood at a small distance from *Antioch*, and fell into the sea at the same time that the earthquake happened there. At *Laodicea* the shocks were so terrible, that almost all the citizens quitted their houses, expecting them every moment to fall upon their heads. When mount *Al Akra'* sunk into the sea, a thick black cloud of smoke, that emitted a most noisome smell, issued from the spot on which it had stood. Vast numbers of people were destroyed by these concussions, if we will believe the *Moslem* writers. The springs at *Mecca* failed this year to such a degree, that the celebrated well, or fountain, there was almost dried up, and the water sold for 100 *dirhems* a bottle. A river also, about a parasang distant from mount *Al Akra'*, disappeared the same year in which that mountain was absorbed, and was never afterwards seen. About the same time, the *Khalif* being informed, that the *Niloscope*, or *Nilometer*, erected on the point of the island of *Al Fostát* by *Salimán Ebn Abd'almálek Ebn Merwán*, was fallen to decay, he sent a geometrician, recommended to him by his astrologer, *Mohammed Ebn Músa*, from *Irák* to *Egypt*, in order to build a new one there. He likewise appointed *Yezid Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Bádán Ebn Farab* to assist *Mohammed* in this work, and ordered the expence of the whole to be defrayed by *Salimán Ebn Wáheb*; which being done, the machine erected on this occasion was called the new *Nilometer*, and the other that had fallen to ruin was never afterwards used. The people of *Toledo* at this time, not being able to make head against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmán Ebn Al Hakem*, thought fit to submit to that prince, and met with a very gracious reception from him. Soon after this, the *Normans*, with a fleet of 60 ships, ravaged the coast of *Spain*,

PREN. et JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, BUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, KHONDEMIR, &c. Chron. Sicul. Arab. Cantab. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUSIUS, ubi sup.

and several places there waste with fire and sword, and carried off with them an immense quantity of spoil. From thence they passed over into *Africa*, where they committed likewise dreadful depredations; and, returning into the maritime parts of *Spain*, took up their winter quarters there. But not finding themselves in a condition to settle upon any part of the tract they had taken possession of, they thought fit to return home the following spring. The writer of the *Cambridge Chronicle* relates, that the *Moslems* in *Sicily* repossessed themselves of *Enna*, that had returned to the *Christians*, about the time we are now upon. The present year, likewise died *Abu Ali Al Hoseini*, a disciple, or follower, of the famous *Al Shâfiî*. It seems to appear from *Eutychius*, that *Al Motawakkel* built a new city and palace, adjoining to *Samarra*, from him denominated *Al Jaafaria*, in which he resided some time, either this or the following year ^p.

The Arabs
gain several
considerable
advantages
over
the
Greeks.

In the year of the *Hejra* 246, commencing *March* 28th, 860, *Omar Ebn Obeid Al Akta'*, by the *Khalif's* order, made an irruption into the imperial territories, and carried off with him from thence about 70,000 prisoners. *Al Faddl Ebn Farân*, another of the *Arab* commanders, with a fleet of twenty large ships, insulted the enemy's coasts, and seized upon the citadel of *Antioch*. *Ali Ebn Yahya* likewise, in order to make a diversion, penetrated into another of the imperial provinces, and took 5000 prisoners, besides 10,000 head of cattle; after which, a cartel was settled between the contending parties, whereby 2367 captives recovered their liberty. From the *Greek* writers it seems to appear, that the *Arabs* at this time entered the imperial provinces with an army of 40,000 men, and committed dreadful ravages there. But they were surprized, according to these writers, by *Petronas*, the emperor's uncle, with the *Christian* forces, in the district of *Lalacæn*, not far from *Ephesus*, who put the *Khalif* and his whole army to the sword, took his son prisoner, and returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. As this relation, however, runs counter to the *Moslem* history in almost every particular, and as the authors here cited are not greatly to be depended upon in what they have handed down to us concerning the *Moslem* affairs, our impartial and intelligent readers will undoubtedly refuse their assent to the short account we have extracted from them of this expedition. For, that *Al Motawakkel* fell in battle this year, is a notion intirely repugnant to the whole stream of oriental hi-

^p *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 150. 151. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. H.j. 245. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 446—449. SHAW'S physie. and miscellan. observat. in Egypt, p. 433. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens, et CAAPUS, ubi sup.*

story,

story, which in a point of this nature most certainly merits greater attention than that of the *Greeks*. About the same time, it rained blood in the tract called *Balah*, of a very red colour. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân* marched with an army also now against the people of *Navarre*, ravaged the country about *Pámpelona*, and made himself master of three fortresses not far from that place. In one of these he took prisoner a person of distinction, named *Fortunius*, whom he conducted to *Corduba*, kept him there twenty years, and at last sent him home loaded with presents worthy of the prince from whom they came. This *Fortunius*, as our historian informs us, attained to the age of 126 years. About this time, died *Dabal Al Kbozâi Ebn Ali*, a celebrated poet, of the *Shiite* persuasion, who was born in the year of the *Hegira* 148. We are told; that a body of *Arabs*, named *Fendanites*, or *Effendites*, arrived in *Sicily* the present year ¹.

THE next year, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel* was assassinated in the following manner. *Fatah Ebn Khâkân* and *Abd'allah Ebn Yahya*, finding him indisposed with an asthmatic disorder, endeavoured to dissuade him from officiating in the mosque at *Sarra Manray*, as he intended, the ensuing *Friday*; advising him to send his second son *Al Mo'taz* to perform the public service there in his stead. The *Khalif* complied so far with their advice as to decline going to the mosque himself, but at the same time appointed his eldest son *Al Montaser* to officiate for him. This by no means pleasing his two favourites, who were suspicious of *Al Montaser's* ill designs, they persuaded him to go to the mosque himself, when *Friday* came, and shew himself to the people, in order to prevent all commotions that might be excited by his illness, which at that time was publicly known. He, therefore, mounted his horse, and went directly to the mosque, where he said the prayers, and preached to the people, as usual; after which he returned to his palace *Jad-faria*, where he then resided. Upon his arrival there, he ordered *Al Montaser* to appear before him, reproached him and his mother with the dark cabals in which they had been engaged, and threatened to make them both feel the effects of his resentment. Nay, he commanded the judges and counsellors who attended him likewise to reprove them. This so incensed *Al Montaser*, that he resolved upon his father's destruction, and engaged certain *Turks*, who were dissatisfied with the *Khalif's* conduct, and some of his domestics, to assist him in the parricide: for the perpetration of which the following opportunity offered. *Al Motawakkel* having drank

Al Motawakkel
assassinated.

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 151. GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 246. CHRON. SIC. CANT. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

to excess with some of his courtiers, and particularly *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, on *Wednesday* the fourth day of the month *Shawâl*, *Bogâ*, *Bager*, or *Begâ*, the younger, his butler, at night entered the room, and commanded the company to go home; which they all did, except *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, and four others, who could not be prevailed upon to retire. In the mean time, *Al Montasir* came to one of the palace-gates, that had been left open for him, and kept the porter, a *Tawîk*, whose name was *Raxâka*, employed, by walking and talking with him, whilst the conspirators destined to assassinate the *Khalîf* made the best of their way to the place where he was, with their scymitars drawn in their hands. As soon as they approached him, one of them, named *Yaaz*, immediately fell upon him, and cut off the hinder part of his shoulders; notwithstanding which, *Al Motawakkel* attempted to defend himself against the assassin, saying at the same time to him, *Be quiet, God cut off thy hand*. Which being perceived by the other conspirators, they all rushed in at once upon him. *Fatab Ebn Khâkân* observing this, said to them, *Wo be to you, this is the emperor of the faithful!* To which *Bager*, or *Bogâ*, replied, *Hold thy peace, thou enemy!* *Fatab* then threw himself upon his master, in order to screen him from the intended violence; but being dragged off by the assassins, he ran about the room like a madman, with his scymitar drawn in his hand, crying out with all his might, *Death! Death!* This so enraged them, that they instantly dispatched him, and then massacred *Al Motawakkel* without the least resistance; after which, they waited upon *Al Montasir*, and saluted him *Khalîf*. Several reasons have been assigned for this unnatural parricide by the *Moslem* writers; some of which our readers will not be displeased to find inserted here. One of those writers pretends, that *Al Montasir* alledged, as a reason to excuse the perpetration of so horrid a fact, the hatred his father bore *Ali* and all his descendants. He also, says the same author, at last was afraid of his own life. For, *Al Motawakkel* once holding between his hands a scymitar that cost him 10,000 *dinârs*, said to *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, *I should be glad to find a valiant man amongst my Turkish slaves, into whose hands I may put this scymitar, for the defence and preservation of my person*. *Fatab* immediately answered him, *Here is Bager, the bravest of your Turks, who is worthy of receiving so valuable a present from your own hands*. This *Bager* came by accident into the *Khalîf's* apartment the moment the conference between him and *Fatab* began, when he received this sword, together with very large appointments, from *Al Motawakkel*. We are told, however, that he never drew it before the time he entered his master's chamber, and slew him with it. Other authors relate, that the *Khalîf* frequently entertained himself with some

mischievous kinds of diversions, that were extremely disagreeable to the people about him; and that this in all probability hastened his death. Sometimes he would order a lion to be let loose in the middle of the room where he was regaling his friends, which never failed of throwing them into a terrible consternation. At other times he would command his servants to put serpents privately under the table, and break pots full of scorpions in the middle of the hall where he had prepared a banquet for his favourites, without suffering any of them to rise from the table, or change his place; and when any of his friends were bit on such occasions by those venomous animals, he immediately expelled the poison by a theriacal medicine that he had prepared for that purpose. Whilst he was in the midst of one of these debauches, the Turkish slaves that had conspired against him entered the hall of the festin with their scymitars drawn in their hands, and Bagher at the head of them, according to some of the Persian historians; upon which, one of those at table, who first perceived them, but did not suspect any wicked design, said, in a facetious manner, *This is neither the day of lions, nor of serpents, nor of scorpions, but that of scymitars, or swords.* Al Motawakkel no sooner heard him talk of scymitars, or swords, than he said, *What's that you would say?* Which words were scarce out of his mouth, when the conspirators fell upon him, and cut him to pieces. Fatab, continue these authors, endeavouring to defend him, and crying out with all his might, *O Al Motawakkel, I will not survive you!* was likewise killed with the Khakf. That prince's buffoon, who had hid himself at the sight of the scymitars, hearing Fatab's last words, and observing what happened to him thereupon, said with a loud voice, *O Al Motawakkel, I should be very glad to live after you!* which he thought might induce them to let him make his escape. One writer of good repute informs us, that Al Montaser was persuaded by the wise men about him to commit the parricide above-mentioned, because his father had been guilty of some enormities that merited such an end. Another assures us, that his cruelty to those persons of distinction, who were so unhappy as to incur his displeasure, greatly contributed thereto. These he inclosed in an iron stove, lined with pointed nails, which he caused to be heated more or less in proportion to the heinousness of the crime he intended to punish; and when any of them, upon finding himself in exquisite torture, said to him, *Have pity upon me,* he replied, *Pity is nothing but a meanness of soul.* 'Tis affirmed by some authors, that Mohammed Ebn Abd almalic Al Ziyat, his Visir, remained in such torture forty days before he expired. Another will have it, that Al Montaser's principal motive to desire his father's death, and to engage the Turks to dispatch him, was

was the opprobrious treatment he met with from him. For, the *Khalif* called his eldest son, by way of mockery and reproach, *Montazber*, or *Montadber*, instead of *Montaser*; by which nickname the former would intimate, that the latter lived in continual hopes of his death. Sometimes likewise *Al Motawakkel* would force the young prince to drink to excess, than which nothing could make him more unpopular or disagreeable to the *Moslems*, and then beat him without the least discretion. Nay, for what had scarce the appearance of a crime, he would make him undergo the most rigorous punishment. Lastly, we are given to understand by some of the oriental historians, that *Al Motawakkel's* assassination was owing to the resentment of *Wasif*, the *Turk*, whom he had appointed captain of his guards, and consequently made him master of his person, and yet was so imprudent as to give him just cause of offence. For he deprived him of some domains that he possessed in the *Persian Irâk*, in order to bestow them upon *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, his favourite and *Visir*. But whatever was the true cause of this prince's violent death, it has been observed by the *Moslem* writers, not only that the conspiracy formed against him was discovered a little before *Al Montaser* caused it to be carried into execution, by one of his trusty slaves, but likewise that his tragical exit was clearly predicted to him about the same time by a most strange and wonderful dream.

A farther
account of
this Kha-
lif's fa-
mous
sword.

It has been remarked upon the subject of the sword, or scymitar, given by *Al Motawakkel* to *Bagher*, by *Al Bakhteri*, that this *Khalif* having heard much of the excellency of a sword in the city of *Basra*, writ to his governor there to purchase it for him, cost what it would. But the governor, upon inquiry, finding it had been sold, and sent into the province of *Bahreïn*, informed the *Khalif* that it was not in his power to procure it for him. *Al Motawakkel*, therefore, dispatched a courier thither to buy it at any price that should be demanded for it. His order was executed, and, as soon as the sword came into his hands, he gave it to *Bagher*, with the following compliment, *Take this sword; I set no greater value upon it than I do upon you.*

What
physicians
flourished
in his
time.

ANOTHER oriental author has observed, that this *Khalif* was slain by his son *Al Montaser's* order, upon the very spot where *Khosrû Parvîz*, king of *Persia*, of the *Sassanian* race, had been massacred by the command of his son *Shirîyeh*. His principal physician, *Bakhtishua*, having amassed vast treasures,

ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151, 152. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 261, 262. AUT. TARIKH AL AB-BAS, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, JAMAL'ODDIN, MOHAMMED AL AWKI, MIRKHOND, AL BAKH-TERI, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. AL BAKHTERI.

and

and *Al Motawakkel* being informed of this; the *Khalif* once invited himself to an entertainment at his house; where being regaled with the utmost magnificence, he conceived an aversion to him, especially as the immense wealth he had acquired by his master's favour and munificence, had rendered him insolent and haughty. This induced that prince to send *Al-Hosein Ebn Al Mookhalled* to seal up the rooms where his treasures and effects were deposited, and soon after to deprive him of them. *Bakhtishua's* disgrace happened in the year of the *Hijra* 244, and his death in the year 256. Besides *Bakhtishua*, another physician of considerable note, named *Abu Zeid Abd'alrahman Honain Ebn Ishak Al Ebadi*, a Christian likewise, flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Al Motawakkel*. This physician was an *Ebadian*, that is, one of those Christian Arabs known by the title of *servants of God*, (for that the words *Al Ebadi*, or *Al Ebadi*, import) who were collected from different tribes, and settled in the *Arabian*, *Babylonian*, or *Chaldean Irak*, not far from the cities of *Hira* and *Cufa*. *Honain*, whose father *Ishak* was an apothecary in the city of *Hira*, having in his youth an uncommon thirst after knowledge, went to the school of *Yahya Ebn Maswiya*, a celebrated physician of *Baghdad*, for instruction; where he continued for some time. But meeting with contemptuous treatment from *Yahya*, on a certain occasion, he retired into the territories of the *Greek* emperor; where he remained two years, and, during that term, not only learned the *Greek* language, but likewise made a fine collection of books, in order to forward his philosophical studies. After the expiration of that term, he took a journey into *Persia*, from whence he went to *Basra*, a city of the *Persian Irak*, where he attained to great skill in *Arabic*, under the direction of *Al Kbalil Ebn Ahmed*, and then returned to *Baghdad*. Here he soon grew so famous, that *Gabriel Ebn Bakhtishua*, universally esteemed for his knowledge, declared to *Yusef*, another physician, that he would excel in every branch of learning *Sergius of Rasolain*, or *Ras alain*, the prodigy of the age, who translated many of the *Greek* authors into *Syriac*. His fame soon reaching the ears of *Al Motawakkel*, that prince sent for him, and was so pleased with his conversation, that he determined to settle a pension upon him. However, as he had resided two years in the *Greek* emperor's dominions, suspecting that he might be carrying on some sinister designs for that monarch, he was afraid at first to trust him; and therefore, in order to try him, after he had ordered him to be clothed in a sumptuous robe, and assigned him an yearly appointment of 50,000 *dinars*, he commanded him to prepare him a subtle poison, with which he might destroy one of his enemies in so private a manner that no one could suspect him

to

to be the author of his death. This *Honain* refused to do; telling the *Khalif*, that he could only prepare medicines which would be beneficial to mankind; however, he assured that prince, in order to gain time, that he would study the nature of poisons, if he could once understand that such a study would prove agreeable to him. The *Khalif* not being able, either by promises or menaces to prevail upon him to do what he desired, sent him immediately to prison, where he kept him confined a whole year; after the end of which, he ordered him to be brought before him, and threatened him with immediate death, if he persisted in his refusal to obey his commands. But he still remained inflexible; which so pleased *Al Motawakkel*, that he bad him be of good courage, and told him that he should now repose the greatest confidence in him. Afterwards demanding of him what could inspire him with such an amazing resolution, when death did as it were stare him in the face? "Two things," replied *Honain*, "my religion and my profession. The former commands me to do good to my enemies, and much more not to hurt my friends. The latter was instituted solely for the benefit and advantage of mankind; and, at my entrance upon it, I took a solemn oath never to be concerned in any mischievous or lethiferous preparations." This answer charmed the *Khalif*, who made him a present of a rich vest, together with a very considerable sum of money; so that he seemed to be, for some time, one of the happiest of mortals, as he enjoyed so large a share of *Al Motawakkel's* favour. However, one *Al Tifuri*, a *Christian*, envying his happiness, found means to accuse him of profaneness and infidelity to the *Khalif*, and to excite the superior clergy to prosecute him for the same; which terminated in an excommunication. This so affected *Honain*, that he died suddenly the following night; having, as was generally believed, put a period to his days by poison. He left behind him two sons, *Dawud* and *Ishak*; the latter of which applied himself to the study of philosophy, and translated some of the best *Greek* writers, and the former practised physic, after his father's death, amongst the lower sort of people. He had likewise a nephew, named *Hobaiß Ebn Al Asam*, who had an excellent talent at translations; insomuch that his *Arabic* version of several *Greek* and *Syriac* authors has been justly admired by many learned men of the east, and by some of them even ascribed to *Honain* himself. This celebrated physician, according to *Ebn Shabnab*, translated into *Arabic* *Euclid*, and *Ptolemy's Almagest*, which were afterwards revised and corrected by *Thâbet Ebn Korra* the *Sabian*. His scholars are also said to have translated into the same language the greatest part of the works of *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, as do to have

have published this version under their master's name. Some writers likewise attribute to him and his son the *Arabic* translation of *Aristotle's Analytics*, and his treatise of *Interpretation*, intitled by the *Arabs Anolûtbica* and *Bari Arminias*; which words are manifest corruptions of the *Greek*. In the *French* king's library, N° 866, several of *Honain's* pieces, namely, the *Kesaiat Al Naik*, the *Hawasbi Mossail Al Hakim Honain*, &c. are still preserved. It appears from *Ebn Shobnah*, that *Honain's* excommunication by the patriarch for his irreverence to certain sacred pictures, or images, and consequently his death, which immediately followed that tragical event, happened in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'tamed*, and the year of the *Hejra* 260, or 261^t.

THE reign of this *Khalif* is called by the oriental historians *Many prodigies in the reign of prodigies*. The earthquakes in various parts of the world during that period, and the strange effects produced by some of the dreadful concussions attending them, already taken notice of, have been considered by those writers as part of them. Besides which, many others, and particularly one in the country of *Kairwân*, the *Cyrenaica* of the antients, wherein the earth opened and swallowed up a vast number of people, as also another in *Yaman*, during which a large ploughed field was carried from the top of a hill to a place at a considerable distance from it, without losing an inch of ground, have been mentioned by *Ebn Jûzi*. We are likewise informed by *Ebn Abu'l Weza*, that a strange bird, bigger than a raven, perched upon a tree in the same country, and, in the hearing of many people, distinctly pronounced the following words, *Serve and fear GOD, GOD, GOD*, which it repeated forty times, and then flew away; but soon after returned, and pronounced the same words forty times more. The truth and reality of which facts were attested by 500 persons who heard them, and were brought before *Al Mota-wakkel* for that purpose. *Ebn Al Jala* also writes, that, in *Khûzestân*, a bird placed itself upon the bier of a man, whom some of his neighbours were carrying to his grave, and cried out in the language of that province, *ALMIGHTY GOD have mercy upon this dead person, and all that assist in his interment*. The water of the *Tigris* likewise at *Boghâid*, once in this prince's reign, continued for three days together as yellow as melted gold, and then assumed the colour of blood, which remained a much longer time. At *Sowida*, a small town, in *Egypt*, it hailed stones of a monstrous size, every one of which weighed ten *Arab* pounds. Nor was the nature of these stones

^t AL MASUDI, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 262—267.
 EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Honain*, p. 456,
 et art. *Ehadi*, p. 307.

less wonderful than their size. For, an *Arab* having taken one of them, in order to make a fire with it in his tent, so violent a flame immediately issued out of it, that the whole tent, and every thing combustible in it, were consumed in an instant. Some of these stones are said to have been preserved at *Kaira*, or *Al Kabirah*, and *Betlis* in *Georgia*, a long time after. A *Persian* author relates, that two men in *Egypt* having been struck down to the ground by lightning, about the same time, they both continued black from head to foot all the remaining part of their lives, without having received any other damage therefrom^a.

He issued
two edicts
against
the Chri-
stians.

THIS *Khalif* issued at least two edicts against the *Christians* settled in the *Moslem* empire, as has been already observed; one of which has been considered as the effect of his resentment against *Bakhtishua*, his physician, who professed the *Christian* religion, by some of the eastern writers; though he seems to have persecuted the followers and descendants of *Ali* with a much greater degree of violence. In his reign, *Theophilus*, the *Greek* emperor, ordered all the images of saints in the churches to be destroyed; which induced *Sophronius*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, and one *Abu Korra*, an *Arab*, to write in defence of image-worship; though others, with an invincible strength of reasoning, maintained the contrary opinion. The former of these learned men sent a letter to the emperor, containing the reasons that obliged him to disapprove of his conduct in the aforesaid particular; which, according to some, had such an effect upon that prince, that he immediately revoked his former edict. *Sophronius* died of a dropsy, in the 233d year of the *Hejra*, and was succeeded by one *Michael*, a native of *Alexandria*, who sat in the patriarchal see there, according to *Eutychius*, about twenty-four years. The same author relates, that the emperor had a distaste given him to images by the pious fraud of a priest, who, by means of a leaden tube, made the people believe, that the breasts of an image of the virgin *Mary* dropped milk; which pretended miracle procured from the populace an uncommon degree of reverence for that image, and no small accession of wealth to the priest himself: but the imposture being detected, the emperor was so incensed, that he commanded him to be beheaded, and forbade his subjects to worship either the images or pictures of saints; which, for some time, he considered as downright idolatry. To which we may add, that this event seems to have preceded a few years the *Khalif's* first edict

^a ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, &c. ubi sup. EBN JUZI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164. EBN ABU'L WEZA, EBN AL JALA, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI.

against

against the *Christians*; and that not long after the emperor had abolished the worship of images, he relapsed into that species of idolatry. This, therefore, being so extremely repugnant to the turn and genius of the *Mohammedans*, probably excited the *Khalif* to discover an ill disposition to the *Christians* in the year of the *Hejra* 235. For, the disgrace of *Bakhtishua* happened, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, in the year of the *Hejra* 244; and therefore could not occasion the publication of the aforesaid edict, notwithstanding what may seem to be insinuated to the contrary by *Eutychius*, who, perhaps, industriously concealed the true cause of that affair w.

WITH regard to *Al Motawakkel's* person, he was tall, of a *Description of Al* thin habit of body, and had a swarthy complexion. He had, however, a handsome face, in which a reddish and yellowish hue appeared, a middling beard, and eyes of a larger size. As *Motawakkel's* to his disposition, he was, if we may believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, extremely affable, munificent, and of great condescension. He was also a vast encourager of learned men, in so much that prodigious numbers of them resorted to his court. In this, he followed the example of his great predecessor *Al Mamun*, of whose uncommon passion for the sciences, particularly geometry and astronomy, the following remarkable instance has been handed down to us by *Cedrenus*. A young *Greek* having been taken prisoner by the *Arabs*, and brought by the officer whose slave he was into the *Khalif's* presence, that prince's geometricians, who likewise then appeared, immediately entered into a conference with him; but the youth proving in knowledge infinitely superior to them, they asked him whether there were any more geometricians at *Byzantium* as good as himself? To which he answered, that there were many there who vastly excelled him, and particularly his master *Leo*, then in poor circumstances, who applied himself solely to the study of the sciences. The *Khalif*, extremely desirous of having so celebrated a mathematician at his court, gave the *Greek* his liberty, and sent him with a letter to *Leo*, then at *Constantinople*, or *Byzantium*, to invite him into his dominions; offering at the same time to load him with presents, and settle what pension he pleased upon him, if he would undertake to instruct his subjects in those sciences, in which he so eminently excelled. This letter *Leo* shewed to *Theoetistus*; and he immediately communicated the contents of it to *Theophilus*, who then sat upon the imperial throne. The emperor, being by this means made acquainted with *Leo's* uncommon merit, constituted him professor of those branches of literature he

W D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motawakkel*, p. 640. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 262, 263. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 448—453. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 152, 153. MOD. HIST. VOL. II. F f was

was master of, and converted the church of the *forty martyrs* into a school, or gymnasium, where he exercised the great talents he was master of for the public good. After this, *Al Mamûn* sent him a considerable number of geometrical and astronomical problems, besides several relative to other sciences, of all which he soon received from him a most accurate and satisfactory solution. This so raised the advantageous idea the *Khalîf* had already formed to himself of *Leo's* transcendent merit, that he sent an ambassador to the imperial court, to desire the emperor to permit that learned man to reside a short time with him. For which favour the ambassador offered *Theophilus*, in his master's name, a large sum of money, and to enter into a lasting treaty of peace and alliance with him. But the emperor, being unwilling that the *Arabs* should make a figure in the learned world, refused to comply with *Al Mamûn's* request, and created *Leo* bishop of *Thessalonica*. However, this sufficiently demonstrates that *Khalîf's* thirst after knowledge, and confirms the character given of this prince, at least in the particular here insisted upon, by the oriental historians ^x.

Some farther particulars relating to him. THE *Khalîf Al Motawakkel* reigned fourteen years and seven months, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, or fourteen years, nine months, and nine days, if we will believe *Eutychius*, or, lastly, fourteen years, ten months, and three days, if we chuse to admit what has been advanced by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. According to the first and last of these authors, he was forty years of age at the time of his death; but *Eutychius* makes him to have been forty-four years old when that tragical event happened. In the tenth year of his *Khalîfat*, he made *Salmân Ebn Zarkûn* patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who sat in that see about five years. The first of his *Vizirs* was *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*; after whose death, *Mohammed Ebn Al Fadl Al Forjâni* was called to that high post. And, lastly, *Al Forjâni* was succeeded by *Abd'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Kbâkân*, who, as some writers will have it, was the *Khalîf's* principal secretary of state. The first employed by this prince in the capacity of judge was *Yahya Ebn Attem*, whom he turned out of his office, and deprived him of all the money he had therein acquired, which amounted to the sum of 100,000 *dinârs*. After *Yahya's* disgrace, he advanced to that honourable employment *Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Al Barhami*, and then *Jaafar Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar Al Hôshemi*. He removed from the exalted post that had been conferred upon him *Ahmed Ebn Dawud*, who had been so instrumental in his elevation to the

^x ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 154. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 247. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 548—550.

Khalifat. The first captain of his guards was *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*, and the second *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, who was sent for out of *Khorasân*. His first chamberlain was *Wasif*, the *Turk*, his second *Sa'id Ebn Sâleh*, and his third *Bagâ*, or *Bogâ*, the *Turk*. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The inscription of his seal was, *In God is my trust*. It has been already observed, that *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, his principal favourite, was assassinated with him 7.

S E C T. XXXII.

IT appears from what has been related above, that the night *Al Montafer* was massacred the assassins saluted his son *Mohammed Abu Jaafar Al Montafer*, or, as he is commonly called, *Al Montafer Billah, Khalif*. The next morning the new emperor of the faithful assembled all the great officers of the court, and the principal inhabitants of the city of *Al Jaafariâ*, built by the late *Khalif*, who had been murdered there, and ordered *Ahmed Ebn Al Khasib* to read to them a declaration he had caused to be drawn up, importing that he had no hand in his father's death, but that this ought to be imputed to his favourite *Fatab Ebn Khâkân*, whom he had ordered to be cut to pieces for being guilty of so black a crime. After which, he was inaugurated, and all the persons of distinction present took the oath of allegiance to him. His mother *Habashâ*, one of *Al Motawakkel's* concubines, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was of *Greek* extraction. Soon after his inauguration, he demolished the palace *Al Jaafariâ*, erected by his father, and retired into *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, where he resided during the remainder of his short reign. Some of the *Moslem* writers pretend, that *Al Montafer*, not long after his accession, looking upon a piece of tapestry curiously wrought, discovered thereon a person on horseback with a diadem about his head, and round it a *Persic* inscription, which he commanded a *Persian* then belonging to his court to explain. The *Persian*, continue these authors, would willingly have evaded obeying the *Khalif's* command; but finding this impracticable, he told *Al Montafer*, that the horseman he saw was *Shirûyeh*, the son of *Khofrû Parvîz*, who slew his father; and that the inscription was to the following effect: *I am Shirûyeh, the son of Khofrû Parvîz, who slew my father, and reigned only six months*. *Al Montafer* no sooner heard these words than he changed countenance; considering the whole affair as ominous, and amounting to a prediction that his reign should not exceed that term. Which prediction, if we will believe the

7 GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 261. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 247. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 641, 642.

Arab historians, met with a full and absolute completion. *Abu Othmân Becr Ebn Mohammed Al Mazeni*, a celebrated grammarian, famed for his skill in the Arabic tongue, died the present year. We must not forget to remark, that *Al Mondar*, the son of *Mohammed*, *Khalif* of Spain, invaded the province of *Alava*, where he overthrew the Christian forces, and brought a great number of heads with him to *Corduba*; and that *Al Abbâs*, the second *Aglabite Emîr* of *Sicily*, who was succeeded by his son *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, elected by the people *Emîr*, till the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s pleasure was known, died in the year of the *Hejra* 247².

He excludes his brothers from the succession.

THE next year, being the 248th of the *Moslem æra*, beginning *March* 7th, 862, *Bogâ Al Kabîr*, *Boga Al Saghîr*, *Bagher*, or *Bager*, *Wasîf*, and the other officers of the *Turkish* guards, concerned in the assassination of *Al Motawakkel*, held a council amongst themselves, and, in order to avoid being brought to condign punishment for the perpetration of so horrid a crime, resolved to oblige the new *Khalif* to exclude his brothers *Al Mo'taz*, or rather *Al Mo'tazz*, and *Al Mowaiad* from the succession; being convinced that either of those princes would take vengeance of them for his father's death, if ever he should ascend the *Moslem* throne. But the *Khalif*'s brothers, having been apprized of the violence with which they were threatened, went of their own accord to *Al Montaser*, and resigned with a good grace their right to the crown after his decease. This is the account of the affair, at present in view, handed down to us by some of the *Persian* historians; tho' the *Arab* writers represent this resignation, or abdication, as the effect of compulsion. Be that as it will, the *Khalif* immediately notified this event to *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hosein*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*; intimating at the same time, that the two princes themselves desired to be permitted always to live a private life, as their abilities were by no means equal to the government of so large and extensive an empire. Notwithstanding which, he considered the *Turkish* officers, who had imbrued their hands in his father's blood, according to some of the *Arab* writers, as the principal authors of this measure; and even told his brothers themselves, in the very presence of those officers, that they had impelled him to it. After which, he dispatched couriers with advice of what had happened to all the governors of provinces in the empire. Some historians

² ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 151, 153, 154. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 267. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 456, 457. D'HERBEL Biblioth. orient. art. *Montasser*, p. 622. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxvii. p. 24. Excerpt. ex chronol. univers. ISM. ABULFED. ex cod. Arab. MS. Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Ekeurial. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 18. report,

report, that the rich tapestry above-mentioned, which threw *Al Montaser* into such a consternation, was found in his father's wardrobe, and had formerly belonged to the antient kings of *Persia* *.

AL MONTASER, not long after his elevation to the *Khalifat*, saw his father *Al Motawakkel* in a dream, who reproached him with his parricide, and told him, that he should not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedness, in the following terms: "*Mohammed*, thou hast killed me, thou hast oppressed me, thou hast deprived me of the *Khalifat*, which thou shalt in a short time leave, and then enter into eternal fire." This dream so frightened the *Khalif*, that he immediately awaked in the utmost terror, burst out into tears, and made the palace ring with his lamentations. This soon brought to him *Abdallah Ebn Amru*, to whom he related his frightful dream; who told him, that these nocturnal horrors were only the effects of his waking thoughts, and bad him slight them as much as possible. In order to which, he farther advised him to take a chearful glass, and to drive away all pensive thoughts by a round of his favourite diversions; which he accordingly for some time attempted to do. But notwithstanding this, he gradually fell into a deep melancholy, which at last put a period to his days; tho' he died of a squinancy on Sunday the fifth of the latter *Rabi*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, after he had been ill only three days. Some authors pretend, that he was carried off by poison; and others, by an ulcer in his head, caused by dropping some oil into one of his ears. He expired on the 25th day of the former *Rabi*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. Another writer assures us, that he died of a fever; of which when his physician said he could easily cure him, he replied, *I greatly fear this will be the last sickness I shall ever have, as I saw a person in a dream last night, who declared to me that I should die in the twenty-fifth year of my age.* This person, as he found afterwards, was his father, whose nocturnal apparition to him in a dream has been already taken notice of. The death of this *Khalif* happened at *Sarraman-raia*, where, from the sixth day of his short reign, he chose to reside ^b.

MIRKHOND writes, that this *Khalif* was extremely liberal to his friends; of which he gives us the following singular instance. One of his officers being returned from *Egypt*, where of him.

* D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 154. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 267. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 456, 457.

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 154, 155. D'HERB. Bibl. orient. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, KHONDEMIR.

he had acquitted himself perfectly well in an office he was intrusted with, and entertaining his master with an account of the various adventures he had met with in that country, amongst other things told him, that he had brought with him from thence a wounded heart, because he could not purchase, for want of money, a female slave of exquisite beauty and a most charming voice. The *Khalif* heard him without making any reply; but being determined to gratify him, he gave orders privately to the governor of *Egypt* to buy that slave, and send her to *Samarra* as soon as possible. Upon her arrival there, she was immediately conducted to the palace; whither the *Khalif* invited the officer a few days after, in order to rally him upon his amours. He no sooner appeared in his master's presence, than he heard the voice of his beloved slave in the next room; which put him instantly out of countenance. The *Khalif* asked him the reason of his confusion, and whether he knew the voice he heard? Upon which, he frankly owned, that he took it to be the voice of the beautiful slave he had formerly mentioned to him. *Al Montaser* then demanded of him, whether he still preserved his affection for her? To which he answered, that "as he could not entertain the least hopes of ever possessing her, he ought to lay aside his passion for her, especially as she was become his master's property." The *Khalif* then very generously said to him, "I can assure you with an oath, that I have purchased this beautiful slave in *Egypt* for no other person than yourself, and that I have only cast one glance at her since her arrival in the palace." Which words were no sooner out of his mouth, than he commanded her to be put into the officer's hands, adorned with all those jewels he had given her, in order to make a more valuable present to him.

*A pleasant
occurrence
in his
reign.*

It was in this *Khalif's* reign, that an *Arab*, seated on a little hill in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*, held unlawful assemblies at his house, in order to debauch the youth of both sexes, whom he suffered to mix together promiscuously there, in direct opposition to the *Mohammedan* laws. This man was brought before the judge of *Mecca*, who, after he had reproached him with his unparalleled impudence in daring to be guilty of such lewdness so near the holy place, began immediately to draw up his process; not doubting in the least of the truth of a fact which was become so notorious to all the people of the territory of *Mecca*. But as none of his accomplices would appear against him, the judge found himself greatly embarrassed for want of evidence. However, he at last hit upon an expedient, which he thought would infallibly convict him; and that was to try whether any of those public beasts made use of by the people who set out every day from

* MIRRHOUD.

one

one particular place to that part of the mountain where this *Arab* lived, would of themselves find the way to his house. The experiment was made on some asses, the beasts principally used in this country, that went directly of their own accord to the spot inhabited by the *Arab*, tho' this was of itself extremely difficult to be discovered. The judge having now, as he imagined, full proof of his guilt, sent for the executioner to chastise him, who immediately appeared with the whips, or scourges, in his hand. The *Arab*, who did not want wit, at the sight of him, bethought himself of a pleasant sort of finesse, in order to avoid the chastisement with which he was threatened. Turning himself then to the judge, he said, *When you have slay'd me alive with your whips, you will have punished only one guilty person; but, by such an action, you will reflect an eternal ignominy upon the whole Arab nation. For it will be ever said of them hereafter, that, when the evidence of men could not be produced, they admitted that of asses.* The company were so pleased with the humour of the man, that it was the opinion of every one present that he ought to be pardoned; so that he was instantly dismissed, without having any punishment at all inflicted upon him^d.

WITH regard to his person, *Al Montaser* was of a middle *Descrip-* stature, and had very large black eyes. He had also an aquition of his] line nose, a majestic mien, a large beard, was extremely fat, person, and of a fair complexion. As to his disposition, he is re- and cha- ported to have been naturally brave, prudent, and just, but racter. too great a lover of money. Some of the *Arab* writers observe, that he had a taste for poetry, and made tolerable good verses, a specimen of which has been preserved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. He reigned only six months, and had scarce completed the 25th year of his age, tho' *Eutychius* supposes him to have been three years older, at the time of his death. Not only the lower sort of people, but even the grandees themselves, gave out publicly, from his first advancement to the *Moslem* throne, that he would not reign longer than six months, the time that *Sbirayeh*, the son of *Khosrau Parviz*, survived his father; which renders it probable that he was poisoned, as we find asserted by some of the *Arab* historians. He favoured the house of *Ali*, and permitted the *Shiites* to visit *Al Hosein's* tomb. His *Visir* was *Ahmed Ebn Al Khasib*, the captain of his guards *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thaber*, his judge *Jaafar Al Abbasi*, and his first chamberlain *Abu Naser*, the Turk. The first day of his reign was either *Wednesday* or *Thursday*, and the last *Saturday*. The inscription of his seal was, *The person who endeavours to avoid fear necessarily takes it to him*. He died, and was interred, at

^d D'HARVEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 622, 623.

Sarra Manray, and had a more beautiful sepulchre, erected for him by his mother, than even the most famed and eminent of his predecessors *.

S E C T. XXXIII.

He is succeeded by
Al Mo-
ta'in.

THE day after *Al Montaser's* death, the two *Bogâ's*, father and son, *Atâmesh*, and the other principal *Turkish* officers, who had been concerned in the murder of *Al Motawakkel*, assembled in that part of the metropolis denominated *Al Harûniâ*, and, after coming to a resolution never to vest with the imperial dignity any of that prince's sons, lest they should be called to an account for their former villainy, unanimously elevated to the *Khalifat* *Abmed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Mo'tasem*, who was surnamed *Al Mosta'in*, or *Al Mosta'in Bi'llah*. This step was taken apparently to the prejudice of *Al Mo'tazz*, second son to the *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, to whom the right of succession most evidently appertained. But the *Turkish* faction having acquired a great degree of power, by the credit which *Bogâ Al Kabîr*, *Bogâ Al Saghîr*, *Wafîf*, *Bagher*, or *Bager*, and their other chiefs, had obtained in all the provinces, they carried all before them; infomuch that *Al Mo'tazz's* party was intirely borne down, and *Al Mosta'in*, whose mother *Mahârisf*, or, as others call her, *Makbârek*, had served his father in the capacity of concubine, soon found himself in peaceable possession of the empire, and was universally acknowledged the sole, true, and lawful *Khalif*†.

An ineffec-
tual at-
tempt
made by
Al Mo-
tazz's
friends.

THE election of the new *Khalif* happened on *Monday* the 6th day of the latter *Rabî*, in the year of the *Hejra* 248; he being then, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, about 28 years of age, and receiving at the same time from the electors the surname of *Al Mosta'in Bi'llah*. As soon as the election was over, he appointed *Atâmesh* his *Visir*, or *Wazîr*, and *Abmed Ebn Al Khasîb* his secretary of state. The day following, he shewed himself to the people, in his imperial robes, who were ranged in two lines to receive him. But the *Khalif* no sooner appeared, than there suddenly started up a body of 50 horse and 1000 foot, with their scymitars drawn in their hands, crying out with all their might, *Long live Al Mo'tazz!* upon which a very smart conflict ensued. But *Al Mo'tazz's* friends being at last defeated, and for the most part cut to pieces, *Al Mosta'in* was fixed upon the *Moslem* throne. That prince no sooner found himself without a competitor, than he sent to prison *Al*

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 135. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, EUTYCH. et ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERB. ubi sup.*

† *KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 155, 156. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 268. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 456—459.*

Mo'tazz and *Al Mowaiad*, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel's* sons. About this time, *Yakub Ebn Al Leit*, or *Al Lit*, moved out of *Sejestan* towards *Herat*, with a considerable body of troops; and the people of *Hems* drove the *Khalif's* governor out of the town. The present year likewise, according to *Abulfeda*, *Bogâ Al Kabir*, and *Mohammed Ebn Al Ola Al Hamadani*, departed this life. We must not forget to observe, that the citizens of *Merida*, the ancient *Emerita*, rebelled also this year against *Mohammed*, the *Khalif of Spain*; who marched against them with a powerful army, obliged them to surrender at discretion, destroyed their bridge, dismantled their city, forced them to send a number of hostages to *Corduba*, and, in order the more effectually to keep them in their duty, left amongst them a detachment of his troops &c.

THE following year, being the 249th of the *Hejra*, commencing February 24th, 863, the Greeks overthrew the Arabs at *Marj Al Askaf*, and put *Omar Ebn Abdallah Al Aktah*, their general, together with a great number of his men, to the sword; which enabled them to make incursions into the Moslem territories, as far as the borders of *Mesopotamia*. The Turkish troops also in the *Khalif's* service mutinied, and cut to pieces *Atâmesh*, *Al Mosta'in's Visir*, and *Seja' Ebn Al Hâtem*, another person of distinction belonging to the court. They also plundered *Atâmesh's* house, and carried off with them from thence an immense treasure. To these outrages they were excited by *Wasif* and *Bogâ*, their leaders, who were dissatisfied with *Atâmesh's* conduct; he having, at least as they pretended, set the *Khalif* against them, and excluded them from a share in the administration. These enormities occasioned a commotion at *Baghdâd*, where the populace assembled in great numbers, burnt one of the bridges over the *Tigris*, and demolished the other, opened all the prisons in that city, pillaged the houses of the wealthiest inhabitants, and distributed the money that fell into their hands on this occasion amongst the forces posted, for the defence of the frontiers, at a considerable distance from the town. The troops likewise in garison at *Baghdâd*, enraged at the Turkish insolence, about the same time committed great disorders &c.

IN the 250th year of the *Hejra*, beginning February 13th, 864, *Yahya Ebn Omar Ebn Yahya*, of the house of *Ali*, assembled a body of troops at *Cûfa*, and declared his intention to dethrone *Al Mosta'in*. Upon advice of this revolt, the *Khalif* sent *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Thâher Ebn Al Hojein* *Al rebel-lion breaks out at Cûfa.*

‡ KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

‡ KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 268. ABULFED. ubi sup.

with

with an army against *Yahya*; who, coming up with him not far from *Cúfa*, attacked him with such bravery, that he put his forces to flight. *Yahya* himself was killed in the action, and his head sent by *Mohammed* to *Al Mosta'in*, who caused it to be exposed to the view of the people in one of the most public places of *Sarra Manray*. This defeat, and the death of *Yahya*, extinguished the rebellion that had broke out in the *Arabian Irák*. The troubles, however, still continued at *Baghdád*.

Another
rebellion
in Tab-
restán.

SOME of the authors followed by *M. D'Herbelot* relate, that one *Hasan Ebn Yezid*, another chief of the house of *Al*, rebelled against the *Khalif*, and seized upon the province of *Tabrestán*, the same year. This usurper, according to those writers, remained master of that province nineteen whole years, and left it to his brother *Mohammed Kasem*, or *Kassem*, who succeeded him, and kept possession of it eighteen years, without any molestation from the *Khalifs*. This usurper is called *Al Hasan Ebn Zeid Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ismael*, by *Abulfeda* and *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; the former of which writers places his defection in the 250th, and the latter in the 251st, year of the *Moslem æra*. About this time, the people of *Hems* cut *Al Fadl Ebn Karán*, the *Khalif's* governor of that city, to pieces; but they were defeated by *Músa Ebn Baga Al Kabir*, his successor, who put a vast number of them to the sword, and laid their city in ashes. The preceding year, died *Ali Ebn Al Fahm*, a poet of considerable note; as did also about this time, *Al Kháli*, another of equal merit. The *Moslems* reduced the city of *Neetum*, the *Noto* of the moderns, called by the *Arabs Natis*, in *Sicily* the present year ^k.

Al Mos-
ta'in flies
to Bagh-
dád.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 251, the first day of which was coincident with *February* 2d, 865, the *Turks*, who had made themselves masters of all the forces of the empire, and by that means intirely influenced the *Khalif's* councils, were divided into two powerful factions. *Bagher*, or *Bager*, one of their leaders, having had some dispute with *Wasif*, another of them, applied to the *Khalif* for justice; who was so far from complying with his request, that he openly favoured his antagonist. This so exasperated *Bagher*, that he assembled his friends, with a resolution to assassinate *Wasif*, and depose *Al Mosta'in*, in order to elevate in his place another *Khalif* that should be more favourable to him. But this conspiracy being discovered, the *Khalif* caused *Bagher* to be arrested in the imperial palace; of which the *Turks* being apprized, they immediately took up arms, under the pretext of delivering their

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 631. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

^k D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABULFED. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. apud JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 6. PAUL. CLUVER. Sicil. antiq. lib. ii. p. 357.

general out of his enemies hands. This obliged *Al Moſta'in* to hold an extraordinary council, at which aſſiſted *Waſif* and *Bogá*, two of the other *Turkiſh* commanders; who, being intereſted in *Bagher's* deſtruction, adviſed the *Khalif* to put him to death. This advice was readily liſtened to, *Al Moſta'in* thinking by that execution to appeaſe the ſeditious ſpirit of the *Turkiſh* ſoldiery. But it produced a quite contrary effect. For the *Turks*, being rendered more furious by the death of their chief, pillaged the city of *Sarra Manray*, and threatened to ſet fire to the palace, if *Waſif* and *Bogá*, who had been the authors of their general's death, were not immediately delivered into their hands. Thoſe officers ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſuch an extremity, could find no other expedient at that critical juncture, to avoid the fury of their own troops, than to carry off their maſter with them to *Baghdád*; which they accordingly did. The mutineers being informed of what had happened, repented of the violence they had committed, and ſent deputies after *Al Moſta'in* to intreat him to return to his capital. But *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Tháber*, the commandant of *Baghdád*, being extremely pleaſed that he had got the *Khalif* in his hands, and hating the *Turks*, as did alſo both the garriſon and people of *Baghdád*, received them very ill, and obliged them to return to *Sarra Manray* without having ſeen the *Khalif*. This ſo irritated the *Turks*, that they had again reſort to arms, by their own proper authority depoſed *Al Moſta'in*, and placed *Al Mo'tazz*, *Al Montáſer's* brother, whom they took out of priſon for that purpoſe, upon the *Moſlem* throne. Some of the *Arab* authors call *Bagher Yaaz*, and inform us, that he was maſſacred by *Waſif*, *Bogá*, and other perſons of diſtinction, becauſe he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the imperial palace with a deſign to aſſaſſinate both them and *Al Moſta'in*. This year the *Chriſtians* worſted the *Moſlems* in an action by ſea, off of *Syracufe*, and took four of their ſhips. It was with great difficulty that the *Khalif* *Al Moſta'in* made his eſcape in a ſmall veſſel from *Sarra Manray*, ſeated on the eaſtern bank of the *Tigris*, to *Baghdád* ¹.

THE *Khalif* *Al Mo'tazz*, after he had ſettled himſelf upon *Al Moſlem* throne, ſent his brother *Ahmed Ebn Mottawakkal ta'in's* with an army to lay ſiege to *Baghdád*. *Ahmed* began his march abdicating from *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, on the 23d of the month *tion*, and *Al Mobarram*, and, upon his arrival at *Baghdád*, beſieged the death-place in form. His army, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was not extremely numerous, the principal part of it conſiſting of no more than 5000 *Turkiſh* and *Faraonian*, or *Egyptian*.

¹ KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 156, 157. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 458—461. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. et CAſus. ubi ſup. GELII not. ad Alſfragan. p. 230, 231, tian

tian horse, and 2000 *Magrebians*, or western *Arabs*; though, if we will believe *Abu'Isfeda*, it amounted to 50,000 men. *Al Mosta'in* for some time defended himself with great bravery, made several successful sallies on the besiegers, and destroyed a considerable number of their men. Nay, he would, in all probability, have forced *Ahmed* to abandon the siege, had he not been betrayed by those in whom he was obliged the most to confide. For, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*, in order to provide for his own security, thought fit to propose an accommodation to *Ahmed*; which was at last concluded upon the following terms, viz. that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* should remain in peaceable possession of his government; and that *Al Mosta'in*, on condition his life was granted him, should abdicate the *Khalifat*. Some of the *Arab* historians relate, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* being apprized, that *Al Mosta'in* had engaged *Bogâ* and *Wasif* to assassinate him, came to an immediate resolution to desert the party of that prince. Be that, however, as it will, as soon as *Al Mo'tazz* had signed and ratified the aforesaid treaty, *Al Mosta'in* formally renounced all pretensions to the *Khalifat*, and contented himself with living a private life in the magnificent palace of *Hasan Ebn Sobal* at *Baghdâd*, which was assigned him for his residence. This happened in the year of the *Hejra* 252. He was afterwards removed to *Al Hasan Ebn Wabeh's* palace at *Basra*, and there strictly confined. From thence he was sent to *Wâset*, and committed to the custody of *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*; who, as some will have it, murdered him by the *Khalif's* command, in the month of *Shawâl*, the same year. Others affirm, that *Sa'id*, *Al Mo'tazz's* principal chamberlain, dispatched him at *Kâdesia*, cut off his head, and immediately sent it as an agreeable present to his master. And, lastly, others believe that he was cut off by *Sa'id*, *Al Mo'tazz's* *Visir*, soon after his abdication, in the imperial city of *Sarra Manray*. Those who make *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn* his executioner relate, that his head was transmitted to the *Khalif* at *Sarra Manray*; and that when the messenger appeared with it in that prince's presence, he was playing at chess, and would not vouchsafe to look at it till he had finished his game; after which, he for some time beheld it with great pleasure, and then ordered it to be buried. *Al Mosta'in* reigned three years, nine months, and a few days, if we will believe the *Arab* historians; tho' his reign has likewise been extended by *Khademir* to the length of almost four complete years. With regard to his person, *Al Mosta'in* was fat, of a comely aspect, and had a black beard. As to his disposition, he was mild, indolent, extremely fearful, and intirely governed by the people

people about him. His first *Visir* was *Atâmesh*, and his secretary of state *Abmed Ebn Al Khasib*. His favourites *Wasif* and *Bogâ*, who at last deserted him, had an uncommon ascendant over him. His general *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber* abandoned his interests in the manner already related. His judges *Abmed Ebn Abu'l Shawârib Al Amawi* and *Mohammed Ebn Waxîr Al Wâseti* made no very considerable figure. In the last year of his reign, one *Sanitius* is said to have been advanced to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and to have presided over the church there eleven years. In the first year of his *Khalifat*, *Theodorus*, called by the Arabs *Al Moklâti*, was also constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and sat in that see nineteen years. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mosta'in's* abdication was attested by his own judges, and all the principal citizens of *Baghdâd* m.

THE same year, that is, the 252d of the *Hejra*, *Al Hasan A rebel-*
Ebn Zeid Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ismael, of the posterity of *Ali lion in Ta-*
Ebn Abu Tâleb, rebelled against the *Khalif* in *Tabrestân*, and *breştân*.
made himself master of that province. Several smart actions happened between him and *Solimân Ebn Abd'allah, Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah, Tdaber's* lieutenant there. But at last *Solimân* intirely defeated him, put a vast number of his followers to the sword, and obliged him to fly with great precipitation into *Deylam* n.

NOR long after, another pretender, an Arab of *Al Thala-* *Another is*
biya, named *Al Hasan Ebn Abmed Ebn Ismael Ebn Ibrahim*, one *Deylam*
of *Ali's* descendants, set up for himself in *Deylam*, routed the *and Ara-*
forces sent against him, and possessed himself of their camp. *bia*.
Not content with this, he penetrated to *Medina*, drove the governor out of the town, and obliged the inhabitants to open their gates to him. From *Medina* he marched at the head of his troops to *Mecca*, and besieged that city two months; but finding himself not able to carry the place, he retired to *Jodda*, cut off all communication between the *Meccans* and that port, and so infested the roads that it was not safe to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. However, he soon returned thither, massacred great numbers of the citizens who were assembled on mount *Arafat*, on the ninth of *Dhu'lhajja*, in order to perform their devotions there, and forced many others, after he had plundered them, to abandon the place before they had gone through the prescribed ceremonies. But death soon put an end to all his towering projects, and dispersed his numerous followers in such a manner, that not the faintest traces of this rebellion ever afterwards appeared °.

S E C T.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 157, 158, 159. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 631, 632.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 157.

S E C T. XXXIV.

Al Mo'tazz **U**PON the abdication of *Al Mofta'in*, *Mohammed Abu Abdallah Al Mo'tazz Ebn Al Motawakkel* was unanimously acknowledged emperor of the *Moslems*, on the fourth of *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 252; both the *Turks* and the *Arabs*, without the least scruple, recognizing his authority. His mother's name was *Fatiba*. When he was fixed upon the throne, without any danger of a competitor, he called his brother *Al Mowaiad* again to the succession; tho' he soon after, upon a bare suspicion only, deprived him of his right, and sent him to prison. 'Tis true, *Al Mowaiad* had a strong party in the empire, that would undoubtedly have declared for him, had he intended to undertake any thing against the *Khalif*. But as to the rest, he was guilty of no crime; which was the case of *Al Mowaffek*, another of his brothers, who soon after fell under the same disgrace P.

He orders his brother to be privately murdered in prison. THE news of *Al Mowaiad's* confinement no sooner transpired, than the whole body of the *Turkish* troops began to be in motion, and gave out publickly that they would release him. This so excited *Al Mo'tazz's* jealousy, that he ordered him to be privately murdered in prison; which was done in such a manner, that no marks of violence could be discovered upon him. So that when the body was exposed to the view of the judges, doctors of the law, noblesse, and *Turkish* officers, they readily agreed that this prince died a natural death q.

The new Khalif cares for the Turks out of fear. THE *Khalif*, upon his accession, confirmed *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Thâber* in the possession of the territories assigned him, and the government of *Baghdâd*, in conformity to the promise he had made him before his elevation to the *Khalifat*. He likewise came to a resolution to cut off the chiefs of the *Turkish* soldiery, whose exorbitant power had proved so fatal to his three immediate predecessors. But he was dissuaded from carrying that design into execution by *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Thâber*, who represented to him the dangerous consequences of it in so strong a light, that, instead of punishing *Wasîf*, *Bagher*, and the other *Turkish* commanders, as he had intended, he heaped new favours upon them, and gave them several additional employments, that greatly augmented the power they had already acquired. He likewise deprived *Yezid Ebn Abdallah* of the government of *Egypt*, which post he had enjoyed about eleven years, and sent

AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 157, 158. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 100. P ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN,

ubi sup. p. 159. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 460, 461. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 268. q ABU JAAFAR

AL TABAR. AL MAKIN; ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 269. Ma.

Mazâbem Ebn Khâkân to preside over that country in his room. About this time, according to *Abulfeda*, died *Mohammed Ebn Basfar*, and *Mohammed Ebn Al Motshan*, of *Basra*, two of *Al Bokhârî's* doctors, and *Al Mofta'in* was whipt to death by *Sa'id Ebn Sabel*. We must not forget to remark, that the *Moslems* retook *Netum*, or *Noto*, in *Sicily*, after it had fallen again to the *Christians*, the present year ¹.

THE following year, being the 253d of the *Hejra*, the *Turkish* troops in *Sarra Manray* mutinied for their pay; upon which, *Wasîf*, their general, in order to appease the sedition, expostulated with them about their breach of duty in very sharp terms. But this was so far from producing the desired effect, that it proved fatal to him. Those insolent troops first gave him ill language, for his laudable attempt to bring them back to a sense of their duty by words only; and then some of the most guilty of them, rushing upon him all at once, cut him instantly to pieces ¹. *The Turks mutiny, and cut to pieces their general.*

THE same year, the *Khalîf Al Mo'tazz* banished his brother *Ahmed Ebn Al Motawakkel*, called by some writers *Al Mowaffek*, and by others *Abu Ahmed*, to *Wâset*, or, according to *Eutychius*, to *Basra*, because he seemed to take to heart his brother *Al Mowaiad's* death. He afterwards, however, permitted him to reside in the eastern part of the territory of *Baghdâd*. The famous general *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Thâher* departed this life at *Baghdâd*, the 14th of *Dhu'lkaada*; and the following night, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, there happened a remarkable lunar eclipse. The *Moslems* of *Sicily*, if we will believe the *Cambridge Chronicon*, reduced a second time the city of *Ragusa*, the present year ¹. *Al Mo'tazz banishes his brother Ahmed.*

THE 254th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January 1st*, 868, *Bogâ* had like to have proved fatal to the *Khalîf Al Mo'tazz*. *Bogâ*, the *Turk*, surnamed the *Elder*, in order to distinguish him from a younger officer of the same name, observing an alteration in the *Khalîf's* conduct towards him, according to the writers followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, left the court abruptly, and retired to *Mawfel*. But he was no sooner gone, than a party of the *Khalîf's* guards pillaged his house. Upon receiving advice of this, *Bogâ* marched at the head of a body of troops he had raised towards *Sarra Manray*, under the pretext of chastising the seditious soldiers in that capital, but in reality with a reso- *Bogâ, rebels against the Khalîf, and is put to death.*

¹ Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 252. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabr. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 6.

² KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ³ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 253. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabr. et CARUS. ubi sup.

lution to be revenged on the *Khalif*. That prince, who was not ignorant of the *Turk's* ill designs, commanded *Al Walid*, the *Magrebian*, or western *Arab* (so the *African Moslems* were called) to meet him with a powerful army, and give him battle wherever he should find him. The *Magrebian* executed his master's orders with such bravery, that, after a sharp engagement, he defeated the rebels, and took *Bogâ* himself prisoner. The news of this signal victory no sooner reached *Al Mo'tazz*, than he dispatched an express with orders to *Al Walid* to cut off his prisoner's head ^u.

Bogâ the younger also put to death by the Khalif.

THE same year, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abulfeda*, *Al Mo'tazz* put *Bogâ* the younger also to death at *Sarra Manray*; which excited great murmurings amongst the *Turkish* troops, and paved the way to the deposition of that prince. About this time died *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein*, one of *Ali's* descendants, the ninth *Shiite Imâm*, and *Mazâhem Ebn Khâkân*, after he had been two years governor of *Egypt*. The latter of these was succeeded in his post by his son *Ahmed*, or *Mohammed*, as he was by *Arjûz Ebn Olugh Ebn Tarkan*, the *Turk*, and *Arjûz* by *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, an officer of *Turkish* extraction, then about thirty-four years of age, in the month of *Ramadân*. This *Ahmed* was born at *Baghdâd*, and, by the influence of the *Turks* at the *Moslem* court, had the government of *Egypt* conferred upon him; tho' his father *Tolûn* had been only one of the *Khalif's* *Al Mamûn's Turkish* slaves. He was a fast friend to the *Turks* on all emergent occasions, considering them as his friends and countrymen; though he is said to have despised the barbarous customs and genius of that nation. He has been represented as a person of uncommon greatness of soul, and of a very amiable character, by *Abu'l-Faraj* ^w.

Al Mo'tazz deposed, and starved.

THE next year, being the 255th of the *Hejra*, the *Turks* perceiving every day that the *Khalif* was resolved to get rid of them as soon as possible, they were determined to be beforehand with him. For this purpose, they elected *Saleh*, the son of *Wasîf*, whom they had formerly assassinated, their general. After this election, they marched in a body to the house of *Ahmed Ebn Isrâîl*, who was then *Al Mo'tazz's* *Visir*, and pillaged it. Not content with this, they went afterwards, with their new general, and *Mohammed Ebn Bogâ*, whose father had been beheaded by the *Khalif's* order, at their head, directly to the imperial palace; which they immediately invested, and in an insolent manner demanded their pay. The *Khalif*, at

^u KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. art. *Motaz*, p. 643.

^w ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 160.

GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 269. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 254. EUSEB. RENAUDOT. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 320. Paris. 1713. that

that time not being in a condition either to satisfy their demands, or to resist their violence, was dragged out of his palace, and at last constrained to abdicate the *Khalifat*, in the presence of *Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, and other proper witnesses, either on the 2d, the 28th, or the last, day of *Rajeb*, in favour of *Mohammed Abu Abd'allah Ebn Al Wâshek*, who afterwards assumed the name of *Al Mohtadi*. After this unexpected revolution, *Al Mo'tazz* was sent under an escorte to *Baghdâd*, where he died of thirst, according to *Khondemir*, or rather was starved to death with hunger, if we will believe the Arab historians. He reigned about four years and seven months, if we compute from his public inauguration at *Sarra Manray*; but a year less, if we make his *Khalifat* to commence immediately after the abdication of *Al Mosta'in*. His funeral service was performed by his successor *Al Mohtadi*. His prime ministers, or *Vizirs*, were *Mohammed Ebn Jaasar*, *Isa Ebn Farhanah*, *Ahmed Ebn Isrâil*, or, as he is called by *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, *Abu Mohammed Jaasar Ebn Isrâil Al Anbâri*; his generals, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, *Soliman Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâber*, and finally *Obeid'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Tbâber*; his chief judge *Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*; and his chamberlains *Wastf*, *Bogâ*, *Bâcbâc*, or *Bâkbâk*, and *Saleh Ebn Wastf*, all Turks; the last of which had the principal hand in his deposition, as well as his death, that soon after followed. As to his person, *Al Mo'tazz* had an elegant head of hair, and so handsome a face, being of a fair complexion, that he has been represented as the most beautiful person in his dominions. Nor was he at the time of his death, if we will believe *Euty chius*, above twenty-two years of age. With regard to his disposition, he was so attached to pleasures of various kinds, that he intirely neglected the government of his vast empire, and frequently acted beneath the dignity of his sublime station. The patriarch *Sanitius*, or *Sanitius* converted several unbelievers, who denied the reality of our Saviour's passion, in this prince's reign; which gave no small pleasure to the pious patriarch of *Antioch*, according to some of the *Christian* writers. The same *Sanitius* likewise, in the lieutenancy of *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, was at the expence of making several subterraneous aqueducts, by means of which the city of *Alexandria* was plentifully supplied with excellent water. If any credit may be given to *Euty chius*, the *Khalif Al Mo'tazz* appointed *Bâkbâk*, the Turk, to preside over *Egypt*; who bestowed his daughter in marriage upon *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, and constituted him his deputy in that country. And, in the month of *Ramadin*, according to the same writer, in the year of the *Hejra* 254, *Ahmed* entered *Egypt* as *Bâkbâk's* deputy only; which runs counter to what has been related by *Abu'l-Faraj* and *Abu*

Jaafar Al Tabari. *Abulfeda* relates, that when the *Turkish* militia found *Al Mo'tazz* not able to produce the money demanded of him, they offered to accept of only 50,000 *dinârs*; but that the *Khalif* having applied to his mother *Kabibah*, who was immensely rich, in vain for that small sum, they came to a resolution, in conjunction with the *Faraônians*, or *Egyptians*, and the *Magrebbians*, or western *Arabs*, to depose him. After which, continues this author, they dragged him to his chamber-door, beat him, exposed him without the palace to the burning rays of the sun, where for some time he remained in exquisite torture, buffeted him in a barbarous manner, and finally obliged him to abdicate the *Khalifat*, in the presence of proper witnesses, and particularly of *Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, the *Kadi* of *Baghdâd*. Not content with this cruel treatment, they permitted none of his subjects to bring him any nourishment for three days together, hurried him into a subterraneous vault, out of which issued a noxious and pestilential vapour, that put a period to his days, and deposited his remains in a tomb, near those of *Al Montaser*, at *Sarra Manray*. We must not forget to remark, that *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Darâni*, the author of the *Mojasseman*, or *Corporeal*, traditions, *Abu Omran Amru Ebn Babr Al Jabeth*, who left many learned works behind him, and *Mohammed Ebn Kerâm Al Sejestâni*, whose followers not only admitted a resemblance between GOD and created beings, but declared GOD to be corporeal, and from thence received the denomination of *Mojassemans*, or *Corporealists*, died the present year *.

Some farther particulars relating to this Khalif, and his mother *Fatihah*, or *Kabibah*.

EBN SHOHNAH writes, that the *Atrâk*, or *Turks*, the *Faraônah*, *Faraônians*, or *Egyptians*, and the *Magâreba*, *Magrebbians*, or western *Arabs*, as the *African Moslems* were called, assembled in a body before the imperial palace, entered it by force, and dragged *Al Mo'tazz* by his feet from the throne. After which, they beat him with clubs, and exposed his body stretched out at length to the solar rays, then extremely hot, in order to force him by such barbarous indignities to sign the resignation they had caused to be drawn up for that purpose. The same author relates, that this *Khalif's* mother's name was *Kabibah*, and not *Fatiba*, *Fatihah*, or *Fatibat*, as *Erpenius* reads it in the text of *Al Makin*; which imports homely, or ugly, and was given her by her husband *Al Motawakkel*, by way of joke, she having been one of the most beautiful women of the age. This lady amassed vast treasures during her husband's reign, and buried them in the earth after that prince's death. But the *Khalif Al Mohtadi*, after his accession, obliged her to put them into

* *KHONDEMIR*, *ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR*. *AL MAKI*, ubi sup. p. 160, 161. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. *EUTYCH*. ubi sup. p. 462—466. *ABULFAD*. ad ann. 255. *D'HERBEL*. *Biblioth. orient.* ubi sup. his

his hands. This writer farther relates, that those treasures consisted of 1,000,000 *dinars*, a *makûk*, or bushel, of emeralds, and another of pearls, together with a *kilajah* of rubies of the colour of fire. Every *kilajah* contained three *Arabic* pounds and three quarters, and every *makûk* three *kilajah's*; so that the latter amounted to eleven pounds and a quarter *Arabic* weight. Whenever *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* mentioned this princess, he said, *Kabbah ALLAH Kabihat*, i. e. GOD makes ugly, i. e. curses, this woman, who bears the name of ugly, notwithstanding she is extremely beautiful. For, though she was mistress of such immense treasures, she suffered her son *Al Mo'tazz* to be deposed and murdered, rather than part with only 50,000 *dinars*, which small sum would have satisfied the Turkish soldiery that mutinied for their pay. After *Al Mohtadi* ascended the Moslem throne, *Kabibah* quitted *Sarra Manray*, and retired to *Mecca*, where she cursed *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* in her turn, and vented her complaints against him in the following terms: *Hatak setri*, that is, *He has torn my veil*; which in modest language imports, *He has enjoyed me, he has killed my son, he has driven me from my native country, and has at last left me, in order to follow a common prostitute*.

WE are told by some of the *Arab* writers, that the *Greek Remark*. emperor *Michael* was assassinated in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'-able* *tazz*, by his general *Basilus*, in an island of the *Propontis*, whilst events in he was performing his devotions; and that, after this prince's death, the assassin mounted the imperial throne. The princ-^{this}pal reason assigned by those writers for that execrable action is, ^{prince's} *that Basilus was forced by the emperor to marry a beautiful woman, in order to cover an intrigue that prince was carrying on with her, and keep it from the empress's ears; so that not being permitted to cohabit with her, he was resolved to dispatch the person who had made so egregious a dupe of him.* The *Arabs* settled in *Crete*, of whom we have already given some account, seem to have made a descent about this time upon *Thrace*, penetrating far into the country, and committing everywhere dreadful ravages. In the 255th year of the *Hejra*, *Ebn Sofîân*, the Moslem *Emîr* in *Sicily*, was murdered by an *Arab* foldier, who afterwards made his escape to the *Christians*; after which, his son *Mohammed Ebn Khafajah* was elected *Emîr* by the *Sicilian Moslems* in his room. This election was confirmed by *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Aglabi*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, and the *Emîr* so confirmed enjoyed the government of the Moslem conquests in *Sicily* two whole years. The *Ross*, a barbarous *Scythian* nation, seated in a tract to the north of mount *Taurus*, and the ancestors of the *Russians*, after having reduced the city of *Constantinople* to great straits, returned

Y *EBN SHORNAH*. Vide etiam *ISM. ABULFED.* ubi sup.

home, and were converted to the *Christian* faith, not far from the beginning of *Al Mo'tazz's* reign *.

S E C T. XXXV.

Al Moh-tâdi succeeds him.

UPON the deposition of *Al Mo'tazz*, who was obliged by the *Turkish* troops to declare himself unequal to the government of the *Moslem* empire, *Mohammed Abu Abdallah Al Mohtadi Ebn Al Wâthek* was saluted *Khalif* at *Sarra Mansour*, and all the people of that metropolis took the oath of allegiance to him. His mother *Korb*, or *Karb*, one of *Al Wâthek's* concubines, is supposed, or rather affirmed, to have been a *Christian* by some of the *Arab* historians. *Al Mo'tazz* himself was the first, tho' this ought to be considered as the effect of compulsion, who acknowledged him *Khalif*, and gave him the surname of *Al Mohtadi Bill'ab*. This prince has been represented by the *Moslem* writers as a great lover of justice, which he distributed daily in person to all his subjects. He prohibited the use of wine, as well as gaming of all kinds, so expressly forbidden by the *Korân*, and banished from the court all fencers, soothsayers, jesters, and buffoons. He also sent away the lions and hounds that had been kept by his predecessors in the imperial palace. In order to ingratiate himself with the people, he suppressed part of the tribute that lay so heavy upon them; inspected the conduct of the judges, as well as the public accounts; and set apart two days every week, viz. *Monday* and *Thursday*, for the hearing and redressing the grievances of that part of his subjects which then appeared before him *.

A farther account of Kabihah.

AFTER *Al Mo'tazz's* violent death, his mother *Kabihah* had her life given her, tho' on condition that she discovered her immense treasures, and even deposited them in the hands of the new *Khalif Al Mohtadi*. The money found therein is said by *Abu'l-Faraj* to have amounted to 1,300,000 *dinârs*. Her son *Al Mo'tazz*, in his great distress, applied to her for only the sum of 50,000 *dinârs*, in order to appease the turbulent minds of the *Turkish* militia; which she refused him, telling him at the same time, that she was in possession of no money at all. This afterwards drew upon her a great number of curses and execrations, one of which has already been taken notice of. This year, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, the *Sassarian*, made himself master of the provinces of *Kermân* and

* EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 460—463. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 161, 162. ABULFED. ubi sup. CUROPALAT. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 550—552. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 162.

* ABU'JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 162. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 466, 467. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 270. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. ii. v. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohtadi*, p. 618.

Fārs, and seized upon the city of *Shārah*. We must not forget to observe, that *Sābūr Ebn Sabel*, the principal physician of the hospital at *ʿondīšābūr*, a man of vast erudition, who had distinguished himself by his learned writings, and particularly by a book treating of all the compound medicines used in hospitals, and prepared by the apothecaries, departed this life, in the month of *Dhu'l-hajja*, the present year ^b.

In the beginning of *Al Mohtadi's* reign, towards the end of *The Zen-* the 255th year of the *Hejra*, the *Zenjians*, or *Zinjians*, a people jians make of *Nubia*, of *Ethiopia*, and of the country of the *Cafres*, called an irrup- at this day by the moderns *Zanguebar*, according to M. *D'Her-* belot, having penetrated into *Arabia*, advanced from thence into the neighbourhood of *Basra* and *Cúfa*. *Abulfeda*, however, lem em- seems to intimate, that these *Zenjians* were originally seated in the district called *Al Sabak*, or the sandy tract in the neighbourhood of *Basra*; tho', it must be owned, *Abu Ja'afar Al Taari's* description of them not a little countenances what has been advanced by M. *D'Herbelot*, in relation to the parental country of these barbarians. The chief of this gang of robbers, who, according to some of the *Arab* historians, were little better than wild beasts, *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'al-rabmān*, one of the descendants of *Abd'alkais*, gave out falsely, that he was of the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Táleb*. This made such an impression upon the *Shiites* in those parts, that they flocked to him in vast numbers; which enabled him to seize upon the cities of *Ramla* and *Basra*, and even to pass the *Tigris*, at the head of a powerful army, which spread terror where-ever it moved. This *Ali*, who was an astrologer and a *Shiite*, as well as an impostor, began first to be taken notice of in the year of the *Hejra* 249, and at last became so formidable, that the *Khalīf's* forces could not make head against him. He, therefore, reduced most of the fortresses of *Irāk*, and a considerable part of *Arabia*; in the possession of which conquests he maintained himself fourteen years, notwithstanding all the efforts of *Al Mohtadi* and his successors to dislodge him from thence. After he had dismembered the *Khalīfat* in this manner, he assumed the title of *Sahēb Al Zenj*, the prince of the *Zenjians*, in order to ingratiate himself with those barbarians, of which the greatest part of his army was composed. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Erpenius* calls this people *Ribi*, or *Ribans*, in his *Latin* version of *Al Makin*; and that this mistake arose from a wrong reading of the punctuation of the *Arabic* letters, as the forms of the characters of the word *Rib*, without the diacritical points of the

^b GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 269, 270. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

first and last of them, are the same with those of the letters constituting the word *Zenj* ^c.

*The Visir
is mur-
dered.*

THE following year, being the 256th of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 9th, 869, and not the preceding year, as we find intimated by M. D'Herbelot, who, in this point perhaps, has followed the *Persian* historians, *Músa Ebn Bogá*, general of the forces of the *Khalifat*, who had been employed in the expedition undertaken against *Al Hasan Ebn Yezid*, having been apprized of the death of the *Khalif Al Mo'tazz*, who had been cut off soon after his abdication, returned from *Ta-brestán* and *Ray* with his army into *Irák*. Soon after his arrival there, being informed that *Saleh Ebn Wasif* was the new *Khalif's* *Visir*, he quitted the camp he had formed in the neighbourhood of *Baghdád*, and marched directly to *Sarra Manray*; declaring publicly his intention to take vengeance of those who had been concerned in the late revolt. This declaration was chiefly levelled at *Saleh Ebn Wasif*, who had been principally instrumental in the death, as well as the deposition, of *Al Mo'tazz*. *Saleh*, conscious of his guilt, and not having a sufficient number of troops to oppose *Músa*, hid himself at his approach. But being soon discovered, he was brought before the general, who commanded his head immediately to be struck off; and, the day following, it was carried, by *Músa's* order, through the streets of *Sarra Manray*; the person carrying it at the same time crying out with a loud voice, *This is the head of a traitor, who has imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign* ^d.

*The Kha-
lif is de-
posed, and
slain.*

THE murder of *Saleh* greatly incensed the *Khalif*, who thereupon came to a resolution to repress the insolence of the *Turkish* troops; which so excited their hatred, that *Bánkiál* and *Músa Ebn Bogá*, their chiefs, conspired his destruction. This conspiracy, however, was not kept so secret, but that some news of it transpired; upon which, the *Khalif* ordered *Bánkiál*, who was to have acted the principal part in it, to be put under arrest. This so exasperated the *Turks*, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner about the imperial palace, and demanded the releasement of their chief. The *Khalif*, far from being intimidated by their riotous behaviour, instead of complying with their demand, ordered *Bánkiál's* head to be instantly cut off, and thrown amongst them out of the palace. But this instance of severity was so far from appeasing the sedition, that it rendered the *Turks* more furious and intractable; insomuch that a fierce conflict

^c ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 162, 163.

I M. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 618.

^d A U JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 163. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohitadi*, ubi sup.

ensued

ensued between them and the *Magrebi*ans, who defended the *Khalif*, before the palace, in which about 4000 on both sides were slain. The *Turks*, however, returning to the charge with a body of 10,000 men, under the conduct of *Tagarhâ*, *Bânkîâl*'s brother, put the *Magrebi*ans, who had been reinforced by a body of *Faraônian* troops, to flight, and pursued *Al Mohtadi* himself into the house of *Mohammed Ebn Mar-dâd*. Being taken from thence, he was conducted to that of *Abmed Ebn Khâkân*; where some of the mutineers began to spit in his face, and to beat him, in order to force him to abdicate the *Khalifat*. But he refusing to do this, they barbarously trampled upon his privities till he expired; which happened on the 16th of the month *Rajeb*, before he had quite completed the first year of his reign. Some authors relate, that *Al Mohtadi* received two wounds in the last action between the *Turkish Magrebian* and *Faraônian* troops; and that he was finally dispatched by one of *Pânkîâl*'s relations, who, after his death, drank a draught of his blood. He was buried at *Sarra Manray*, and *Jaasar Ebn Abd'allah Al Hâshemi*, his judge, said the funeral service at his interment. He was about thirty-eight, or thirty-nine, years of age at the time of his death. With regard to his person, *Al Mohtadi* was of a middle stature, somewhat bald, and of a swarthy complexion. He had, however, a handsome face, a portly gate, and a long black beard. As to his disposition, he was abstemious, devout, a lover of justice, of a sweet temper, and exemplary life, and in his manners greatly resembled the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaxiz*. His *Visirs* were *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* and *Abu Ayûb Ebn Abmed*; his judges *Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawârib* and *Jaasar Ebn Abd'allah Al Hâshemi*; the captain of his guards *Obeid'allah Ebn Abd'allah*; and his chamberlains *Bânkîâl* and *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*. The first and last days of his reign were *Tuesday*, and the inscription of his seal, *He who transgresses the rules of justice, or exceeds what is right, goes astray* *.

S E C T. XXXVI.

AFTER the barbarous murder of *Al Mohtadi*, the assassins *Al Mo-* created *Ahmed Abu'l Abbâs Al Mo'tamed Ala'llah Ebn Al tamed Motawakkel Khalif*. His mother's name, according to some created writers, was *Fynân*, or, as others affirm, *Kynân*. He took for *Khalif*. his principal counsellor, or *Visir*, *Abd'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkân*, who, if we will believe *Eutychius*, had served his father *Al Motawakkel* in the same capacity; tho' his brother *Al Mowaffek* had so great an ascendant over him, and used

* *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 163, 164. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, D'HER-BEL, & ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.*

the authority he gave him in so absolute a manner, that he seemed to be master of the *Khalifat*. Nay, he had so much influence over his brother's councils, that he excluded *Al Motamed's* son from the succession, and caused his own to be elevated to the *Moslem* throne in his room, as will be seen in the sequel of this history ^f.

The progress of the rebel Al Habib.

THE same year, that is, the 256th of the *Hejra*, *Ali*, or *Al Habib*, as he is called by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, prince of the *Zenjians*, who was now become extremely formidable, made incursions almost to the very gates of *Baghdad*, doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. The *Khalif*, therefore, sent *Jalan*, one of his generals, with a considerable army against him. But the *Zenjian* overthrew him with very great slaughter, made himself master of twenty-four of the *Khalif's* largest ships in the bay of *Basra*, put a vast number of the inhabitants of *Obolla* to the sword, and seized upon the town. Not content with this, he set fire to it, and soon reduced it to ashes; the houses consisting for the most part of the wood of a certain plane-tree denominated by the *Arabs* *Saj*. From thence he marched to *Abadan*, which likewise surrendered to him. Here he found an immense treasure in money, which enabled him to possess himself of the whole province of *Abwaz*. In fine, his army being now increased to 80,000 strong, the greatest part of the citizens of *Basra* abandoned the place; which struck with terror all the inhabitants of the adjacent territories, and even the court of the *Khalif* itself.

Al Habib continues victorious in the year 257;

THE next year, being the 257th of the *Hejra*, beginning November 29th, 870, *Al Habib* attacked *Sa'id Ebn Jaafar Ebn Dinan*, at the head of the *Khalif's* forces, and intirely defeated him; killing many of his men upon the spot, and more in the pursuit. He also routed several other armies sent against him by the *Khalif*, reduced *Basra*, and put 20,000 of the citizens to the sword, before the conclusion of the campaign. The people of *Toledo* rebelled about this time against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahman*, the *Khalif* of *Spain*, and chose one *Mohammed Ebn Lab* for their general; but, upon the approach of the *Khalif* with a powerful army, they thought fit to submit to him, and sent hostages for their future good behaviour to *Corduba*. We must not forget to remark, that *Amajur* drove *Isa Ebn Sheikh* out of *Syria*, where he had set up for himself against the *Khalif*, the preceding year; and that, about the same time, the famous *Imam Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Ismael*, surnamed *Al Jofi*, as deducing his origin from the tribe

^f ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 164, 165. KRONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, & EUTYCH. ubi sup.

^g ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. 256. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motamed*. of

of *Ysfab* in *Yaman*, tho' generally called *Al Bokhâri*, died at *Mharbak*, or *Kbartank*, a small town about two parafangs from *Samarkand*. In the 257th year of the *Hajra*, *Al Hayan Ebn Zeid*, one of *Ali*'s descendants, who had possessed himself of *Tabrestân*, seized likewise upon *Jorjân*; and *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, the *Saffarian*, made himself master of *Balkh* and *Câbûl*. Before the close of the same year, died *Abu'l Abbâs*, a famous grammarian, known by the name of *Al Rayash*. *Mohammed Ebn Kbafajah*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, according to *Abulfeda*, was murdered by some of his eunuchs, who were afterwards taken and put to death, and succeeded by *Ahmed Ebn Yakûb*, sent over by *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Aglabi*, the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, for that purpose, and *Malta* was conquered by the *Sicilian Moslems*, the present year ^h.

DURING the course of the following year, *Al Habib*, the and in the *Zenjian* prince, still remained victorious over the *Khalîf's* year 258. troops. *Al Mo'tamed*, supported by his brother *Al Mowaffek*, had formed a design to confine within narrower bounds, at least, if not directly to annihilate, the power of the *Turkish* soldiery, which had proved so fatal to several of his predecessors; they having, for a considerable time, given law to the *Khalîfs*, and elevated or deposed them as they pleased. But the *Zenjians* made so rapid a progress this year in *Persia*, *Arabia*, and *Irâk*, that he was obliged to suspend the execution of that design, and even to send the *Turkish* troops to join those commanded by his brother *Al Mowaffek*, in order to oppose them. The first of the *Khalîf's* generals overthrown by *Al Habib* was one *Mohammed*, whose army was worsted in several engagements, and at last intirely cut to pieces by the rebels. This year, *Al Mo'tamed* called his brother *Abu Ahmed Ebn Al Motawakkel* to the succession, gave him the surname of *Al Mowaffek*, together with a most sumptuous vest, and appointed him to preside over *Diyâr Rabia*, *Mawfel*, *Al Awâsem*, and *Egypt*. He also caused his own son *Jaasar*, whom he surnamed *Al Mofawed*, to be publicly declared the heir apparent to the crown, and assigned him the prefecture of the west. After this, he sent *Al Mowaffek* and *Mosleh*, with a numerous army, to reduce the rebel *Al Habib*; who, in pursuance of their orders, came up with him, and attacked him with very great bravery. But *Mosleh* being killed with an arrow, *Al Mo'tamed's* troops were at last obliged to leave the field of battle to the *Zenjians*, and re-

^h ABU JAASAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 165. EUTYCH. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. cap. xxviii. p. 24. ISM. ABULFED. excerpt. ex cod. MS. Biblioth. D. Laurent. Escur. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 18. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

ture, after having sustained a very considerable loss. However, *Al Mowaffek* soon rallied his forces, that were put into disorder by the death of *Mosleh*, and drew them up in such order, that the enemy durst not renew the attack. Some time after, there happened a very sharp action between the *Khalif's* forces and the rebels, commanded by *Yabya Ebn Mohammed Al Azrak*, who was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner. Several other battles were fought between the contending parties before the conclusion of the campaign, from whence no great advantages accrued to either side. But at last some contagious distempers carrying off considerable numbers of *Al Mowaffek's* men, he found himself obliged to agree to a sort of truce, or cessation of arms, with the enemy, and to retire to *Wâset*, in order to refresh and repose his troops. As for *Yabya Ebn Mohammed*, who had fallen into his hands before, he had sent him under an escorte to *Sarra Manray*; where, soon after his arrival, he received two hundred stripes, had his hands and feet chopt off, and was cut to pieces by a detachment of the *Khalif's* guards. The body was afterwards reduced to ashes, and thrown into the *Tigris*, in the presence of an infinite number of spectators, of all ranks and degrees, who attended the execution¹.

The war
continues
between
the Khalif
and Al
Habib.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 259, commencing November 7th, 872, the war still continued between the *Khalif* and *Al Habib*. *Al Mowaffek*, upon his arrival at *Baghdâd*, sent *Mohammad*, surnamed *Al Mowalled*, with a powerful army to act against the *Zenjians*; but he could not hinder them from ravaging the province of *Abwâz*, cutting off there about 50,000 of the *Khalif's* subjects, and dismantling the city of the same name. However, *Al Mo'tamed* commanded *Abd'alrahman Ebn Mosleh* to march with a body of troops to *Abwâz*, *Ishak Ebn Daraj* with another to *Basra*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Simâ* with a third to *Dawrad*. But, notwithstanding all the *Khalif's* efforts, or rather those of his generals, his forces could gain no considerable advantage over *Al Habib*, tho' several battles were fought. About this time, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit* made himself master of *Nisabâr*, and threw *Mohammad*, the *Tâherian*, who had before enjoyed the sovereignty of the province of *Khorasan* under this *Khalif*, with all his family and domestics, into prison. About the same time, died *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa Ebn Shaker*, one of the mathematicians employed by the *Khalif Al Mamûn* to discover the true ambit, or circumference, of the earth. This year, a body of the *Sicilian Moslems* seized upon the city of *Salerno*, but were soon after all cut to pieces there².

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 165, 166. KHONDEMIR, ABULFED. ad ann. 258. EUTYCH ubi sup. p. 468, 469.

² ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi

THE following year, being the 260th of the *Hejra*, the *And in the* *Arabs* cut to pieces *Manjûr*, the governor of *Hems*, and sub-year 260. stituted *Bešimâr* in his room. About the same time, *Al Hasan Al Askari*, the eleventh *Shiite Imâm*, *Al Hasan Ebn Sabab Al Zafarâni*, one of *Al Sbâfeî's* followers, and *Honain Ebn Isbak Al Ebadi*, a famous physician, who translated the *Elements* of *Euclid*, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, and several other pieces, out of *Greek* into *Arabic*, departed this life. This year the *Khalif's* generals likewise made several attempts to drive the *Zenjians* out of the *Moslem* territories; but without effect. For, *Al Habîb* maintained himself in his conquests, notwithstanding there happened several vigorous actions between his troops and the *Khalif's* forces, in which many brave men fell on both sides!

IN the 261st year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October 16th*, *The mili-* 874, *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel*, who had killed the *Khalif's* go- tary ope- vernor of *Fars*, and afterwards made himself master of that rations in province, engaged several times the *Zenjian* forces command- 261. ed by *Al Habîb*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; but with what success, we have not been told by that author. The *Khalif*, having been apprized of the state of affairs on that side, annexed the government of *Fârs*, *Abwâz*, *Basra*, and *Babrein*, to the prefecture he had assigned *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, whom he looked upon as one of the best generals he had. *Mûsa*, soon after his nomination to that sublime post, dispatched *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mosleh* as his deputy to *Abwâz*, and joined to him, as his colleague and assistant, *Tîsam* the *Turk*. But *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel*, then at the head of his troops in *Abwâz*, refusing to obey the orders of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mosleh* and *Tîsam*, a fierce conflict ensued; in which the latter were overthrown with very great slaughter, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mosleh* taken prisoner. After the end of the action, *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel* advanced to *Esfakbr*, in order to attack *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ's* forces, incamped at a small distance from that place. But *Mûsa*, having received intelligence of his design, retired at his approach; and, finding that he could not take possession of his new government, nor fix his deputies in the provinces assigned them, without a vast effusion of *Moslem* blood, he recalled them from thence, and made the best of his way to *Sarra Manray*. After which, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, who had before dispossessed of the province of *Khorasân* the family of *Thâber*, that had for a considerable time enjoyed the sovereignty of it, made an irruption into *Abwâz*, defeated *Mohammed Ebn Wâsel*, and seized upon his palace, in which he found

ubi sup. p. 166. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 259. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 260.

ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

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a sum of money amounting to 40,000,000 *dirhems*. Some authors write, that *Al Mo'tamed* declared *Jaasar*, his son, the heir apparent to the crown, and called *Al Mowaffek*, his brother, to the succession after him, the present year. But in this point we chuse to follow *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, who is of a contrary opinion. The dynasty of the *Sammamians*, in *Khorasan*, according to *Ebn Shohnab* and *Abulfeda*, commenced the present year. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aylab*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwan*, died in the former *Jomada*, after he had reigned twenty years, five months, and fifteen days. He was succeeded by his brother *Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*, who extended the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*, and gained several signal victories there^m.

The Kha-
lif's forces
defeat Ya-
kub Ebn
Al Leit;

THE next year, being the 262d of the *Hejra*, commencing October 5th, 875, the rebel *Yakub Ebn Al Leit*, called *Yakub Ebn Leith* by the *Persian* historians, being grown formidable by the acquisition of *Abwaz*, and a considerable part of *Fars*, at least of *Al Jebel*, or the *Persian Irak*, without having openly declared against the *Khalif*, pulled off the mask, and advanced at the head of a powerful army into the neighbourhood of *Baghdad*. In order, therefore, to put a stop to the progress of so dangerous an enemy, who had already made himself master of *Waset*, *Al Mo'tamed* sent *Al Mowaffek* with the forces of the empire against him. That general, in pursuance of his orders, advanced first to *Baghdad*, whither he was attended by the *Khalif*, and at last came up with *Ebn Al Leit* at a village named *Katul*. Here, after a bloody engagement, he overthrew him with incredible slaughter, plundered his camp, and pursued him into *Khorasan*; where meeting with no opposition, he entered *Nisabur*, and released *Mohammed the Thaberjan*, who had been detained in prison by *Yakub Ebn Al Leit* three whole years. As for *Ebn Al Leit* himself, who was the first prince, or *Sultan*, of the race or dynasty of the *Saffarians*, he made his escape with great difficulty after the late defeat; though he and his family maintained themselves several years in the possession of many of the conquests he had made. The war waged by the *Khalif* against *Ebn Al Leit* proved a seasonable diversion in favour of *Al Habib*, who routed all the troops sent by *Al Mo'tamed* to reduce him to his obedience, and ravaged the district of *Waset*, the present yearⁿ.

but are
over-

THE following year, being the 263d of the *Hejra*, beginning September 24th, 876, the *Khalif's* forces, under the

^m ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 166, 169. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 637, 638. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 271. EBN SMOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. ⁿ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi

command of *Ahmed Ebn Lebûna*, gained two considerable advantages over *Al Habib's* troops; but being at last drawn into *Al Habib's* ambuscade, they were almost intirely destroyed. *Ahmed*, their general, himself, with great difficulty, made his escape °.

In the 264th year of the *Hejra*, commencing September 3th, 877, the *Arabs* made an incursion into the imperial territories, under the conduct of *Abd'allah Ebn Rasbid Ebn Kâwûs*, with a body of 4000 horse, put a considerable number of the emperor's subjects to the sword, and committed dreadful ravages in the provinces through which they moved. But the *Greeks* came up with them at a small distance from the *Badandîn*, cut the greatest part of them in pieces, and took *Abd'allah Ebn Rasbid* himself prisoner. After which, they sent him under an escorte to *Constantinople*. About the same time, *Amajûr* the *Khalif's* governor of *Damascus*, *Kabibah*, the *Khalif's* mother, *Abu Ibrahim Al Mazânî*, and *Yundûs Ebn Abd'alala*, two scholars of the famous *Al Shâfi'i*, departed this life. This year, a detachment of *Al Habib's* troops advanced to *Wâset*, drove the inhabitants out of the town, and then laid it in ashes; carrying off with them from thence an immense quantity of spoil. One of the *Arab* writers mentions several smart engagements between the *Zenjians* and the *Khalif's* forces after that tragical event; but does not inform us that any thing decisive happened on either side. *Mâsa Ebn Bogâ*, the best of the *Turkish* officers in *Al Mo'tamed's* service, dying about this time, the influence his nation had at the *Moslem* court was intirely lost; insomuch that the *Turkish* troops now intirely obeyed the *Khalif's* orders independently on their chiefs P.

THE next year, being the 265th of the *Hejra*, beginning September 3d, 878, *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn* rebelled against the *Ebn To-Khalif*, and set up for himself in *Egypt*. Having assembled a considerable force, he marched to *Antioch*, and besieged *Simâ*, the *Khalif's* governor of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and all the provinces known amongst the *Arabs* by the name of *Al Awâsem*, in that city. As the besieged found that he was resolved to carry the place by assault, they thought fit, after a short defence, to surrender to him, and to put *Simâ* into his hands. *Ahmed* no sooner found himself in possession of that officer, than he struck off his head, and advanced to *Aleppo*, which opened its gates at his approach. Soon after, he reduced *Dimishk*, or *Damascus*, *Hems*, *Hamath*, *Kinnisrin*, and *Al Rakka*, situated upon the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. This rebellion so

ubi sup. p. 169. Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ABUL-FED. ad an. Hej. 262. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 638.

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

? GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.

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exasperated *Al Mo'tamed*, that he commanded *Abmed* to be publickly cursed in all the mosques of *Baghdâd* and *Irâk*; and *Abmed*, on his part, ordered the same solemn malediction to be thundered out in all the mosques within his jurisdiction against the *Khalif*. The same year, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, having set on foot a powerful army, moved a second time towards *Baghdâd*; but was seized with a violent cholic on his march, of which he died, after eleven years reign, if we will suppose it to have commenced when he first entered *Persia* in a hostile manner, and was succeeded by his brother *Amru Ebn Al Leit*. A detachment of *Al Habib*'s troops penetrated into *Irâk*, and made themselves masters of four of the *Khalif*'s ships, laden with corn, the present campaign. They also advanced to *Nemânia*, laid the greatest part of it in ashes, and carried off with them several of the inhabitants prisoners. They likewise possessed themselves of *Jarjarâyâ*, where they found many prisoners more, and destroyed all the adjacent territory with fire and sword. About the same time, died *Ibrahim Ebn Hani Ak Nisabûri*, a celebrated *Mohammedan* saint. The *Moslems* of *Sicily* fixed themselves this year in *Syracuse*, and seized upon all the dependencies of that place. 'Tis worthy observation, that there were three powers at this time in the *Moslem* empire independent on the *Khalif*, besides the house of *Aglab* in *Africa*, and that of *Ommiyah* in *Spain*; namely, one in *Syria* and *Egypt*, another in *Khorasân*, and another in *Arabia* and *Irâk*.

The most memorable events that happened in the year of the Hejra 266. In the 266th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *August* 23d, 879, *Al Habib* reduced *Râmbormoz*, burnt the stately mosque there to the ground, put a vast number of the inhabitants to the sword, carried many of them away with him prisoners, and acquired an immense quantity of spoil. In *Sicily*, *Krisaf* was killed this year. *Al Hasan Ebn Al Abbâs* was also sent from *Kairwân* to that island in quality of *Emîr*; who, soon after his arrival, ravaged the *Christian* territories in a dreadful manner. *Mohammed Ebn Abû'alrahmân* ordered a good number of ships to be constructed at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, *Seville*, and other maritime towns, where materials for shipping were to be found. But these being afterwards almost intirely destroyed by tempests and storms, the sailors on board them for the most part drowned, and *Abd'alamid*, his admiral himself, narrowly escaping with his life, that prince laid aside his design of making a figure by sea.

AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 169. KHONDEMIR, ABULFED. ad an. Hġ. 264. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. 9 GREG.

ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 169, 170. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 252. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 265. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. ubi sup.

ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 170. Chron.

THE 267th year of the *Hejra*, commencing August 12th, The mili-
 380, produced several actions of éclat between the *Zenjians* tary ope-
 and the *Khalif's* troops. *Al Mowaffek*, attended by his son rations of
Abu'l Abbâs Al Mo'tadbed Bi'lla, took the field with an army the year
 consisting of some infantry and a body of ten thousand horse. 267.
 On the other side, *Al Habib* appeared at the head of an army,
 to oppose him, amounting to an hundred thousand men. But,
 notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, the *Arabs* over-
 threw the *Zenjians* in several pitched battles, recovered most of
 the towns they had taken, together with an immense quantity
 of spoil, and released 5000 *Moslem* women that had been de-
 tained in prison by those barbarians. After these victories, *Al*
Mowaffek took post before the city of *Al Mabi'a*, that had been
 built by *Al Habib*, and was the place of his residence, burnt all
 the ships in the harbour, thoroughly pillaged the town, and
 then intirely dismantled it. Here he likewise found treasures
 of exceeding great value. After the reduction of *Al Mabi'a*,
 he pursued the flying enemy, defeated several bodies of the *Zen-*
jian troops, put to the sword *Ebn Al Sa'râb*, *Ebn Jâm*, and
 others of their chiefs, and advanced to *Al Mokhtara*, a city that
 had been strongly fortified by *Al Habib*. As the *Zenjian* had
 collected all his forces into a body, and was posted at no great
 distance from the town, according to *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*,
 with an army of 300,000 men, and the place was almost im-
 pregnable; *Al Mowaffek* plainly perceived, that it would
 sustain a very long siege. He therefore built a fortress oppo-
 site to it, in which he erected a mosque, and coined both *dir-*
bêms and *dinârs*. The new city, from its founder, was called
 by the *Arabs* *Al Mowaffekia*, and soon rendered considerable by
 the settlement of several wealthy merchants in it. By this
 means, *Al Mowaffek* thought to starve *Al Mokhtara* to a sur-
 render, and actually reduced it to very great straits; which
 occasioned an incredible desertion amongst *Al Habib's* troops.
 However, *Al Mowaffek* having, with his battering engines,
 made a practicable breach in the walls, took the place by
 storm, after a great resistance on the part of the besieged, in
 the latter *Jomâda*, and gave it up to his soldiers to be plun-
 dered till the month of *Sbaabân*. After which, he put to flight
Al Habib's numerous forces, and dispersed them in such a man-
 ner, that the *Zenjian* found it impossible to rally them du-
 ring the remainder of the campaign. Two persons were
 struck dead by lightning by *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân's*
 side in a mosque at *Corduba*, and a general earthquake hap-

Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. ISM, ABULFED. excerpt. ex Cod. MS.
 Biblioth. D. Laurent. Escurial. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.
 p. 19. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

pened in Spain, whose dreadful concussions were felt in every part of that country, the present year ¹.

Al Mowaffek THE following year, being the 268th of the *Hijra*, *Al Mowaffek* penetrated a second time to *Al Mabiya*, demolished again the fortifications of that place, which he carried by assault, though *Al Habib* and his troops that defended the town disputed every inch of ground. This year, one *Lala* began to rebel against his master *Ahmed Ebn Taldn* in Egypt ².

Al Mowaffek In the 269th year of the *Hijra*, commencing July 21st, 882, *Al Mowaffek* attacked *Al Habib* with unparalleled bravery, and had intirely defeated him, had he not been wounded in the breast by an arrow, which obliged him to retire out of the heat of the action, and to found a retreat. However, as soon as he was cured of his wound, he advanced a third time to *Al Mabiya*, made himself master of that metropolis, threw down the walls that had been raised again by the *Zenjian* prince, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried a vast number of them away with him into captivity. The same year, *Lala* went over to *Al Mowaffek*, and engaged upon certain conditions to act against his former master *Ahmed Ebn Taldn*. Soon after which, *Al Mowaffek* caused *Ahmed* to be publicly cursed in all the mosques of *Baghdad* and *Irak* ³.

Al Mowaffek THE next year, being the 270th of the *Hijra*, beginning July 11th, 883, *Al Mowaffek* penetrated again to *Al Mabiya*, possessed himself of that city, demolished *Al Habib*'s palace there, seized upon his family, and sent them to *Sarra Murray*; the that rebel and usurper, who had made such havock in the *Moslem* empire, himself found means to escape. However, *Al Mowaffek* pursued him into the province of *Abwas*, and intirely defeated the shattered forces that he had rallied there. As for *Al Habib* himself, he now fell into the hands of the victor, who ordered his head to be cut off, and carried upon the point of a lance through a great part of the region whose repose he had so long disturbed. After which, he sent it by his son *Al Mo'tadhed Bi'lla* to *Baghdad*, where it was exposed to public view, and then fixed upon one of the gates of the city. As *Al Habib* first appeared in arms against the *Khalif* the 26th of *Ramaddn*, in the year of the *Hijra* 255, and was put to death the second of *Safar* 270, he reigned over the *Zenjians*, that had rendered themselves so formidable to two

¹ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 170, 171. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hc. 267. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. Chronic. Cantabrigienf. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

² ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 171. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 470—473.

³ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 171, 172. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ABULFED. ad an. 269.

Khalifs, about fourteen years and four months. By the last victory, which was complete, *Al Mowaffek* acquired the glorious title of *Al Nasr Lidnillab*, or *Al Nasser Ledinillab*, that is, the protector of *Islâm*, or *Mohammedism*; which was given him by the *Khalif Al Mo'tamed*, his brother; and he continued to govern the *Khalifat* under that title to the time of his death.

THE same year died *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, on the 18th of *Ahmed Dhu'lhajja*, or, as some will have it, the 18th of *Dhu'lkaada*, *Ebn Tolûn* died. It has been observed by *Al Makin*, that, when he was at the point of death, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, "O LORD! forgive thy servant, whose load of guilt is too great for him to comprehend, and shew thyself merciful to him at the time of his death." He left behind him 33 sons, one of which, named *Khamarawiyah*, succeeded him in the dynasty he had founded. He is said to have been a strict observer of justice, and of so charitable a disposition, that he gave away every month in alms 300,000 *dinârs*. He distributed likewise every month amongst the ecclesiastics of the best repute 1000 *dinârs*, and spent the same sum in his kitchen every day. Some authors write, that, during the time he presided over *Egypt*, he sent to *Baghdâd*, to be distributed amongst men of learning and probity, as likewise the poor and the sick, no less than 2,200,000 *dinârs*. He left in the treasury at his death 10,000,000 *dinârs*; which, considering the money he spent and gave away in his life-time, was a prodigious sum. His servants and slaves amounted to 7000, his horses to the same number, his mules and camels to 8000, and his war-horses to 300. All this was his own peculiar property, and bore no relation to the public. The revenue of *Egypt* in his time, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, did not fall short of 300,000,000 *dinârs*. Notwithstanding his good qualities, he is reported to have been extremely cruel, and guilty of a vast effusion of human blood; having either put to death, or starved in prison, at least 18,000 persons. Seventeen sons, and as many daughters, not thirty-three sons, as some writers affirm, survived him, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Al Hasan Ebn Zeid*, one of *Ali's* descendants, who had reigned near twenty years in *Tabrestân*, and was succeeded by his brother *Mohammed Ebn Zeid*, *Mohammed Ebn Ibak Ebn Jaafar Al Sagâni*, and *Dawd Ebn Ali Al Esfabâni*, a celebrated *Imâm*, who denied any assimilation of God to created beings, died likewise this year ². IN

¹ *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 172, 173. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. p. 441. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 468, 469. *ABULNED.* ad an. 270. *D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient.* ubi sup.

² *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 173. *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 472-475.

The Kha- IN the 271st year of the *Hejra*, commencing June 29th,
lif's forces 884, a sharp and bloody engagement happened between the
defeated *Khalif's* forces, commanded by *Al Mowaffek's* son, and those
by those of of *Khamarawiyah*, who had made an irruption into Syria.
Khamar- This battle was fought between *Al Ramla* and *Dimishk*, or
rawiyah. *Damascus*. *Khamarawiyah* was charged so hotly in the be-

ginning of the action, that his men began to give way; upon which he fled with great precipitation even to the borders of *Egypt*, taking for granted that every thing was lost. But his troops, not having been apprized of their general's flight, afterwards rallied, and gained a complete victory. This year, died *Tûrân Bint Al Hasan Ebn Sabel*, the wife of the *Khalif Al Mamûn*, as we learn from *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*.

Nothing
 remark-
 able hap-
 pened the
 following
 year.

THE following year, being the 272d of the *Hejra*, produced no memorable event in the *Moslem* empire. *Khamarawiyah* having won the hearts of his subjects by his mild and gentle administration, though he was now but twenty-two years of age, and kept on foot a large body of troops that he could intirely depend upon, *Al Mowaffek* found it impossible to make any impression upon *Egypt* the present year. Before the conclusion of it, a person of distinction was sent from the imperial court, to ransom the *Syracusans* that had been taken prisoners by the *African Moslems* about six or seven years before *.

Moham-
 med Ebn
 Abd'al-
 rahmân
 dies in
 Spain.

DURING the whole course of the 273d year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Mo'tamed* gave himself up intirely to indolence and pleasure; so that *Al Mowaffek* alone held the reins of the *Moslem* empire. However, he could neither regain *Khorasân*, nor *Egypt*. *Abu Dawud Solimân Al Sejestâni* and *Mohammed Ebn Yezid Ebn Majah Al Kaxwini*, two famous *Semite* authors, as also *Khâled Ebn Ahmed*, who had been governor of *Khorasân*, departed this life, the present year. About the same time, died *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, the *Khalif* of *Spain*, at *Corduba*, in the 60th, or, according to *Abu'l-jeda*, who stiles him the *Emir* of *Andalusia*, in the 65th, year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. Being walking in his royal gardens, a little before his death, one of the soldiers of his guards said to him, "What fine gardens are these that we walk in, how beautiful is the present day, and what a delightful age would this be, were it possible to avoid being arrested by death!" To which the *Khalif* replied, "Thou

D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, p. 272. apud JOAN. SWINTONUM, A. M. OXON. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 270.

* ABU JAAFAH AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 271.

* EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 476—479. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

"art

“ art mistaken in thy last remark ; since, had it not been for
 “ death, I should never have swayed the *Moslem* sceptre of
 “ *Spain*.” He left thirty-three sons behind him. *Al Mondar*, his successor, one of them, was at the baths of *Almeria* when the *Khalif* expired ; but, upon receiving advice of his father’s decease, he posted away with all possible celerity to *Corduba*, and ascended the throne there in the 43d year of his age^a.

THE next year, being the 274th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* *An action*
Al Motamed pursued the same course of life, and left the go-^{between}
 vernment of the *Khalifat* intirely to his brother *Al Mowaffek*.^{the} Chri-
 This year, there was an action in *Sicily* between the *Christians* and
 and the *African Moslems*, as we learn from the *Cambridge*^{the} Mos-
Cbronicon ; but whether or no any advantage accrued from ^{lems.}
 thence to either of the contending parties, we are not certainly
 informed^b.

In the 275th year of the *Hejra*, *Khamarawiyah* received ad-^{The trans-}
 vice, that one *Mobammed Ebn Diwadâd*, called by some au-^{actions of}
 thors *Abu’l Saj*, had taken post at *Damascus* with a powerful^{the} fol-
 army ; upon which, he assembled all his forces, and made^{lowing}
 the proper dispositions for a march, in order to attack him.^{year.}
 This year, *Al Mowaffek* sent his son to prison, and confined
 him there, till he was seized by that sickness which put a pe-
 riod to his days. About the same time, *Abu Sa’id Al Hosein*
Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abd’allah, a famous grammarian and phi-
 lologer, departed this life. The machine of government at
Sarra Manray was moved in the same manner this year as
 the preceding. *Al Mondar* behaved with great liberality and
 munificence to his subjects in *Spain*, and even remitted the
 taxes, or tenths, paid by the people of *Corduba* ; notwithstand-
 ing which, they rebelled against him. This so exasperated
 him, that he resolved to take vengeance of them for their in-
 gratitude, as well as their disobedience. But he died on his
 march to their city, before he could carry his design into exe-
 cution. He reigned only two years, and left six sons and
 seven daughters behind him. However, the army elected *Ab-*
d’allah, his brother, in prejudice to his eldest son, to succeed
 him. As soon as the people of *Corduba* were apprized of this,
 they opened their gates to the new *Khalif*, and met with a
 favourable reception from him. After which, he buried his
 brother, the deceased *Khalif*, in a manner suitable to his high
 rank, and presided above twenty-five years over the *Moslems*
 in *Spain*^c.

* KRONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ABULFED. in
 chron. ad an. Hej. 273.

^b KRONDEMIR, CHRONIC. SIC. CANTABRIGIENS. ubi sup.

^c EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad an.
 Hej. 275. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxix. p. 25.

And those

of the year marawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolun led his army against Moham-
276. med Ebn Diwadad, or Abu'l Sâj, and overthrew him in a great

battle at *Al Bathnia*, not far from the city of *Damascus*; after which, he advanced to *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, and made himself master of that place. Having annexed several large provinces to his former dominions, and left some of his friends that he could confide in to preside over them, he returned into *Egypt*, the principal part of his empire, which now extended from the *Euphrates* to the borders of *Nubia* and *Ethiopia*. The cities of *Lisbon*, *Seville*, &c. in *Spain*, rebelled this year against *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'atrahman*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, there, at the instigation of *Omar Ebn AlHasan*, who headed the troops of those rebellious cities. But *Abd'allah* having assembled a numerous army, in order to reduce them to his obedience, they thought fit to lay down their arms; upon which, *Abd'allah* received them into favour, and pardoned *Omar Ebn Al Hasan*, who had first excited them to a revolt. The civil dissensions and intestine broils that reigned in *Seville*, which had occasioned no small effusion of blood, greatly facilitated the submission and reduction of that place. About this time, died *Abd'almalec Ebn Mohammed Al Rakashi*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Moslem*, a celebrated *Mohammedan* author. The *African Moslems* made themselves masters of an imperial fleet, and put 5000 imperialists to the sword, at *Melazzo* in *Sicily*; after which, the inhabitants of that town fled to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, the present year ^d.

A rebel-
lion in
Spain.

THE next year, being the 277th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mowaffek* presided over the *Khalifat* in the same manner as he had done the preceding years; *Al Mo'tamed* not concerning himself at all in the affairs of government. *Omar Ebn Al Hasan* rebelled again in *Spain*; cutting off the heads of several commandants of towns, and committing other outrages in various parts. However, he was at last driven by *Abd'allah* out of the *Moslem* territories, and obliged to fly to the *Christians* for refuge; when, in order to ingratiate himself the more with them, he is said by *Roderic* to have been baptized, and made profession of the *Christian* faith. We are told by the *Cambridge Chronicon*, that the *Sicilian Moslems* fell upon the *Africans*, and cut to pieces *Al Tawali*, one of their chief commanders, in *March*, this year ^e.

^d D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 638. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Cant. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 7.

^e KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. et CHRONIC. SIC. Cantabr. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

THE following year, being the 278th of the *Hejra*, beginning April 15th, 891, *Al Mowaffek Bi'llah* departed this life at *affek dies*. *Sarra Manray*, on Wednesday, the 21st of the month *Safar*, and was succeeded by his son *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Mowaffek*, surnamed *Al Mo'taded Bi'llah*, in his post of prime minister, or *Visir*. With regard to his character, *Al Mowaffek* has been greatly celebrated by the *Arab* historians, who represent him as a person of superior magnanimity, naturally brave, liberal, and thoroughly versed in the art of government. He used to say, "I always behold my friends in the same light as my brothers, and would, if it could be done with sufficient propriety, confer upon them the same appellation." *Al Mo'taded Billah* had as great an ascendant over the *Khalîf* as his father; so that it is no wonder he should be able so easily to exclude *Al Jaasar*, *Al Mo'tamed's* son, from the succession, and, after his nominal master's death, to fix himself upon the *Moslem* throne^f.

THE *Karmatians*, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the *Mohammedans*, began first to raise disturbances in the empire this year. Their origin is not so well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call *Karmata*, came from *Khûzeistân* to the villages near *Cûfa*, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day; pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain *Imâm* of the family of *Mohammed*: and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. He also assumed the title of prince, and obliged every one of his earlier followers to pay him a *dinâr*. But *Al Hoidam*, the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and, having put him in prison, swore that he should die; which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and, having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown; and the accident being publicly known raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that God had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him

^f EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 478, 479. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 272. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 173, 174.

hurt; notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into Syria, and was not heard of any more. During his abode in that country, he is said to have been entertained by a man called *Karmatiah*, from whom his name *Karmata* was derived. Others, however, relate, that the *Karmatians* wrote very close and in exceeding small characters, contrary to the manner of the *Arab Moslems*, amongst whom the *Cúsc* character prevailed, who used large letters, and left a considerable space between their lines; and that from this custom they derived the name of *Karmatians*; *Karmath*, or *Karmat*, amongst the *Arabs*, denoting that manner of writing. Be that, however, as it will, this sect continued and increased, after the founder of it disappeared; pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer used by the *Moslems*, and introduced a new kind of fast; and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded by the *Korán*. They likewise turned the precepts of that book into allegory; teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their *Imám*, and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogms from strangers. They also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity; and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book, wherein was written, amongst other things, *In the name of the most merciful GOD.* Al Faraj Ebn Ouhmán of the town of Nafrána saith, that CHRIST appeared to him in a human form, and said, "Thou art the invitation: thou art the demonstration: thou art the camel: thou art the beast: thou art John the son of Zacharias: thou art the HOLY GHOST." The sect of the *Karmatians*, according to some writers, first began to appear in the *Khalifat* of Harún Al Raschid, or, as others will have it, in that of Al Mamún; but their leader having then soon disappeared, they kept themselves concealed; neither acknowledging any particular *Imám*, nor any other chief. Ebn Shobnah relates, that they first excited some commotions in the villages and towns near Cúsa, in the 275th year of the *Hejra*; and that they were headed by a man named *Kerfa*, who often changed his situation and place of abode, and was so effectually concealed by his followers, that he could never be discovered by any of the *Khalif's* officers who were sent in quest of him. Abdemir writes, that, in many particulars, this sect agreed with that of Ismael Ebn Jaafar Al Sadek, the sixth *Imám*; that they did not scruple eating many things forbidden by the *Mohammedan* law; and that they believed angels to be the friends, directors, and guardians of mankind, and evil demons their most

most inveterate enemies, that were continually meditating their destruction. The *Karmatians* pretend, that CHRIST revealed to the above-mentioned *Al Faraj Ebn Othmán*, that the prayer before sun-rise ought to be performed with two in-genuclations, and that before sun-set with two more; and that they ought to fast twice a year, viz. on the days *Mihiján*, or *Mibirján*, and *Al Nitrúz*, that is, the 16th day of the *Persian* month *Mibr*, and the first day of the year. From the year of the *Hejra* 278, the *Karmatians*, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the *Khalifs*, and their *Mohammedan* subjects, for several years; committing great disorders and outrages in *Chaldea*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, and at length establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of *Abu Dhábir*, famous for his taking of *Mecca*, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined soon after his time, and came to nothing. *Mowaffek* died of the leprosy, or elephantiasis, according to *Abulfeda* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, a little before the *Karmatians* began to disturb the repose of the *Moslem* empire. He could not forbear saying, in his last illness, that of 100,000 men, whom he commanded, not one was as miserable as himself. After that general's decease, his son *Abu'l Abbás Al Mo'tamed* succeeded him, with the unanimous approbation of all the officers of the army, who likewise acknowledged his right to the crown after *Al Mo'tamed*, by the express command of the *Khalif*. We must not forget to observe, that *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Al Tábi*, prince or chief of the *Karmatians*, obliged every one of his subjects, or followers, to pay him yearly, by way of tribute, a *dinár* ².

THE next year, being the 279th of the *Hejra*, commenc-
ing April 3d, 892, the *Khalif Al Mo'tamed* died at *Baghdád*,
the 19th of *Rajeb*, being then about fifty years of age. The
day before, he had drank to great excess, and at night eaten
a much larger supper than usual; which proved fatal to him,
as before morning he expired. Some of the authors, how-
ever, followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, relate, that he died of a
squintancy, and that he was, at the time of his decease, fifty
years and six months old. This *Khalif* was extremely attached
to his pleasures; so that he left the management of his affairs
intirely to others. He was passionately fond of music, and not
unacquainted with letters. He quitted the city of *Sarra Manray*,
and fixed his residence for some time at *Baghdád*; tho' he was

The Kha-
lif Al
Mo'ta-
med diss.

² GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 274, 275. ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 174, 175, 176. EBN SHOHNAH, ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 277. KHONDEMIR, Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, p. 276. apud JOAN. SWINTON. A. M. OXONIENS. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Carmath*, p. 256, 257.

buried, according to the best of the *Arab* writers, at the former of those places. During the course of twenty-three years reign, *Al Mowaffek* and his son *Al Mo'taded* deprived him absolutely of his authority, leaving him only the bare name of *Khalif*; insomuch that when he once asked of his brother 300 *dinârs*, that small sum was refused him. However, the *Moslems* in general were very well pleased with *Al Mowaffek's* administration. *Al Mo'tamed* was a little swarthy, of a good stature, had a comely face, a large head, a long beard, and a forehead a little pitted with the small pox. Both his hair and his beard were greyer than usual in one of his age. He loved gaming and chearful conversation, as well as eating and drinking, to a great degree; whence 'tis no wonder he should have been too indolent to apply himself to the affairs of government. In this *Khalif's* reign flourished *Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Abu Maafhar Al Balkbi*, commonly known by the name of *Albumasar*, *Al Mowaffek's* astrologer, who attended him when he besieged a body of the *Zenjian* troops in *Basra*. This *Abu Maafhar*, when he lived at *Bagdad*, was an enemy to *Abu Yusef Yakub Ebn Isbak Al Kendi*, and endeavoured to prejudice the people of that city against him, because he applied himself to the study of philosophy. But *Al Kendi* having found a person who prevailed upon him to learn arithmetic and geometry, which he left for the sake of astrology, before he had made a very considerable progress in them, he ceased to persecute, or give any farther molestation to, that celebrated scholar. *Abu Maafhar*, a man of fine parts, and an excellent disposition, arrived at great skill in astrology, tho' a stranger even to the rudiments of that art when he was forty-seven years of age, and wrote several treatises upon it, held in vast repute amongst the *Arabs*. The *Khalif Al Most'ian* ordered him to be severely whipt, because an event that he had foretold actually came to pass; which not a little chagrined him. He lived to be above 100 years of age, and died at *Wâset*. He was accused of drunkenness, and generally troubled with an epileptic disorder at the full moon. With regard to *Al Kendi*, he was of noble extraction, and born at *Basra*. His father *Ishak* had been governor of *Cusa* in the *Khalifats* of *Al Mohdi* and *Harûn Al Rashid*. This *Yakub Al Kendi* was so singularly well versed in physic, natural philosophy, arithmetic, dialectic or logic, music, geometry, and astronomy, and wrote so many famous books in most of those sciences, that he infinitely excelled all the *Moslems* of his age in the knowledge of those branches of literature, and was the only one of them that merited the honourable title of philosopher. *Kostâ Ebn Lûkâ Al Baalbeki*, a *Christian* philosopher, and his cotemporary, rendered himself exceeding famous

mous by travelling over a considerable part of the imperial territories, and purchasing of the *Greeks* a multitude of books, which he brought with him first into *Syria*, and afterwards into *Irak*, where he was employed in translating some of the most useful of them out of *Greek* into *Arabic*. Several pieces written in a compendious, though most excellent, method by this learned author were extant in the days of *Abu'l-Faraj*. We are also told, that *Senhârîb* invited him into *Armenia*, where he kept him till his death, and afterwards erected over him a mausoleum, or stately monument, in order to demonstrate to future ages the high regard he had for him. In fine, he was looked upon as the greatest scholar of the age, and famous for expressing his vast flow of sentiments in a concise and engaging manner ^b.

It appears from an oriental historian, that, in the reign of *Anin* this *Khalif*, and the year of the *Hejra* 276, there were found in a place of *Syria* called *Tel Shâif*, that is to say, *the lover's unknown bill*, as also *Tel Alsekkah*, *the hill of contracts*, seven tombs, every one of which contained a body extremely well preserved, whose shroud seemed quite new, and emitted a very grateful odour. Amongst these seven bodies there was one that had belonged to a young man, whose visage, and particularly the lips, appeared as fresh as those of a living person who had just drunk a draught of water. Near these tombs a stone was discovered that greatly resembled one of those which are used to sharpen or whet any iron instrument upon. This stone exhibited an inscription drawn up in characters that nobody could decipher; tho' the *Khalif* ordered a large number of men of all nations, sects, and religions, that lived within the limits of the *Moslem* empire, to be assembled for that purpose ^c.

In the first year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'tamed*, *Stephen* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and died on the very day of his consecration. He was succeeded by *Tadûs*, who sat in that see twenty years. In the tenth year of his reign, *Eylia* was advanced to the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, and presided over the church there twenty-nine years. *Mikhâïel Ebn Bacâm*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, died in the 256th year of the *Hejra*, was buried in the city of *Bûrah*, and succeeded by another *Michael*, of *Greek* extraction, who continued patriarch of *Alexandria* thirty-four years. *Basilus*, the

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 175. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 478, 479. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 272, 273, 274. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 279. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, p. 274. apud JOAN. SWINTONUM, A. M. OXONIENS. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. Mo'tamed, p. 638.

^c TARIKH AL ABBAS.

Greek emperor, likewise died in this prince's reign; which made way for his son *Leo* to the imperial throne, who has been dignified by *Eutychius* with the honourable title of a wise man and a philosopher. In the 8th year of *Al Mo'tamed*, or the 263d of the *Hejra*, *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, who had completed the 60th year of his age when he was promoted to the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, and, after that event, assumed the name of *Anbâ Eutychius*, or *Efysbius*, was born. *Basilus* departed this life in the 250th year of the *Hejra*, according to some authors cited by *Al Makin*, and his son *Leo* ascended the imperial throne the same year. *Al Mo'tamed's* principal counsellors were successively *Abd'allah Ebn Khâtan*, *Soliman Ebn Wabeh*, *Al Hasan Ebn Mokballed*, three times, *Sa'id Ebn Mokballed*, and *Abu'Isakar Ebn Ismael Ebn Mâlec*; his judges *Al Hasan Ebn Sabal Ebn Abu'l Shawârib* and *Abmed Ebn Ali*; and his chamberlains *Mâsa Ebn Bogâ*, and his brother *Jaaser*. The inscription of his seal was, *Happy is he who receives instruction from another man's example* ^k.

S E C T. XXXVII.

Al Mo'taded proclaimed Khalif.

THE same day that *Al Mo'tamed* died, *Abu'l Abbâs Abmed Al Mo'taded B'illab Ebn Al Mowaffek*, in consequence of his having been called to the succession after that prince, was saluted *Khalif*. His mother's name was *Darâr*, or *Derâr*. She had been one of his father *Al Mowaffek's* concubines; but to what country she originally belonged, we have not been told. A profound tranquillity took place throughout the empire, immediately after his accession; so that there was a vast plenty of provisions and necessities of all kinds in every province. Some writers pretend, that *Al Mo'taded*, before his elevation to the *Khalifat*, saw a person in a dream plunge his hand into the *Tigris*, and instantly pull it out again; upon which, that river was immediately dried up, as tho' he held all the water of it in his hand; which when he opened, it returned to its former course. This person then asked him whether he knew him? and, upon his answering him in the negative, discovered himself to be *Ali*, desiring him at the same time to be kind to his family, after he had ascended the *Moslem* throne. *Al Mo'taded*, continue these authors, promised him he would, and was afterwards as good as his word. For, the descendants of that celebrated *Imâm* enjoyed a large share of this prince's favours, during the whole course of his reign ^l.

THE

^k EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 470—479. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 175, 176

^l ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

THE same year, *Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tollen* sent *The Khalif* *Hosein Ebn Abdallah*, commonly called *Ebn Al Jassas*, as *his* ambassador, with very valuable presents, to the *Moslem* *mands* court, in order to propose a match between his daughter *Ka-* *Khamara-* *tralnada* and *Al Mo'taded's* son *Ali*; but the *Khalif*, having *wiyah's* probably received a pleasing account of the young lady's *daughter* charms, demanded her in marriage for himself. To this *Kha-* *in mar-* *marawiyah* not only gave his consent, but testified likewise his *riage.* approbation of his minister's conduct in transports of joy. About the same time, died *Nasr*, or *Nasser*, *Al Samâni*, in *Khorasân*, and *Abu Isa Ebn Mohammed Ebn Isa Ebn Sawda*, a celebrated *Imâm*, and the author of the great collection of traditions. *Abdallah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd alrahmân* governed his subjects with great lenity and justice this year, and the remaining part of his reign, in *Spain* ^m.

THE following year, being the 280th of the *Hejra*, died *Al Mo'-Jaasar*, the son of *Al Mo'tamed*; and *Hamdân Ebn Hamdân* *taded* *Ebn Al Hâreth Al Ta'labi*, one of the *Arab Emîrs* settled in *makes pre-* *Diyar Rabla*, and the adjacent territories, either directly *re-* *parations* *voited* against the *Khalif*, or, by joining a body of *Curds*, *to reduce* *Hamdan;* gave umbrage to him. That prince, therefore, towards the close of the year, set a considerable army on foot, in order to reduce him ⁿ.

IN the 281st year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 13th, and gets 894, the *Khalif* came to an open rupture with *Hamdân*. Be- *bim into* *ing* informed of his hostile intentions, and of the junction of *his hands.* his forces with a body of *Curds*, he advanced to *Mawfel* at the head of his troops, and, in his march, defeated a large body of the enemy, killed a great number of them upon the spot, and drove most of the rest into the *Zâb*, a river that, at a small distance from *Mawfel* and *Hadîtza*, unites its stream with that of the *Tigris*; who, not being able to reach the opposite bank, were all drowned. From *Mawfel* he marched to *Mâredîn*, or *Mârâdîn*, a place of some strength belonging to *Hamdân*, in which he had posted his son with a garison to defend it; who surrendered to the *Khalif* at discretion, the day after he presented himself before it. *Al Mo'taded*, having possessed himself of this fortress, ordered every thing valuable in it to be carried out, levelled it with the ground, and then returned with his army to *Baghdâd*. In the mean time, *Hamdân* thought fit to retire to *Hoseinta*, a large city ex-

sup. p. 176, 177. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 478—481. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motadbed*, p. 634. 635.

^m ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 177. ISM. ABULFED. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. ROD. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

ⁿ ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

tremely

tremely well fortified, and defended by a garison of ten thousand men, commanded by *Shadâd*, one of his friends. However, the *Khalif* found means to make himself master of that fortress also, and to get *Hamdân* into his hands. Some authors write, that *Hamdân* had three sons, *Al Hosein*, *Abd'allah*, and *Dawd*; and that the *Khalif* gave *Al Hosein* the command of a body of his troops. Be that, however, as it will, *Abd'allah* *Abu'l Hija*, *Hamdân's* second son, was one of the *Khalif* *Al Mo'tasif's* generals. Some writers make *Saif'd-dawla* the son of this *Abd'allah*, and others of *Hamdân* himself. He was born, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, the preceding year °.

The Khalif marries THE next year, being the 282d of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 2d, 895, *Khamarawiyah's* daughter *Ketralbada*, *Ketralbada*, attended by a splendid equipage, was sent by her father to *Baghdâd*, in the month of *Al Mobarram*, and received by the *Khamarawiyah's* *Khalif* himself, her future spouse, at the gates of that city; from whence he conducted her to the imperial palace there, with great pomp and magnificence, the 24th of the latter *Rabi*. About this time, died *Abu Hanîfa Ahmed Ebn Dawd Al Dainâwari*, the author of a natural history of plants, *Al Hâreth Ebn Abi Osama*, the author of the *Masnad*, or body of traditions, and *Abu'l Aina Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem*, a disciple of the famous *Al Asmai*. The same year, *Khamarawiyah* was assassinated by one of his domestics in bed, the 3d of *Dhu'lhajja*, at *Damascus*; after which, the army substituted his son *Faish*, or *Jeish*, in his room. As soon as this prince had mounted the throne of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the troops demanded his uncle's head; which he thereupon ordered to be cut off, and thrown to them, without delay. In a short time after his accession, he quitted the city of *Damascus*, where his father had fixed his residence, left a governor there, and returned with all possible expedition into *Egypt* °.

The transactions of the year 283. THE 283d year of the *Hejra* proved fatal to *Faish*, or *Jeish*; who, together with his mother, was massacred by the soldiery, after he had presided about eight months over *Syria* and *Egypt*. After his death, the mutineers demolished his palace in *Mesr*, and placed his brother *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah*, a child of ten years old, upon the throne. This happened in the month of *Rajeb*. The *Khalif* *Al Mo'taded*, having received advice of *Harûn's* accession, wrote him a letter, wherein he acquainted him, that he had conferred the

° *Iidem* *ibid.* *ISM. ABULFED.* in *chron.* ad an. *Hej.* 281. Vide etiam *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. p. 305, et alibi pass.

° *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.* *AL MAKIN*, *EUTYCH.* et *GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ*, ubi sup. *ISM. ABULFED.* in *chron.* ad an. *Hej.* 282.

prefecture of *Egypt* upon him, and imposed on him an annual tribute of 1,500,000 *dinârs*; which *Harân* promised to pay him out of the public revenues of *Egypt*. The *Slavi*, or *Sclavonians*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, either this or the following year, made an irruption into *Thrace*, put a vast number of people to the sword, besieged *Constantinople* itself, and ravaged all the country about that capital. The *Greek* emperor not being able to make head against the barbarians with his own troops, continues this author, armed the *Moslem* slaves, or prisoners, on this occasion, in order to make a vigorous sally upon the besiegers, and drive them from before the town. Which having done, principally by the bravery of those slaves, he again disarmed them, and dispersed them over the provinces of the empire; fearing lest, if they remained in a body with their arms, after they had so distinguished themselves, they might meditate some enterprize against him. Soon after this, a cartel was settled between the *Christians* and the *Moslems*, who were continually making incursions into each others territories, for an exchange of prisoners: by which means, 2504 *Moslems*, men, women, and children, recovered their liberty. The same year, that is, the 283d of the *Hejra*, a phantom, or apparition, frequently, for a considerable time, presented itself before the *Khalif*, notwithstanding all the doors of his palace and his apartments were shut, in different manners, postures, and shapes. Sometimes it would appear to him in the habit of a merchant, at others in that of a soldier, and at others in that of a dervise. Its visage also changed its colour often; for sometimes it was white, and incircled with rays of light, at others brown, and at others pale and wan. The fame of this apparition was soon spread over the city of *Baghdâd*, and people reasoned differently upon it. Some took it to be the devil, whom the Divine Justice sent to this prince to torment him. Others believed it to be one of those wanton spirits called by the *Arabs* *Jin*, or *Genii*, which participate both of the nature of spirits and that of men. Others imagined, that it was an angel sent by God to reform this prince, and dispose him to forsake the vicious habits he had contracted. But the most sensible part of his subjects apprehended, that these pranks were plaid by some of his domestics, assisted herein by a person well versed in the occult sciences, in order to carry some design he had formed into execution. Nevertheless, the truth of the fact could never be discovered; which excited the *Khalif* to use several of his domestics, whom he suspected of having a hand in this affair, ill on that account. About this time, died at *Manbij*, or *Aleppo*, *Al Wâhid Ebn Obeidah*, and *Ali Ebn Al Abbâs*, two celebrated *Arab* poets.

Several
wonderful
phæno-
mena in
Egypt.

poets. This year, a truce, or cessation of arms, in *Sicily* was agreed upon between the *Christians* and the *Moslems* ¹.

In the year of the *Hejra* 284, beginning *February* 8th, 897, a wonderful phenomenon, or rather several such phenomena, were seen in *Egypt*. On *Holy Thursday*, or *Ascension-day*, which this year fell on the 28th of the former *Rabi*, a high wind arose towards the evening, which blew till midnight; when on a sudden it became so dark, the night having been pretty light before, that not the faintest traces of any visible object could be discerned. This thick darkness was succeeded by a storm, or tempest, much more violent than the former wind, which threw down a vast number of houses, and did incredible damage. During this storm, a large quantity of a sort of red sand fell upon people's heads in their houses, to their great terror and astonishment, and the whole hemisphere seemed to be covered with pillars of fire. This continued till towards the approach of the morning, when the tempest somewhat abated, and the heavens appeared of an exceeding red colour, which they communicated to the earth, mountains, trees, men, and every other object of sight, for the space of two hours; the wind blowing all the time extremely fresh. Then this surprizing redness turned into a yellowish colour, which continued till noon, and was succeeded by a thick black cloud, that remained till the middle of the next day; so that, for a day and an half, the face of the heavens was totally obscured, this cloud, and the *above-mentioned* phenomena, all that time absolutely intercepted the solar rays. After the dissipation of the thick black cloud, the boisterous weather above-mentioned immediately ceased. As the red meteor, or vapour, here mentioned not a little resembles that seen by the writer of this history at *Oxford*, *December* 5th, 1737, which the famous Dr. *Halley* told him he never saw any celestial appearance like, through the whole course of his observations, nor ever met with an account of any similar to it in history; we thought our curious readers would not be displeased to find the preceding article, extracted from *Eutychius*, inserted in this place ¹.

¹ EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 480—483. ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 177, 178. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 283. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 277. D'HARBEI. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 634, 635. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiæ. apud JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 7.

² EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 480—485. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 180. Philosoph. Transact. for the years 1737, 1738. vol. xl. p. 437, 438. See also the Philosoph. Transact. abridged, from the year 1732 to the year 1734, by JOHN MARTYN, F. R. S. p. 527—539. Lond. 1747.

THE same year, some of the *Arab* astrologers predicted a *Other* general inundation, which should be occasioned by a long *currences* course of continual rains, and by which *Mesopotamia* and all *this* year. the neighbouring countries, except the territory of *Baghdâd*, should be laid under water. But the reverse of this happened. For, by reason of a long uninterrupted drought, the waters of the *Tigris*, and other rivers, were lower than ever had been known in the memory of man; insomuch that they frequently offered up prayers to heaven for rain, in the public mosques, at *Baghdâd*. About this time, the *Khalif*, excited thereto by his affection for *Ali* and his descendants, would have issued an order to curse publicly the name of *Modwiyah* I. of the house of *Ommiyah*, in all the mosques of the empire, for the solemn malediction that prince caused to be published against *Ali* and his family. But *Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân*, his *Visir*, dissuaded him from this, by representing to him, that it would make him incur the hatred of a very, considerable part of his subjects; and, by raising the credit of the race of *Ali*, then dispersed all over the empire, would make them lift up their heads, and perhaps enable them to embarrass his affairs. Before the conclusion of this year, the *Karmatians*, a sect of which we have already given our readers some account, began to be in motion ^a.

THE following year, being the 285th of the *Hejra*, com- *The Kar-* mencing *January* 28, 898, one *Abu Sa'id* appeared for the *mations* first time at the head of a body of *Karmatian* and *Arab* troops *commit be-* in *Babrin*. Having taken several towns in that province, he *silities in* advanced to *Al Kattf*, and even threatened to pay the *Moslems* *Bahrein*, a visit at *Basra*. This induced the *Khalif* to surround that city with a wall, which cost him 14,000 *dinârs*. About the same time, died *Ibrahim Ebn Isbak*, a famous traditionist of *Baghdâd*. An action happened this year in *Sicily*, the consequences of which are not known ^c.

THE 286th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 17th, *The Kha-* 899, produced several military operations. The *Khalif* *Al* *lil reduces* *Mo'taded* laid siege to *Amid*, or *Amida*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, *Amid*, seated upon the *Tigris*, with a powerful army. For some time, *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Shaikh*, who commanded in the town, defended it with great bravery. But *Al Mo'taded* having, by the application of his catapults thereto, made a practicable breach in the walls, and being upon the point of carrying the place by storm, the commandant found himself

^a GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 284. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 635.

^c GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 278. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 285. CHRONIC. SIC. Cantabrigienf. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96.

obliged to surrender, on condition his life should be granted him. *Kinnifrîn* also and *Al Awâsem* submitted to the *Khalîf*. After which, he took *Ebn Sbaikh* into favour, gave him a sumptuous vest, and carried him with him to *Baghdâd* ^u.

The Karmatians penetrate into Yamâma.

THE same year, *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, with a body of the *Karmatian* forces, penetrated into *Yamâma*, and laid siege to *Hajr*, the capital of the district of the same name. But as the place was strongly fortified, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation, he found himself obliged to draw off, and abandon the siege. However, after this repulse, he sat down before *Al Abjâ*, a town about two miles north-west of *Hajr*, and ravaged all the adjacent territory; which enabled him to form again the siege of *Hajr*, and carry it on with more vigour than before. But, notwithstanding all his efforts, he could not make himself master of that fortress this campaign ^w.

The Khalîf prepares to march against them.

THE *Khalîf*, receiving advice that the *Karmatians* had overrun a considerable part of *Arabia* and *Irâk*, pillaging all the country through which they moved, and putting all the *Meslems* they could meet with to the sword, assembled a considerable army, to stop their farther progress; which he ordered to advance towards the frontiers of those provinces, though none of the troops of which it was composed could enter upon action this campaign. About this time, *Al Mo'taded* granted *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, at his request, the perpetual prefecture of *Awâsem*, and *Kinnifrîn*, which he annexed to that of *Egypt* and *Syria*, on condition that he paid him an annual tribute of 45,000 *dinârs*. About the same time, died *Abu'l Abbâs Mohammed Abd'allah Ebn Zeid*, a celebrated grammarian and philologer, who wrote a great number of excellent books. Another battle was fought this year in *Sicily*, the particulars of which have not been handed down to us by any historian ^x.

His forces are overthrown with very great slaughter.

THE next year, being the 287th of the *Hejra*, *Al Abbâs Ebn Omar*, the *Khalîf's* general, took the field with a powerful army against the *Karmatians*, who continued still to make terrible havock in *Arabia* and *Irâk*. That general soon brought *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, who commanded them, to a general action; wherein the *Khalîf's* troops were overthrown with

^u ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 178. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 239—242. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

^w ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96, 97. See also Mr. SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim. discourse.

^x ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 480—483. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

great

great slaughter, and 700 of them, amongst whom was *Al Abbās Ebn Omar* himself, taken prisoners. The *Karmatian* general, however, dismissed *Al Abbās Ebn Omar*, on conditions that he should represent to the *Khalif* the fatal consequences of continuing the war against the *Karmatians*, who were inured to all kinds of hardships and fatigues, and would therefore always prove superior to the forces of that prince, to whom they were resolved never to give quarter; as likewise to endeavour to prevail upon him, by all proper motives that he could think of, to desist from that war. This he accordingly did, and it had such an effect upon the *Khalif*, that he sent no forces against them the following year. We must not forget to observe, that *Abu'l Abbās* landed a considerable body of *Moslem* troops from *Africa* at *Mazara*, or *Mazaria*, in *Sicily*, the 24th of *July*, the present year ¹.

THE following year, being the 288th of the *Hejra*, com-^{The re-}encing *December* 26th, 900, the plague made such dreadful ^{markable} havock in *Adberbijân*, that the living were not sufficient to ^{events of} bury the dead; infomuch that they were obliged to leave them ^{the year} exposed on the highways in great numbers. About the same ^{288.} time, the *Greeks* made an irruption into *Kaisûm*, ravaged it, and carried off about 15,000 *Moslems* prisoners. The whole hemisphere was filled with those meteors called falling-stars, the ninth of *Dhu'lhajja*, from midnight till morning, to the vast surprize of the beholders, in *Egypt*. *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, the *Karmatian* general, took *Hajr* in *Yamâma*, having starved the garison to a surrender, and forced them to feed upon dogs and other unclean animals, either the beginning of this, or towards the conclusion of the preceding year. After he had put all the inhabitants to the sword, and distributed every thing valuable belonging to them amongst his troops, he abandoned the town. *Abu'l Abbās*, with the *African* troops, took *Palermo* *September* 8th, 901, and massacred a great number of the citizens at the reduction of that place ².

THE next year, being the 289th of the *Hejra*, beginning ^{The info-} *December* 16th, 901, *Al Mo'taded*, receiving advice that a ^{lence of a} body of the *Karmatian* troops had taken post in the neigh- ^{Karma-}bourhood of *Câsa*, sent a detachment of his forces to recon- ^{tian offi-}noitre them. The officer, who commanded the detachment, ^{cer.} was so lucky as to surprize one of their parties, and to carry off one of their principal chiefs, whom he immediately con-

¹ KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 178, 179. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

² GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 278. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 484, 485. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 178—181. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

ducted to the imperial palace at *Baghdād*. As soon as the *Karmatian* was brought before the *Khalif*, that prince asked him whether they believed that the spirit of God resided in their bodies, or not? To which he made answer, *Suppose the spirit of God should reside in us, what hurt does this to you? or if the spirit of the devil should have taken up his residence in us, of what advantage is this to you? Mind your own business, and concern yourself not with other men's affairs.* "What then," said the *Khalif*, "do you think of me and my dignity in particular?" The *Karmatian* boldly replied, *Your ancestor Al Abbās was alive at the time of the prophet's death, and yet did he either aspire to the Khalifat, or had he it offered him by any of the COMPANIONS? Was not Abu Becr unanimously elected his successor? After that prince's decease, Omar was called to the succession, not the least mention having been made in his predecessor's will of Al Abbās. Omar nominated six persons, a little before he expired, to elect a new Khalif, without permitting Al Abbās to be one of their number. What title, therefore, can you have to the Khalifat, when your great ancestor Al Abbās himself was excluded from that high dignity by the COMPANIONS?* *Al Mo'taded* was so incensed at this insolent discourse, that he instantly ordered the executioner, then present, to disjoint all his bones, to cut off his hands and his feet, and finally to strike off his head ^a.

The Khalif THE same year, the *Khalif Al Mo'taded* died at *Baghdād*, the 22d of the latter *Rabi*, after he had obliged his subjects to take an oath in favour of his son *Al Mo'tasif*, whom he had declared his successor. Some authors relate, that his death was occasioned by immoderate coition, and others that he was poisoned by *Ismael Ebn Mālec*. He reigned about nine years and nine months, and died either in the 47th, 48th, or the 50th, year of his age. His judge *Abu Omar* said the prayer usual on such occasions, when he was interred. As to his person, he was lean, swarthy, of a proper stature, just beginning to grow grey, had a handsome face, together with a long beard, died black, and was of a strong robust constitution. With regard to his disposition, he is said to have been a person of great sagacity and penetration, to have been thoroughly versed in the art of government, happy and expeditious in hitting upon expedients, at all critical conjunctures, and a prince of great justice and moderation. On some occasions, however, he was rigorous and severe in his punishments, which made him feared by his domestics, though on others his lenity was unparalleled. He was also naturally brave, an encour-

^a GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 278, 279. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 635.

rager of learned men, and sometimes extremely liberal, though he has been represented by *Eutychius* and *Abu'l-Faraj* as a lover of money. His experience and excellent genius for government rendered him every way qualified for the sublime post he so worthily filled. In fine, if we will believe some of the eastern writers, he excelled all his predecessors of the house of *Al Abbās*, except the *Khalif Al Mansūr*, in the happiness of his administration. But the true disposition of this prince will more clearly appear from the following instances of his affection for the descendants of *Ali*, as well as of his justice, severity, and moderation, which have been recorded by the oriental historians ^b.

THE provost of *Baghdād* having one day stopped in the hands of a merchant the sum of 30,000 *dinārs*, sent by *Mohammed Ebn Zeid*, prince of *Mazanderān*, or *Tabrestān*, of the race of *Ali*, to the chiefs of the descendants of that *Imām*, according to annual custom, residing there; they immediately carried their complaint to the *Khalif*. That prince very generously gave them the money that had been seized, and, in order to justify this action, which appeared strange to the *Sunnites*, or orthodox *Moslems*, who considered the followers of *Ali* as heretics, he related to them the following dream ^c.

An instance of his affection for the house of *Ali*.

“ I thought,” said he, “ that I formerly saw in a dream a man standing at the end of a bridge that I was to pass, who seemed at first to have an intention to oppose my passage; but afterwards, all of a sudden, he approached me, and presented to me a spade that he held in his hand ; commanding me at the same time to break with it the ground on which we stood. I obeyed his order, and after I had given some strokes with the spade, he told me he was *Ali*, and that as many of my sons should enjoy the *Khalifat* as I had given strokes upon the ground with the spade. Then he enjoined me to be kind to his family, and particularly those members of it that lived under my government. In consequence, therefore, of the promise I made him, as well as in point of justice, I ought to restore the 30,000 *dinārs* to the descendants of that *Imām*, to whom they properly belong ^d.”

THE severity of this *Khalif* on some occasions was exceeding great, as will appear from the two following examples. Two instances of his severity.

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 179, 180. ISM. ABULWED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 289. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 279. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486, 487. KHONDEMIR, EBN SMOHNAH, TARIKH AL ABBAS.

^c MOHAMMED EBN ABD'ALWAHED, in TARIKH AL ABBAS.

^d Idem ibid. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in NIGHIARISTAN.

A soldier having once by force picked some bunches of grapes off a certain *Moslem's* vine, the man immediately carried his complaint to the *Khalif*; who commanded both the soldier and his captain to appear before him, in order to receive the punishment he should think fit to inflict upon them. Some of the people about him demanding what crime the captain had committed? he answered, "I saw him kill a man unjustly in my uncle's reign, and then made a vow to punish him for so enormous a crime, if ever the *Khalifat* should fall into my hands, and he should be found guilty of any other fault."

AN eastern writer relates, that a merchant having lent one of the principal lords of the *Khalif's* court a large sum of money, after he had applied for the payment of, it several times in vain, and given it up for lost, resolved to trouble himself no farther about it, but to quit the court, in order to go a voyage. This design he communicated to a friend, who advised him by all means to have recourse to *Sheikh Khaïath*, for the recovery of his money. The *Sheikh*, upon the application of these two gentlemen to him, for his assistance in this affair, went directly to the lord, and no sooner represented to him, with a tone of authority, as he very well knew how to do, the iniquity of his conduct, than he paid the merchant the sum he was indebted to him. The great reputation, or rather authority, of this *Sheikh Khaïath* was acquired by a very singular action, an account of which has been preserved by one of the oriental historians. A *Turk* attempting to ravish by force a girl in the city of *Baghdád*, she found herself obliged to call in all her neighbours to her help. At the cries of this girl, *Sheikh Khaïath* ran to her relief, and begged the *Turk* in the most pressing terms not to offer her any violence. But the brute was so far from paying any regard to his intreaties, that he insulted him, and treated him in a very injurious manner. The *Sheikh*, not being able to think of any other expedient, to prevent him from accomplishing his wicked design, mounted the *minâret*, or steeple, of the great mosque, and from thence called the people together to prayer, though it was then out of the stated times of prayer, in order to excite the *Moslems* so assembled to succour the poor girl, and deliver her effectually out of the hands of the insolent *Turk*. The *Khalif*, having been apprized of the action, but being ignorant of the motive to it, commanded the *Sheikh* to be brought before him, and severely reprimanded him for convening the people to prayer at an unlawful hour. But being afterwards informed of the whole affair, he ordered the *Turk* to be punished ac-

According to his demerit, and at the same time commanded the *Sheikh*, as often as he should see any violence or injustice committed, to publish it in the same manner, that by this means the author of it might meet with the treatment he deserved. 'Twas this action that gave so great a degree of credit to the *Sheikh Kbaïath*, that there was no person in *Baghdád*, neither great nor small, who did not pay the highest regard to his admonitions, for fear he should assemble the people as before, make public the crimes he was willing to expose, and bring the authors to condign punishment for them[†].

ANOTHER author relates a fact of this *Khalif*, that our *Some other* curious readers will not be displeased to find inserted here. Being desirous of borrowing a considerable sum of money of *able par-* one of his subjects, who had been represented as in very *astucious* *fluent* circumstances to him; the man said, as soon as he was *relating to* brought into his presence, *Take as much of my money as you* *him.* *please.* "But," replied the *Khalif*, "what security do you require for it?" God, returned the man, *has trusted you with the government of his lands and his servants, of which you have shewn yourself worthy by your excellent administration; and shall I be afraid to trust you with my money?* These words so affected the *Khalif*, that he is said to have shed tears, and to have told the man that he would not finger a *dirhém* of his money, but that if hereafter he should become indigent, all the public revenues of the empire should be at his service. This was the more remarkable at that time, as he was in great want of money to pay the forces; which, in another reign, might have produced very dismal effects. He also eased the people of the burden of some of their taxes, and remitted the tribute paid by the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina*. Besides which, other instances of his preferring the welfare of his subjects to pecuniary considerations, even when he stood in need of money, and his finances were at a pretty low ebb, have been handed down to us by some of the best oriental writers[‡].

WITH regard to this *Khalif's* lenity and mildness to his *His lenity* servants, on some occasions, a very remarkable story of him *to his ser-* has been preserved by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Abd'allah Ebn Solimán* *wants.* *Ebn Wabeb*, his *Visir*, being one day with him, a servant, whilst he endeavoured to drive away the flies with a fly-flap in his hand, struck off the *Khalif's* cap; which greatly confounded the *Visir*. But the *Khalif*, unmoved with the accident, only said, *This boy is exceeding careless.* This so asto-

[†] MOHAMMED EBN ABD'ALWAHED, in *TARIKH AL ABBAS*.

[‡] *ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. p. 179. *ISM. ABULFED. in chron.*

nished the *Visir*, that he could not forbear falling prostrate on the ground, and saying, *O emperor of the faithful! is it possible there should be so much lenity in so great a prince?* The *Khalif* replied, "What other notice ought to be taken of such an accident as this? I knew that if the poor boy had done this designedly, he must have been out of his senses; and certainly where no ill is intended, no action ought to be imputed to any one as a crime ^h."

Other authors represent him as cruel on some occasions.

OTHER authors, however, relate, that, at certain intervals, he was cruel, and took great delight in spilling human blood; infomuch that he punished with death the most trifling faults. The same writers also affirm, that whenever any of his domestics incurred his displeasure, he ordered him to be buried alive; which made them all to stand in the greatest awe of him. In fine, from what has been observed of this *Khalif*, it clearly appears, that different authors have represented him in different lights, at least as inconsistent with himself, and acting differently at different times; so that we must consider him on certain occasions as adorned with some of those virtues, the exercise of which appears most amiable in a very great prince, and on others as deformed by their opposite vices ^l.

His favourite and *Visirs*.

His principal counsellors, or *Visirs*, were *Abu'l Sakar Ebn Ismael Ebn Mâlec*, *Abd'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Wabeb*, *Abmed Ebn Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Mohammed*, *Abu Hârim Abd'alhamid Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Selwi*, and *Yusef Ebn Yakûb*, who successively governed the *Moslem* empire under the *Khalif*. His chamberlain *Sâleh*, and his freed-man *Badar*, enjoyed likewise a considerable share of his favour. The inscription of his seal was, *Necessity takes away all choice and free will*. The first day of his reign was *Tuesday*, and the last *Monday*; tho', with regard to the precise duration of it, authors are not perfectly agreed ^k.

Some occurrences in the Greek empire, during his reign.

In the first year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'taded*, *Simon*, or *Sim'an*, *Ebn Zarnâk* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and presided over the church there twelve years. In the year of the *Hejra* 281, or of *CHRIST* 894, according to the *Christian* writers followed by *Al Makin*, the emperor *Læo* married his fourth wife *Zoe*, who brought him a son, called *Constantine*. This marriage being the fourth, which was then held unlawful, gave rise to great disturbances and divisions in the church of *Constantinople*. For, *Nicolaus Myssicus*,

^h GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 279.

^l ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM ABULFED. & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

^k ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 179, 180. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486, 487.

at that time patriarch, not only declared against the marriage, but excommunicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earnestly begged, but in vain, to be restored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch in a monastery, and placed one *Euthymius Syncellus* in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to *Nicolaus*, and others to *Euthymius*; which occasioned a schism in the church. However, the pope, or bishop of *Rome*, *Michael*, or *Mikhâtyel*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Élias*, or *Eyliâ*, *Ebn Mansûr*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and *Simeon*, or *Sim'an*, *Ebn Zarnâk*, patriarch of *Antioch*, by their legates, or nuncio's, whom they sent to *Constantinople* for that purpose, if we will believe *Eutychius*, declared for the legality of that marriage, and were joined herein by a considerable number of the *Greek* bishops. But, for a farther account of this affair, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the *Roman*, or *Constantinopolitan*, history, to which it more properly belongs!

DURING the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'taded*, several learned men ^{Several} were not only countenanced, but caressed, at the *Moslem* court. ^{learned} Amongst these may be ranked the three sons of *Mûsa Ebn men encou- Shâker*, *Mohammed*, *Ahmed*, and *Al Hasan*, who excelled in ^{aged in} various branches of literature. As for *Mûsa Ebn Shâker* him- ^{Al Mo'-} self, he followed the occupation of a robber, or highway- ^{taded's} man, in his earlier years; but he afterwards became reformed, ^{reign.} and was one of the greatest favourites of the *Khalif Al Mamûn*. After his death, that prince committed his three sons, then very young, to the care of *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim Al Mosa'bi*, who placed them under *Yahya Ebn Abi Mansûr*, in the university of *Baghdâd*. However, their circumstances then were narrow enough, as the pensions settled by *Al Mamûn* upon his favourites were but small. *Abu Jaasar Mohammed*, the eldest of them, made a very considerable progress in geometry and astronomy; though afterwards, applying himself to military affairs, he had a command given him in the army, which he kept till the *Turks*, becoming masters of every thing, filled it with officers of their own nation. *Ahmed*, the second of *Mûsa's* sons, was inferior, in point of learning, to his brother *Mohammed*; but he had the best mechanical head of any man of the age. *Al Hasan*, the youngest son, was extremely fond of geometry, and of such prodigious parts as could be equalled by none of those of his cotemporaries. For, whatever knowledge he had came to him by dint of genius, and as it were by inspiration, not having been acquired by labour and study. When he had read only the six first books of the *Ele-*

¹ EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 484—487. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 180. Univers. Hist. vol. vi. p. 575. Lond. 1742.

ments of *Euclid*, with the assistance of those, purely by force of genius, he could demonstrate any proposition contained in the books of that celebrated author he had not touched upon; as he scrupled not to tell *Al Merâzi*, when he reproached him with not having gone farther in *Euclid*, before the *Khalif Al Mamûn*. However, that prince, though giving credit to what he advanced in this particular, seems to have blamed him for his want of application. *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa* instructed in his house, or school, at *Baghdâd*, the famous *Thâbet Ebn Korra*, the *Sabian*, who was born at *Harân*, or *Harrân*, in *Mesopotamia*; and introduced him to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, who consulted him as his astrologer, honoured him with a greater degree of familiarity than even his *Visir* himself, and took an inconceivable liking to him. This *Thâbet Ebn Korra Ebn Merwân* composed several excellent treatises upon mathematical, physical, and logical subjects. He likewise wrote some books in *Syriac* upon the *Sabian* religion, containing an account of the *Sabians* method of wrapping up and burying their dead, of their cleanness and uncleanness, of the animals they look upon as proper or improper for sacrifices, of their stated times of public worship, and, in fine, of all their rites, precepts, and institutions. But, as we have already obliged our readers with a full and ample account of all those particulars in another place, we shall not expatiate any farther upon them here. *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Tiyeb Al Sarkhâsi* likewise flourished in this reign. He was also an eminent *Moslem* philosopher, and penned several excellent pieces, full of various kinds of erudition, that prevailed both amongst the *Arabs* and the antients. His knowledge was very extensive, his parts admirable, his language copious and elegant, and his style extremely neat. He had first been preceptor to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, and afterwards his most intimate companion and friend; insomuch that he communicated all his secrets to him, not excepting even those of state, and consulted him upon the most important points. He is called by some writers *Abd'allah Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Al Sarakhî*, having been born at *Sarkhas*, or *Sarakhs*, a city of the province of *Khorasân*, which also gave birth to several other learned men, and is said by them to have dedicated one of his moral treatises, intitled, *Adab Al Nefes*, to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, his pupil, who was a great encourager of learned men. Another of his compositions, being a comment upon the *Isagoge* of *Porphyry*, has been mentioned by those authors, as having the title of *Isagogi* prefixed to it. This piece of *Porphyry* has likewise been commented upon, and translated into *Arabic*, by *Athiro'ddin Al Baberi*; a fine copy of which performance is preserved in the *French king's* library,

library, N° 908. We have also an *Arabic* version of the *Isagoge* of *Porphry*, in verse, written by *Ibrahim Al Mostabasher*, which bears the title of *Taiyab*, because the last consonant of every rhyme is the letter *T*. This poem is likewise intitled *Mawzen Al Mizân*, that is, *The weight of the balance*. The word *Mizân*, which in its proper signification denotes a *balance*, in a figurative one is taken for *logic*. The *Arabs* generally divide their systems of logic into ten chapters, one of which comprehends the *Isagoge* of *Porphry*. The philosopher *Abmed Ebn Mohammed*, named sometimes *Abu'l Abbâs Al Sarakhî Al Thabib*, of whom we have been speaking, greatly excelled in this art. But this *Abmed's* learning was greater than his prudence. For, he once revealed a secret the *Khalif* had intrusted him with; which so provoked that prince, that he immediately ordered him to be put to death, in the year of the *Hejra* 286 m.

S E C T. XXXVIII.

AL MO'TADED was no sooner dead, than *Kasem Ebn Abdallah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb*, his *Visir*, who succeeded *Yusef Ebn Yakûb*, caused *Abu Mohammed Al Moctâfi Bî'llab*, his son, to be proclaimed *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*. He also wrote to the new *Khalif*, who was then at *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, desiring him to return as soon as possible to his capital, in order to take the government of the empire upon him. As soon as *Al Moctâfi* received advice of his father's death, he obliged all the forces he commanded at *Al Rakka* to take the oath of allegiance to him, and posted away with the utmost celerity to *Baghdâd*, where he arrived the 8th of the former *Jomâda*, the present year. Upon his arrival, he was inaugurated with the usual formalities, and acknowledged emperor of the faithful by all his subjects there. His mother *Bakhtajaknab*, called by some writers *Khâde'*, and by others *Hîbac*, or *Hibaca*, was the daughter of *Al Kasem Ebn Abdallah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb*, the prime minister, or *Visir*. This we find asserted by *Eutychius*, though the contrary seems to be intimated by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; who relates, that this *Al Kasem*, in *Al Mo'taded's* life-time, formed a design to exclude *Al Moctâfi* from the succession, to which was privy only *Badar*, or *Badir*, who had a vast ascendant over that *Khalif*. *Al Kasem*, therefore, continues the same author, being afraid that *Badar* would discover the whole affair to *Al Moctâfi*, inspired the *Khalif*

Al Moc-tâfi suc-ceeds Al Mo'taded in the Khalifat.

^m GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 279—283. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 759, & alib. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185. ATHIRO'DDIN AL BAHERI, IBRAHIM AL MOSTABASHERI, &c.

with sentiments by no means favourable to him. As *Badar* then resided in *Al Jebel*, or the *Persian Irak*, at some distance from *Baghdad*, and consequently was incapable of obviating the ill impressions made on the *Khalif's* mind by his enemy's insinuations, *Al Kasem* easily prevailed upon *Al Moctafi* to send an army against him. But before this measure was actually pursued, the *Khalif* found means to bribe the greatest part of *Badar's* troops to desert him, by privately distributing very considerable sums of money amongst them; which obliged that commander himself to retire to *Wâst*. *Al Moctafi*, having been informed of what had happened, moved at the head of his forces to attack him. But, before hostilities commenced, *Al Kasem* sent *Al Harâm*, the principal judge, to *Badar*, to offer him a pardon, provided he would submit to the *Khalif*, and lay down his arms. This being accepted by *Badar*, upon the terms prescribed, he immediately disbanded his troops, and set out with *Al Harâm* for *Baghdad*. Of which *Al Kasem* having been apprized, he sent a person to take off his head upon the road; which being done, and the head brought to *Baghdad*, *Al Moctafi* returned to his capital in peace. This article renders it improbable, if we admit it to be true, that the new *Khalif's* mother was *Al Kasem's* daughter; as it cannot well be supposed that the *Visir* would have entered into any scheme that had the least tendency to forward the exclusion of his grandson *Al Moctafi* from the *Moslem* throne ⁿ.

The Kar-
matians
make an
irruption
into Syria.

THE same year, the *Karmatians*, under the command of *Yahya Ebn Zakrûna*, advanced to *Rusâfa*, and overthrew *Shakr*, the *Deylamite*, who was sent against them by the *Khalif*, in the neighbourhood of that city. *Shakr* himself was killed in the action, and his forces utterly dispersed; after which, the rebels burnt the great mosque at *Rusâfa*, and ravaged all the adjacent territory. From thence they marched into *Syria*, routed *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn's* forces, under the conduct of *Ta'j Ebn Hanaf*, or *Tagaj Ebn Jof Al Fargâni*, as he is called by *Eutychius*, and at last laid siege to *Damascus*. But *Harûn*, having sent *Beir Al Yamâmi* with a reinforcement into *Syria*, after the junction of those troops with the army commanded by *Ta'j*, his forces attacked *Yahya* with such bravery, that they intirely defeated him, killed him upon the spot, with a vast number of his men, and forced his camp. This blow, however, did not

ⁿ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 181, 182. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486—489. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 283. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moktafi*, p. 592.

dishearten the *Karmatians*; who thereupon elected his brother *Al Hosein*, then not above twenty-two years of age, their general, in his room. *Al Hosein*, having been joined by a body of auxiliary troops, penetrated to *Hems*, and made himself master of that city. From thence he moved towards *Damascus*, in order to form a second time the siege of that place; but the inhabitants, by paying him a large sum of money, prevailed upon him to lay aside that design. He, therefore, returned to *Hems*; from whence he advanced to *Hamah* and *Maara*, or *Maarra*, near two days journey from *Kinnisrin*, seized upon both those cities, and put the greatest part of their inhabitants to the sword. Those of *Baalbec* he served in the same manner. But *Salamiyab*, a town in the district of *Hems*, or, as others will have it, in that of *Hamah*, being a place of considerable strength, he was obliged to promise the people of it their lives, and the secure possession of all their effects, before he could persuade them to surrender it to him. Notwithstanding which, he had no sooner entered the town, than he ordered them all, without distinction of sex or age, together with their cattle and domestic animals, in open defiance of the capitulation, to be put to the sword.

It must be here observed, that this *Al Hosein*, now at the head of the *Karmatians*, pretended to be *Ahmed*, the son of *Mohammed*, the son of *Ismael*, the son of *Jaafar*, surnamed *Al Sadik*, or the *Just*, the sixth *Imâm*; and, in order to render this the more credible, he shewed a mole, or wart, on his face, which, as he affirmed, resembled that of his father *Mohammed* in the same place. Hence he had given him, by way of derision or ridicule, the surname of *Sabeb Al Samah*, and the general that commanded under him that of *Sabeb Al Khal*; the words *Samah* and *Khal* in *Arabic* denoting the same thing. About two years before this irruption of the *Karmatians* into *Syria*, *Ali Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Bagawi* died at *Mecca*. After the surrender of *Salamiyab*, *Al Hosein* destroyed a great number of towns and villages in *Syria*, killed many of the *Khalif's* subjects there, carried others of them into captivity, and, in fine, laid the most considerable part of that fine country waste with fire and sword.

A little before this time, the *African Moslems*, having equipped a mighty fleet, reduced the island of *Lemnos*, and, ravaging without controul the coasts of *Asia*, threw the imperial city

• *ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 182. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 490, 491. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 126, 127, 276, &c.*

• *KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM. ABULFED. et D'HERBEL. ubi sup.*

itself

between
the Mos-
lems and
the
Greeks.

itself into a great consternation. The *Arab* fleet in this expedition was commanded by *Leo Tripolites*, a renegado, who made himself master of *Thessalonica*, cutting to pieces the greatest part of the garison, and taking *Chatzilacius*, the imperial governor, prisoner. However, the place was afterwards redeemed with a large sum by *Simeon*, one of the emperor's secretaries, who was on that account raised to the rank of patrician. *Leo* then sailed to *Crete*, and distributed part of the plunder he had met with at *Lemnos*, which he abandoned soon after it fell into his hands, *Thessalonica*, and on the coasts of *Asia*, amongst the *Moslems* there. After which, he returned home, without having sustained any considerable loss. The emperor, not being able to make head against the *Moslems* by sea, sent *Andronicus Ducas*, and *Eustathius Argyrus*, into the East, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great success, having gained several victories over them. This we learn from the *Greek* writers only, not the least mention being made of such an eastern expedition by any of the *Arab* historians 9.

The Kha-
lif's forces
not able to
reduce the
Karma-
tians.

THE following year, being the 290th of the *Hejra*, commencing December 5th, 902, the *Khalif Al Moctafi* sent *Al Az*, one of his commanders, with a body of 10,000 men, to attack the *Karmatians*. As soon as that general came up with the rebels, his men immediately threw off their cloaths, and charged them with great fury. But the *Karmatians*, animated by *Al Motawek*, who commanded them, routed the *Khalif's* forces, and cut the most considerable part of them in pieces; *Al Az* himself, attended by the shattered remains of his army, with great difficulty, making his escape to *Aleppo*, whither he was closely pursued by *Al Motawek*, who laid siege to the town. But the inhabitants, supported by *Al Az's* troops, repulsed him in all his attacks, and at last forced him to abandon the siege. The *Khalif*, receiving advice of what had happened, retired to *Al Rakka*, and sent several other bodies of troops afterwards against the *Karmatians*, but without effect. This enabled *Al Hosein* to ravage the provinces through which he moved without controul 1.

The Chri-
stians in-
vade the
Moslem
territo-
ries.

It seems to appear from some of the *Greek* writers, that, a little before this time, the *Moslems* invaded the imperial territories with a very numerous and formidable army; which obliged the emperor to dispatch *Himerius* and *Andronicus Ducas* against them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct, continue these authors; but a fatal misunderstand-

9 GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 599—602, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. lib. xvi. p. 188, 189, &c.

1 ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 182, 183. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. et ad an. Hej. 290.

ing between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one *Samonas*, put a stop to the progress of their arms. But the particulars of this expedition, as well as those of the former, have been passed over in silence by both the *Persian* and *Arab* historians¹.

THE next year, being the 291st of the *Hejra*, beginning *The Kha-*
November 24th, 903, the *Khalif*, having been informed that *Al Husein* had pillaged several parts of *Syria*, and put the rest *lifs troops*
under contribution, took the field with an army of 100,000 *men*, in order to reduce him. He advanced first to *Al Rakka*, *over-*
upon the *Euphrates*, and from thence detached *Mohammed* *throw the*
Ebn Soliman, with a large body of troops, to go in quest of the rebels, who retired at his approach; but at last he came up with them, and attacked them with such bravery, that he intirely defeated them, without having sustained any considerable loss. A great number of the rebels perished in the action, and *Husein* himself, together with the general who acted under him, and 360 of his men, fell into the hands of one of the *Khalif's* officers, who conducted them under an escorte, as prisoners, to *Baghdad*. It appears from *Abulfeda*, who in this particular has followed *Shartf Al Abed*, an author that lived before him, that the battle was fought at a place called *Tamna*. After this victory, which was complete, and gained in the 291st year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and not in the 290th, as is suggested by *M. D'Herbelot*, the *Khalif* entered triumphantly his capital, and ordered the hands and feet of all the *Karmatian* prisoners, not excepting those of *Al Husein* himself, to be first cut off, and afterwards their heads. Our readers will not be surprized, that we should prefer the authority of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, styled by *Mr. Ockley* the *Livy* of the *Arabs*, in the point before us, to that of any other writer followed by *M. D'Herbelot*, after we have informed them, that the *French* author himself asserts, in the most positive and express terms, that the *Tarikh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* is allowed by the *Mohammedans* themselves to be the very basis and foundation of the *Moslem* history².

THE same year, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, the *Turks* made *The Turks*
an irruption into *Mawarâ'nahr* with a prodigious army; no *make an*
less than 700 officers of superior rank having, amongst the *irruption*
rest, pitched their tents in that province. However, the *into Ma-*
warâ l-

¹ GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.

² ABU nahr.

JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 183. SHARIF AL ABED, apud ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 291. ut et ipse ISM. ABULFED. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 592, 866, et alib. QCKLEY, vol. ii. introd. p. 39.

Khalif's forces fell upon this vast multitude early in the morning, put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter of them. Soon after which, the *Greeks*, according to this author, entered the *Moslem* territories with an army of 100,000 men, divided into ten bodies, which burnt several towns and villages, carried off a pretty large number of prisoners, and then retired of their own accord, without having done any thing very considerable. This may possibly be the expedition mentioned in the preceding page; but that it really is so, we must not presume to assert. Be that, however, as it will, as it has been but just taken notice of by *Abu'l-Paraj*, who has scarce touched upon any particulars relating to it, we can say nothing farther of it here. *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Yahya Ebn Zeid*, a famous grammarian and philologer of the university of *Câsa*, departed this life the present year, at *Baghdâd*. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, died in the month of *Dhu'lhaada*, in *Sicily*, the present year. The body was carried out of that island to *Africa*, and interred at *Kairwân*. This *Ibrahim* was a person of great penetration, famous for his wonderful memory, extremely devout, charitable to the poor, and, in fine, one of the best and most excellent princes of the family of *Al Aglab* ^u.

The Moslems take Seleucia.

If we will believe *Eutychius*, the *Moslems* took *Seleucia* from the *Romans*, in the month of the latter *Rabi*, either this or the preceding year, and sent a vast number of the enemy, whom they had made prisoners on this occasion, in the month of *Rajab*, into *Egypt*. The same author writes, that, in the second year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'âfî*, the *Nile* did not rise above thirteen cubits, notwithstanding the prayers of the *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Mohammedans*, to implore from heaven a farther increase of the waters of that river. About this time, one *Eylia*, or *Elias*, was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and remained in that see twenty-eight years. Besides which, nothing material, as far as can be collected from the *Arab* writers, happened in the *Moslem* empire, the present year ^v.

The Khalif's forces conquer Syria and Egypt.

THE 292d year of the *Hejra*, in a great measure coincident with the 905th of the *Christian* æra, proved fatal to the house of *Tolûn* in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The *Khalif Al Mo'âfî*, flushed with the good success that had attended his arms the preceding campaign, resolved to attempt the intire reduction of those provinces. To this he was farther excited by the great loss suf-

^u GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. excerpt. ex cod. Arab. MS. in Biblioth. D. Laurent. Escorial. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 19.

^v EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 488—491.

ained by *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn* in the *Karmatian* war, two or three years before, wherein all his best commanders were cut off, and the flower of his forces perished. He, therefore, sent *Mohammed Ebn Solimân* with a powerful army to make himself master both of *Syria* and *Egypt*; who first attacked and defeated a large body of the *Karmatian* troops near *Hems*, and took 700 of them prisoners. Soon after which, one of his parties came up with *Al Nâjem*, the general that commanded them, who had made his escape out of the battle, at a village called *Al Dâlta*, seized him, and brought him to *Mohammed Ebn Salimân*, who sent him, together with the 700 prisoners, under a strong escorte, to the *Khalîf*, then at *Al Rakka*. Upon their arrival, that prince ordered them all to be conducted to *Baghdâd*; where *Al Nâjem* was first tortured, and afterwards beheaded, and the others put to death, without mercy. The bodies of *Al Nâjem* and the other principal *Karmatian* captives were, after these executions, hung upon gibbets erected for that purpose without the gates of the city. From *Hems*, which after this victory immediately surrendered to him, *Mohammed Ebn Solimân* marched to *Damascus*; the gates of which city *Badr Al Jamâni*, *Harûn's* commandant there, opened to him at his approach. After the surrender of *Damascus*, *Mohammed* led his army through *Palestine*, in order to reach with all possible expedition the borders of *Egypt*. *Harûn*, receiving advice of *Mohammed's* march, advanced with his forces to the frontiers, to dispute the passage into his kingdom with him. By the advice of his generals, he took post in a place called *Al Abbâsia*, in that part of *Egypt* known by the name of *Al Hûf*, where he waited for *Mohammed Ebn Solimân*. In the mean time, *Damianus*, or *Damiân*, a Greek, the *Khalîf's* admiral, appeared with that prince's fleet off the coasts of *Egypt*, and landed a body of troops, that routed a large detachment of *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah's* forces at *Tanûbah*. *Shaibân Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, imagining that a favourable opportunity now offered of setting up for himself, assassinated his nephew *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah* on Sunday the 18th of the month *Safar*, and for some days was considered as the sovereign of *Egypt*. But the officers of the army having an utter aversion to the assassin, wrote a letter to *Mohammed Ebn Solimân*, pressing him to hasten his march, and assuring him that they were ready to submit to the *Khalîf*, provided that prince would take them under his protection. *Mohammed*, having granted their request, and sent them such an answer as satisfied them in every particular, entered *Egypt* the 28th of *Safar*, without opposition. After which, he advanced with his army drawn up in order of battle to

to *Al Riyah*, at a small distance from *Mesr*, where he was met by *Shaibân* himself, and several of his brothers, who submitted to the *Khalif*; upon which, an unlimited pardon and amnesty were granted them by *Mohammed*, in his master's name, both for their lives and effects. However, that general ordered all the officers and secretaries that had been in the service of the family of *Tolân* to leave *Egypt*, and retire with their effects, the possession of which was secured to them, to *Baghdâd*. As for *Mohammed* himself, he exacted of those to whom he had granted the *Khalif*'s protection, and others, the sum of 1,000,000 *dinârs*, remained six months at the head of the administration in *Egypt*, and then, after he had substituted in his room *Isa Al Nâsheri*, to govern the province, went to *Irâk*. Here he also collected another sum, drawn out of various provinces, amounting to 1,000,000 *dinârs*, for the use of the *Khalif*. But that prince having been informed, that *Mohammed* had imbezzled a considerable part of the public revenues of *Egypt*, and amassed to himself vast sums of money there, put him under arrest, and even loaded him with irons, in order to oblige him to refund what he had pilloined in that opulent country. After *Mohammed*'s arrival in *Irâk*, *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Khalij*, one of *Harûn*'s commanders in *Syria*, who had remained for some time with *Mohammed Ebn Solimân* there, revolted against the *Khalif*, and posted himself with a body of troops he had assembled at *Al Ramla*, threatening to make an irruption into *Egypt*. The news of *Al Khâlîj*'s design reaching the ears of *Isa Al Nâsheri*, he and *Al Husein Ebn Ahmed Al Mâderâni* put themselves at the head of the forces in *Egypt*, and advanced towards the frontiers, in order to meet him, and give him battle; but receiving advice of his approach, and being informed that his army was much more numerous than had before been given out, they retired with great precipitation to *Al Fostat*. Not thinking themselves safe there, they fled, after a short stay, to *Al Jiza*; burning two bridges in their flight, to prevent *Al Khalij* from coming up with them. In fine, they were struck with such terror, that they never continued long in one place, but moved about the country as if they had been pursued by an enemy of superior strength. This threw the inhabitants of *Al Fostat*, now intirely abandoned, and left without a governor, as well as those of the adjacent district, into such a consternation, that *Al Khalij* seized upon *Mesr*, which he entered on *Thursday* the 16th of *Dhu'lkaada*, the present year, without opposition, and resided there eight months. After the expiration of that short term, he was driven out of *Egypt* by the *Khalif*'s troops, as will more clearly appear

near from our enumeration of the principal transactions of the following year¹.

THE next year, being the 293d of the *Hejra*, commencing *November 2d, 905*, *Al Mo'etafi* sent an army into *Egypt*, *feat Mo-* under the command of *Fâtec*, his freed-man, and *Badr Al Fadl* *hammered* *Jamâmi*, to reduce the rebel *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Khâlîj*. *Ebn Ali* The *Khâlîf's* forces found him posted near *Al Fostât*, and, *Al Kha-* after a sharp engagement, intirely defeated him. *Al Khâlîj* *lij there.* himself, however, found means to make his escape, though he was soon after taken out of the lurking-place where he had lain concealed, and brought to *Isa Al Nûsheri*; who sent him, with a great number of rebel officers, in the month of *Rajeb*, to the *Khâlîf* at *Baghdâd*. Upon their arrival there, *Al Mo'etafi* ordered them to be loaded with irons, and thrown into prison. He also recalled *Fâtec*, after he had made a triumphant entry into *Al Fostât*, and appointed *Isa Ebn Mohammed Al Nûsheri* to preside over the province of *Egypt*¹.

THE same year, the *Karmatians*, under the command of *The Kar-* *Zakrûna Ebn Mabru'na*, seized upon *Adbraât* and *Basra*, pil- *mations* *laged* those two cities, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. *and the* After which, they advanced to *Damascus*, slew *Saleh Ebn* *Greeks* *Fadl*, the governor's deputy there, and plundered the adja- *invade the* cent district. But they were repulsed, in a sally, by the gar- *Moslem* *empire.* *ison*, who drove them from the place, after they had destroyed abundance of their men. Notwithstanding which, *Zakrûna* marched to *Tiberias*, called by the *Arabs* *Tabariyah*, where he was met by *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim*, with a body of the *Khâlîf's* forces, who gave him battle, intirely defeated him, and pursued him into the desert as far as *Al Sawân*. Here, however *Zakrûna* waited for *Yusef*, overthrew him in his turn, with very great slaughter, and made himself master of his camp. The place where this battle was fought is called by some authors *Sabian*, and said to be in the neighbourhood of *Kadesia*, a city of the *Babylonian Irâk*, about fifteen parasangs off *Câsa*. Be that as it will, so unexpected a blow as this could not but greatly embarrass the *Khâlîf's* affairs. About this time, died *Abmed Ebn Yahya Ebn Isbak*, the *Rawandian*, who wrote a great number of impious books, according to *Shahab'uddin*, at *Rababah*. We must not forget to observe, that the *Greeks* invaded the *Moslem* territories, took the city of *Cyrrhus*, or

¹ EUTYCH. ubi sup p. 490---499. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 283, 284. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 292. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 498, 499. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. ubi sup. p. 592.

Kârûs, burnt the great mosque there, massacred most of the inhabitants, and carried off the rest with them prisoners, the present year ².

The Karmatians plunder a caravan going to Mecca, and are routed by the Khalif's troops.

THE following year, being the 294th of the *Hejra*, the *Karmatians*, who still remained in the desert, fell upon a caravan going to *Mecca*, plundered it, and put about 20,000 pilgrims to the sword. This so enraged the *Khalif*, that he immediately sent *Wasif*, one of his generals, with a considerable body of his troops, to take vengeance of them for daring an affront. *Wasif*, in pursuance of his orders, soon came up with them, and attacked them, loaded and unmolested with the spoils they had taken, so opportunely, that, after an obstinate resistance, he put them to the rout. *Zakrûna*, their chief, was taken prisoner in the action, and died of a contusion he had received, that hurt his brain, five days after; notwithstanding which, *Wasif* sent his body, attended by his wife, domestics, and a great number of *Karmatians* prisoners, to *Baghdâd*. Upon their arrival there, the body, preceded by *Zakrûna's* wife, was carried in triumph through the principal streets of the city, and all the prisoners put to a cruel death. This year, *Ismael Ebn Ahmed Al Samâni*, the *Khalif* of the *Transoxana* and *Khorasân*, died at *Samarikand*. The last defeat so humbled the *Karmatians*, that they did not attempt to disturb the repose of the empire for several years ³.

The Khalif Al Moctafi dies at Baghdâd.

IN the 295th year of the *Hejra*, beginning October 12th, 907, the *Khalif Al Moctafi* departed this life at *Baghdâd*. Some authors relate, that he died the 13th of *Dhu'lkaada*, and others the 13th of *Dhu'lhajja*, after he had reigned either six years, six months, and twenty days, or six years, nine months, and two days. With regard to his age, the *Arab* writers likewise differ; some of them making him a little above thirty-one, and others thirty-three, years old at the time of his death. He was short of stature, had a handsome face, large eyes, and a long beard. He was likewise religious, munificent, and had a natural aversion to the effusion of human blood; though he found it absolutely necessary, on some occasions, to punish rebellion and other capital crimes in a proper manner. He left behind him immense riches, and a numerous army; tho' he could not re-annex to the empire all the provinces that had been lost by some of his predecessors. He bore an uncommon affection for the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, as his father had done before him. His principal favourites were *Al Miskin*.

² ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 184. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 592, et alib. GREC. ABU'L-FARAT, ubi sup. p. 284. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 293. GOLLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 133, 2:3, et alib.

³ ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 294.

Ebn Al Hosein and *Fâtec*, his freed-man; his *Visirs Al Kasem Ebn Abdallah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb* and the above-mentioned *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ayûb*; his judges *Yusef Abu Harem Ebn Yakûb*, *Abu Omar*, and *Ali Ebn Abu'l Shawârch*; and his chamberlain *Hafif Al Samarkandi*. The inscription of his seal was *ALI the son of AHMED puts his trust in GOD*. The famous physician *Yusef*, surnamed *Al Sâher*, that is, *the watchful*, or *the vigilant*, and *Al Kas*, that is, *the elder*, or *the antient*, flourished in this *Khalif's* reign. Some authors relate, that he seldom slept above four hours, and spent all the rest of the night in study; from whence he received the appellation of *Al Sâher*. Others say, that he was deprived of his natural rest by a cancer, and derived from thence the first of his surnames; and, in confirmation of this sentiment, it clearly appears from some of his works, that he was troubled with such a disorder. About nine months before *Al Moctâfi's* death, *Ismael Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni*, the sovereign of *Mawarâ'lnabr* and *Khorasân*, departed this life; as did *Mohammed Ebn Nafr Al Merâzi*, a celebrated author, the preceding year, at *Samarkand*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to the eastern historians, *Al Mondar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Roderic of Toledo*, died, the 16th of the month *Safar* this year, in *Spain* ^b.

S E C T. XL.

UPON the death of *Al Moctâfi*, *Jaafar Abu'l Fadhl Al Andîs succ-Moktader*, surnamed *Bi'llah*, in common with his two ceded by immediate predecessors, ascended the *Moslem* throne. He was *Al Mok*-inaugurated at *Baghdâd* the very day on which his brother *Al tader Moctâfi* died; being then, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al B'llah. Tabari*, not quite fourteen years of age. His mother's name was either *Sa'f*, or *Sba'b*, and his own at large *Jaafar Abu'l Fadhl Al Moktader Bi'llah Ebn Al Mo'taded*. This year, *Abu Nafr Ahmed Al Sammâni* succeeded his father *Ismael Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni* in the sovereignty of *Khorasan* and *Mawarâ'lnahr*; as did *Abdallah* his brother *Al Mondar* in that of *Andalusia*, or *Spain*. About a month before the last event happened, died *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Nafr Al Termedi*, a famous *Sonnite* theologer of the sect of *Al Shâfeî*. An *Emîr* arrived in *Sicily*, from *Africa*, with some *Moslem*

^b ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 184, 185. KHONDEMIR, ABULFEB. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 295. Vide etiam EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et D'HERBEL, ubi sup.

troops, in the month of *May*; and, being reinforced by a body of the *Sicilian* forces, made himself master of *Taormina*, the *Tauromenium* of the antients, called by the *Arabs* *Taberna*, the first of *August*, which happened to be on *Sunday*, the present year c.

Al Mortadi Ebn Al Mo'tazz is placed upon the Moslem throne, and, after 24 hours reign, deposed.

THE next year, being the 296th of the *Hajra*, commencing *September* 30, 908, *Al Abbās Ebn Al Hosein*, *Al Moktader's* *Visir*, and *Fátac*, were cut to pieces by the soldiery, commanded by *Al Hosein Ebn Hamdān*, who assembled in a tumultuous manner, the twentieth of the former *Rabi*, and, not content with that outrage, afterwards deposed the *Khalif* himself, whom they despised on account of his tender age. The *Moslem* throne being by this means become vacant, they placed thereon *Abd'allah Ebn Al Motazz*, surnamed by them *Al Mortadi Bi'llah*, who appointed *Mohammed Ebn Dawd* his *Visir*. But *Al Mortadi* being immediately deserted by many of those who assisted him in his elevation to the *Khalifat*, *Al Moktader's* forces proved superior to those of the new *Khalif*, and intirely dispersed them. However, *Al Mortadi* made his escape into the desert, after he had reigned about twenty-four hours, where he lay a short time concealed. But being soon taken, he was instantly brought to *Al Moktader*; who ordered him to be strangled, together with *Mohammed Ebn Dawd Ebn Al Harāb*, his *Visir*, and *Sawdar Ebn Al Hafās*, who had concealed him. After these executions, *Al Mortadi's* body was carried out of the imperial palace, and interred in a spot of ground opposite to his own house, the 2d of the latter *Rabi*; *Al Moktader's* adherents giving out every-where, that he died a natural death. *Al Mortadi*, at the time of his tragical exit, is said to have been about 49 or 50 years of age. During this state of confusion, the mob committed great disorders at *Baghdād*; but the ringleaders were soon after seized, and brought to condign punishment, and all commotions appeased, both there and in every other part of the empire. As for *Al Hosein Ebn Hamdān*, though he had been the chief author of the late revolt, and the principal fomenter of all the disturbances consequent thereupon, the *Khalif*, at his brother *Ibrahim's* intercession, did not only pardon him, but likewise made him a present of a sumptuous vest, and conferred upon him likewise the government of *Kam* and *Kāshān*. This year, there fell such an immense quantity of snow, in one day, at *Baghdād*, that it was four feet deep

c ABU JA'AFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ISM. ABULFED. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moktader Bi'llah*, p. 590. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiæ. ubi sup.

in every part of the district of that metropolis ; which before had never been known in the memory of man. This was followed by a most severe frost ; during which the cold was so intense, that it destroyed most of the palm-trees and vegetables in the territory of *Baghdad*. Nay, not only water, vinegar, and all other liquors, but likewise eggs of every kind, were frozen up by it, and rendered unfit for use. It appears from *Eutychius*, that *Abu Abd'allah Al Mohtaseb Bi'llah* defeated the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s forces, and drove the family of *Al Aglab* from thence, the present year ; upon which, *Abu Nasr*, or *Nasser*, *Ziyadat'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the head of that family, fled into *Egypt*, where he arrived in the month of *Ramadân*, and from thence retired to *Al Ramla*, in which city he spent the remainder of his days. *Abu Abd'allah Al Mohtaseb*, having thus, by the expulsion of the *Aglabites*, made himself master of *Kairwân*, placed *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, one of *Al*'s descendants, upon the throne there, and obliged all the subjects of that *Khalifat* to take an oath of fidelity to him. This revolution in *Africa* occasioned an insurrection of the *Sicilian Moslems*, under the conduct of *Abu'l Fawâres*, against *Ebn Ziyâj*, whom they forced to abandon *Sicily*, the first of *April*, 909, and to make the best of his way to *Africa*. It must be remembered here, that the unfortunate prince *Al Mortadi Ebn Al Mo'tazz* was esteemed by his contemporaries for his wise sayings, his even temper and tranquillity of mind, his love of divine knowledge, and his fine poetical compositions ; and that some of his verses have been preserved by *Abu Jansar Al Tabari* ^a.

THE following year, being the 297th of the *Hejra*, *Isa Al Moh-Ebn Mohammed Al Nûsheri*, *Al Moktader*'s governor of *Egypt*, died, the 10th of *Shaabân*, at *Al Fostât* ; and, as soon as the *Khalif* of news of his death arrived at court, the *Khalif* sent *Yakin Al Kairwân*, *Harari* to preside over that province in his stead. *Abu'l extends Kasem Jonaid Ebn Mohammed Al Sûfi*, the famous *Imâm* of the *Sûfi*'s, died the present year. About this time, *Leo* ^{questi}. was constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and sat seventeen years in that see. This year, *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, the founder of the dynasty of the *Fâtemites*, assumed the surname of *Al Mohdi*, and greatly extended his conquests in *Africa*. Nay, he visited the *Aglabite* territories in *Sicily*, and

^a GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 285, 286. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 185, 186. ISM. ABULEED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 296. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 500---503. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. et JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 7, 8.

exacted an oath of allegiance of the *Moslems* settled there. He also put himself at the head of the *grandees*, whom he convoked soon after his arrival in the island, and assisted at their deliberations. Whilst he resided in *Sicily*, *Al Isa*, the prince, or regulus of *Sejelmessa*, who had refused to recognize his authority, was brought before him, and put to death by his order. After he had spent forty days in this part of his dominions, he returned to *Africa*. He likewise caused an exact account to be taken of all his subjects properties and effects, during his residence at *Rakada*, or *Rakkada*, the seat of the later princes of the house of *Al Aglab*, and sent officers to collect the tribute demanded of them. At the same time, he dispatched governors into all the western provinces confirming the *Khalifat* of *Kairwân*; and in particular *Al Hasan Ebn Ahmed* into *Sicily*. Tho' *Abu Mobammed Obeid'allah* assumed the surname of *Mohdi*, or director of the faithful, yet the *Moslems* believe, that this title is properly applicable to none but the twelfth *Imâm*, who is to make his appearance at the end of the world ^e.

Authors not agreed about the origin of AlMohdi. IN the 298th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* took upon himself the title, or appellation, of emperor of the faithful, and gave out that he was descended, in a right line, from *Ebn Abu Tâleb* and *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*. For which reason, the *Arab* writers call him and his descendants *Fâtemites*; though some of them have handed down to us a far different account of this usurper's origin, as will hereafter be more particularly observed. He was born, as some will have it, at *Salamiyah*, or, as others with more probability believe, in *Irâk*, about the 269th year of the *Hejra*; and built a city, from him denominated *Al Mohdia*, wherein he afterwards fixed his residence, the present year. Before the conclusion of it, according to *Eutychius*, he likewise put to death *Abu Abd'allah Al Mohtaseb*, his general; but for what crime this punishment was inflicted on him, we have not been by that annalist informed ^f.

He continues victorious over the THE next year, being the 299th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Moktader* having been offended by *Ali Ebn Mobammed Al Farât*, removed him from the post of *Visir*. This happened in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*; soon after which, the *Khalif*

^e ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 185. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL KADI SHAHABO'D-DIN EBN ABI'LDAM ALHAMANI, in *Tarikh*, seu histor. cai tit. 4. *modfer*, in Bibliothec. Escorial. D'HERBEL. Bibliothec. orient. p. 342. Vide etiam MARCUM DOBELLIUM, apud Augustin. Inveg. in Ahoal. Panorm. tom. secund. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS, p. 19.

^f ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 187. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 502, 503. D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

new him into prison, and appointed *Ali Ebn Mohammed* (or *house of* *Abu Ali Mohammed*) *Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Al Aglab. bâkân* to succeed him. This *Visir* was surnamed *Dakka, edrabo*, that is, *the person beating his breast*, because he always appeared in that attitude, whenever any petition was put up to him. *Al Muktader* was now wholly governed by his women and eunuchs. *Abu'l Hasan Mohammed Ebn Ahmed*, commonly called *Ebn Kisan*, who was extremely well versed both in the grammar taught at *Cûfa*, and in that which prevailed at *Basra*, and *Ishak Ebn Honain*, a celebrated physician, died the present year. About this time, the *Moslems*, under the command of *Damiân*, the *Emîr* of *Tyre*, and *Leo* of *Tripoli*, with a fleet of 300 ships, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts, and in the islands, of the *Ægean* sea, and utterly defeated the *Greek* navy in a sea-fight near the island of *Samos*; *Himerius* himself, the *Greek* admiral, having with much difficulty escaped to *Mitylene*. The famous *Leopenus* was at that time governor of *Samos*; but he could afford *Himerius* no considerable assistance in this naval engagement, *Al Mohdi* continued victorious over the partizans of the house of *Al Aglab*, throughout the whole course of the present year &c.

THE following year, being the 300th of the *Hejra*, *Hab-basab*, one of *Al Mohdi's* generals, overthrew the *Khalif's* forces in the neighbourhood of *Barka*, and made himself master of that city. After the reduction of *Barka*, then extremely populous, situated between *Tripoli* and *Egypt*, *Hab-basab* marched directly to *Alexandria*, defeated another of the *Khalif's* armies, drawn up in order of battle to cover the place, and then entered the town without opposition. One of his detachments likewise reduced *Al Fayûm*, taken particular notice of by *Abulfeda*, and *Al Bahnasa*. *Al Mohdi*, receiving advice of the great success that had attended his arms, sent a strong reinforcement, commanded by his son *Abu'l Kâsem*, to the victorious troops that had in a manner conquered *Egypt*. *Al Muktader* also, being informed of what had happened, dispatched *Al Kâsem Ebn Samâ*, with a body of auxiliary troops, to reinforce his army in *Egypt*, and to drive the rebels out of the western provinces; who, upon his arrival at *Al Jizab*, or *Al Jiza*, was joined by great numbers of the *Khalif's* subjects, that flocked to him from all parts. *Al Muktader's* army, therefore, in *Egypt*, after the junction of the forces commanded by *Yakîn* (or, according to *Eutychius*, *Takin*) *Al Hurari*, the governor of that province, and *Al*

'E EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 299. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 606.

Kāsem Ebn Samā, consisted of an hundred thousand effective men. *Habbasah*, having been acquainted that the *Khalif*'s troops were in motion, advanced at the head of his army to give them battle, and at last came up with them in the island denominated by the *Arabs* *Arḍ Al Khamṣa*. Here he attacked them with unparalleled bravery, notwithstanding their force was much superior to his; but the approach of the night obliged the generals on both sides to sound a retreat. The action, therefore, was by no means decisive, though extremely bloody; *Takin* and *Al Kāsem* having lost in it 20,000 men, and *Habbasah* 10,000. The latter, however, durst not renew the fight the next morning, but stole off in the night, and found himself obliged to return home; so that the *Khalif*'s troops remained masters of the field of battle, and, in effect, gained a victory, as they forced the enemy to abandon *Egypt*. The great church at *Alexandria*, called by the *Arabs* *Al Kaisriā*, or *Cæsarea*, that had formerly been a pagan temple, erected in honour of *Saturn* by the famous *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, was set on fire the third of *Shawwāl*; though it does not appear from *Eutychius*, who mentions this accident, that it was then intirely consumed. The same year, died *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thāber* and *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar Ebn Mobammed Ebn Abd'alrahmān*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who swayed the *Moslem* sceptre in *Spain*. The former of these was a brave experienced general, of consummate skill in the art of war, who had distinguished himself in many actions of éclat; and the latter was succeeded by his brother *Abd'alrahmān Ebn Al Mondar Ebn Mobammed Ebn Abd'alrahmān*, who, according to *Abu Ja'afar Al Tabari*, first assumed the title of emperor of the faithful in *Spain*. *Andalus* styles this prince the lord, or *Emir*, of *Andalusia*, and calls him *Abd'allah Ebn Mobammed Ebn Abd'alrahmān Ebn Hishām*. He also relates, that this *Abd'alrahmān* was forty-two years of age at the time of his death; that he was grey-eyed, of a middle stature, with a reddish beard, which he dyed black, and of a fair complexion; that he reigned almost six years, and had eleven sons, one of whom, named *Mobammed Al Maḥṣūl*, he caused to be put to death, for some crime he had been guilty of; and that he was succeeded by *Abd'alrahmān*, this prince's son. We are assured also by *Roderic of Toledo*, that this *Abd'alrahmān* was the son of *Mobammed*, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar*'s son, and consequently his predecessor's grandson; that he was twenty-three years of age when his grandfather died; and that he governed the *Moslems* in *Spain* about fifty years^a.

THE

^a EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 502—507. SHARIF AL EDISSI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 185. ISM. ABULFED. in *Egypt*.

ARV

THE next year, being the 301st of the *Hejra*, *Abu Sa'id* *Al Hamâni*, the *Karmatian* general, who made an irruption *Al Hamâni* into *Yamâma*, and took *Hajr* and *Al Abfâ*, in the reign of the *manî is* *Khalîf Al Mo'taded*, was assassinated by one of his domestics *assassinat- ed, and* in a bath, and succeeded in the command of the *Karmatian* *succeeded in the* forces by his son *Sa'id*. The new general, immediately after *his* election to that high post, ordered the flesh of the assassin, *who* murdered his father, to be torn off with pincers, till he *command of the* expired. The *Khalîf Al Moktader*, being offended at the conduct of *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Obsid'allah Ebn Yabya Ebn Kbâkân*, his *Visir*, deprived him of his office, and advanced to the sublime post of prime minister *Ali Ebn Al Jarâh* in his room. *Ahmed Ebn Ismael Al Sammâni* was killed by his guards, the 22d of the latter *Jemâda*, and buried in the city of *Bokbâra*. This year, being the seventh of *Al Moktader's* reign, *Abuna Gabriel* was constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*, according to some *Christian* writers followed by *Al Maktn*, and sat in that see eleven years. These authors likewise relate, that *Kosmâ*, or *Cosmas*, was made patriarch of the *Jacobites* there about the same time, and presided over those of that communion twelve years. About this time, died *Al Kâdi Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Mocri Al Thakîfi*, and *Mohammed Ebn Yabya Ebn Nabada*, the author of the *Chronicon of Esfahân*. *Amrân*, the *Moslem* prince of *Al Kbams*, was murdered at *Palermo*, *January* 27th, and *Korhab* appointed *Emîr*, *May* 18th, the present year ⁱ.

THE following year, being the 302d of the *Hejra*, *Hab- The Ma- basab*, or *Habasab*, returned with a numerous army of *Ma- grebians*, or western *Arabs*, into *Egypt*, and possessed himself *invade* of *Alexandria*. He also defeated a body of the *Khalîf's* forces, *Egypt*. commanded by *Munes*, or *Munas*, and killed 7000 of them upon the spot; though the remainder found means to throw themselves into the city of *Alexandria*, that had been abandoned by the *Magrebian* troops. Soon after, *Munes* deprived *Taktin* of the government of *Egypt*; and *Dacâ Al Awar* was sent from *Baghdâd* to succeed him. *Korhab*, or as he is sometimes called *Ebn Korhab*, fitted out a fleet that destroyed a squadron of ships sent by *Al Mehdi* to the coast of *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Abu Khazâr*, his admiral, who was killed in the action, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, this year ^k.

ABU JAAPAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 188. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 300. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. p. 25. ⁱ EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 506, 507. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 301. CHRONIC. SIC. CANTABRIGIENS. ET JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. AL MAKIN, Saracen. hist. l. ii. cap. xix. p. 188. 196.

^k AL M. XIN, ubi sup. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 302. CHRONIC. SIC. CANTABRIGIENS. ET JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 8.

THE

*A rebel-
lion ex-
tinguished
in Meso-
potamia.*

IN the 303d year of the *Hejra*, beginning July 17th, 915, *Hosein Ebn Hamdân* rebelled against the *Khalif* in *Mesopotamia*, defeated an army sent against him, under the command of *Al Ratek the Visir*, took all their baggage, and even threatened the imperial city of *Baghdâd* itself. But he was at last overthrown by *Munas*, or *Munes*, the eunuch, the best general *Al Moktader* had; who took him and his son *Abd' al-wahdîb* prisoners, and conducted them under an escorte, upon a camel, with oblong caps, or turbants, upon their heads, and vests of red hair-cloth on their bodies, through *Al Mausel*, to *Baghdâd*; where, immediately after their arrival, they were thrown into prison. This year, as it should seem, the *Moslems* made an irruption into the imperial territories, under the conduct of *Damiân*, *Emîr* of *Tyre*, and attacked a fortress called *Strobelon*; which they would undoubtedly have taken, had not *Damiân* been surprized by death whilst he was carrying on the siege. According to *Abulfeda*, the *Greeks* likewise penetrated almost as far as the borders of *Mesopotamia*, and afterwards retired into their own dominions, with many prisoners, and a vast quantity of spoil, the present year. Soon after which, *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd' alwahâb*, the *Motaxalite*, and *Abu Abd' alrahmân Ahmed Ebn Ali Shoabî Al Naifawi*, one of the authors of the book of traditions, departed this life; and the latter of them, who died at *Mewa*, was buried between the mounts *Al Safa* and *Al Merwâ*. However, the empress *Zoe*, who had taken upon her the administration, in order to employ the whole strength of the empire against the *Bulgarians*, sent *Joannes Radamus* and *Michael Toxaras*, as her ambassadors, to the *Khalif's* court, to conclude a peace with that prince. These probably were the ambassadors said by some of the *Arab* historians to have arrived from *Constantinople* at *Baghdâd*, in the 304th, and by others in the 305th, year of the *Hejra*, and to have been received by the *Khalif Al Moktader* with the utmost magnificence. The terms of the pacification being settled, and the treaty signed, the imperial ministers, who had been treated with uncommon marks of distinction at the *Moslem* court, returned home. About the same time, *Melîb*, the *Armenian*, invaded the *Moslem* territories, advanced as far as *Mara'sh*, plundered all the neighbouring district, and carried off with him a vast number of prisoners. *Ebn Korbab*, the *Emîr* of the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*, lost a considerable fleet, that he had fitted out against the *Christians*, this year¹.

¹ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 286, 287. GEORG. CEDREN ubi sup. p. 612. EBN SHOHNAH. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej 303. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cant. et JOAN. BAPT. CARL. ubi sup.

THE next year, being the 304th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* ^{points} *The Kha-* removed *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Farât* ^{Ahmed} *lis ap-* from the office of *Visir*, sent him a second time to prison, ^{Ebn Al} after he had filled the post of prime minister about a year, and ^{Abbâs} appointed *Hamed Ebn Al Abbâs* to succeed him. It must be ^{his Visir.} remembered here, that *Ali* had been dismissed from the afore-
said employment in the 299th year of the *Hejra*, and succeeded by *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâ-
kân*, who incurred *Al Moktader's* displeasure in 301. Upon
which, *Ali Ebn Al Jarâh* was advanced, to the dignity of
Visir, and deprived of his sublime office by the *Khalif* in 303.
After which, *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Fa-
rât* held a second time the reins of the empire about a year.
The *Sicilian Moslems* deposed *Ebn Korhab* in the month of
July, and sent him back to *Africa*, where he and his son af-
terwards died. *Abu Sa'id Al Daif* arrived likewise in *Sicily*,
with a large body of troops from *Africa*, in order to bring
the *Sicilians* back to a sense of their duty, the 15th of *August*,
the present year. About the same time, died *Yusef Ebn Al
Hosein Ebn Al Râzi*, and *Al Hosein*, one of *Ali's* descendants,
who had expelled the *Sammâniâns* out of *Tabresstân*, in the
the year of the *Hejra* 301^m.

THE following year, being the 305th of the *Hejra*, com- ^{An em-} mencing *June* 24th, 917, the *Greek* emperor sent an em- ^{bassy from} bassy to the *Moslem* court, in order to settle with the *Khalif's* ^{the Greek} ministers a truce, or cessation of arms, and a ransom of pri- ^{emperor} soners. The two ambassadors had first an audience of the ^{arrives at} *Visir*, and afterwards of the *Khalif*. The first of these treated ^{the Mos-} them with great marks of distinction, being most richly ^{lem court.} dressed; and the latter received them sitting on his throne, and surrounded by his guards, with the utmost pomp and magni-
ficence. He also agreed to the emperor's demands, and sent
Munes, one of his most experienced generals, to conduct the
cartel for the redemption of prisoners on the part of the *Mos-*
lems, and gave him 120,000 *dinârs* to redeem the *Khalif's* sub-
jects that had been carried into captivity by the *Greeks*. *Ebn
Shohnah* writes, that the imperial ambassadors arrived at *Bagh-
dâd* the preceding year; that the *Khalif's* palace was adorned
on this occasion with the most valuable furniture belonging to
it, and all sorts of arms disposed in a proper manner; that his
guards were ranged in order of battle, to the number of
160,000 men, and received their pay out of a golden purse;
that 40,000 white eunuchs and 30,000 black ones, together

^m EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 506, 507. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 304.
Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. CARUS.
ubi sup.

with

with 700 ushers, or door-keepers, appeared upon the avenues and at the gates of the palace; that an infinite number of vessels upon the *Tigris* presented themselves to their view, and made a most brilliant appearance; that the palace was hung within and without with 12,000 pieces of silk, 500 brocados, and 12,500 pieces of rich tapestry of admirable workmanship, and almost inestimable value; that, in the middle of the great saloon, there was exhibited a tree of massive gold, which had eighteen principal branches, on which there fluttered a great number of little birds, made likewise of gold and silver, that warbled their notes with most delightful harmony; and that the *Greek* ambassadors beheld these scenes of grandeur with prodigious admiration. About the same time, *Abu'l Hijâ*, with his brethren and domestics, was delivered out of prison, where, by *Al Moktader's* order, he had been confined. The *Sicilian Moslems* discovering no inclination to submit to *Abu Sa'id Al Daif*, he entered the port of *Palermo* with his fleet, landed a body of troops there, and laid siege to the town. The *Sicilians*, however, having made an alliance with *Ebn Ali Wawâ Al Saari*, and been reinforced by him, defended the city with great bravery till the 12th of *March*, tho' they laboured under such a scarcity of provisions, that an ounce of salt was sold for two *taries*, or *tarens*. But, notwithstanding this vigorous resistance, the troops in garden found themselves obliged to capitulate then, and to open their gates to the victors, after they had granted them their lives, and the secure possession of all their properties and effects^a.

The Khalif of Kairwân's forces surprised Reggio.

NOTHING material happened in the *Arab* empire during the course of the 306th year of the *Hejra*; at least nothing material has been mentioned as then happening there, by the best *Moslem* historians. This year, died the celebrated *Imâm*, *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Soraib*, a follower of *Al Shâfi*, and *Al Kaddi Mohammed Ebn Hayyan Al Dhobbi*, commonly called *Al Waki*, a famous *Moslem* historian. The *Khalif* of *Kairwân's* forces, and his fleet, returned home, in the month of *September*, after they had made one *Sâlem Emîr*, or viceroy, of the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*. Some of that *Khalif's* ships of war, with a body of land-forces on board, also surprised the city of *Reggio* in *Calabria*, towards the conclusion of the present year^b.

Abu'l Kâsem invades Egypt.

In the 307th year of the *Hejra*, *Abu'l Kâsem*, son of the first *Fâtemite Khalif* of *Kairwân*, or, as he is called by the *Cant-*

^a GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 287. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 305. Chronic. Cantabrig. ubi sup. p. 8, 9.

^b ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 306. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabr. ubi sup. p. 9. Vide etiam JOAN. CARUS. ubi sup.

bridge Chronicle, the *Soltân* of *Africa*, invaded *Egypt* with an army of 100,000 men. The *Magrebian* forces at first met with extraordinary success, and over-ran a very considerable part of that fine country. They made themselves masters of *Alexandria*, *Al Fayûm*, *Al Baknasa*, and the isle of *Al Ashmarîn*, and even penetrated into *Al Fîzah*, where the *Khalîf*'s army, under the command of *Munes*, had posted itself, in order to oppose them. In the mean time, *Al Moktader*, having received advice, that the enemy had a strong squadron on the coast of *Egypt*, off *Rasbid*, or *Rosetta*, consisting of 100 ships, sent a powerful fleet, under the conduct of *Thamâl*, his admiral, to attack them. *Thamâl*, in pursuance of his orders, at last came up with the enemy, and fell upon them with such fury, that he either took, sunk, or burnt, almost the whole *Magrebian* fleet; though his naval force did not consist of above 50 ships. The *Sicilian* and *African* prisoners taken by *Thamâl* in this action were spared; but the others, amounting to about 500 men, were all put to the sword. After the destruction of this fleet, *Abu'l Kâsem* retired from *Alexandria* to *Al Fayûm*, and left in the former of those places only a garison of 300 men; of which *Thamâl* having been apprized, he in a few days appeared with his fleet before the town, and carried off the remainder of the citizens to an island in the *Nile*, called the island of *Abukair*. This he did, in order to prevent *Abu'l Kâsem* from meeting with any entertainment at *Alexandria*, in case he should think fit to return thither from *Al Fayûm*. It appears from *Eutychius*, that above 200,000 of the miserable inhabitants of that city had perished since the beginning of the campaign. About this time, a period was put to the power of the *Edrisites*, in the western part of *Africa*. A truce, or cessation of arms, was concluded between *Salem*, the *Emir* of *Sicily*, and the people of *Taormina*, the *Tauromenium* of the antients, called by the *Arabs* *Tabermîn*, a little before the end of this year P.

THE 308th year of the *Hejra* was rendered famous by the *The Magrebian* defeat of the *Magrebian* army in *Egypt*. *Munes*, *Al grebiana* *Moktader*'s general, having come to a resolution to give the *defeated* enemy battle, quitted his fortified camp in *Al Fîzah*, advanced by the into the neighbourhood of *Al Fayûm*, and attacked *Abu'l Kâ-* *Abu'l Kâ-* *halîf*'s *sem*'s forces with such bravery, that he overthrew them with *t. 0073.* very great slaughter. He also made himself master of all their baggage, as well as of all the plunder they had acquired. This blow intirely ruined *Abu'l Kâsem*'s affairs in *Egypt*, and

^P EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 506—511. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 307. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. PLIN. PROT. STRAB. OVID. CLUVER. PARUT. &c.

obliged

obliged him to fly, with the shattered remains of his army, to *Kairwân*, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the present year. As for *Munes*, he remained about two months in the neighbourhood of *Al Fayûm*, after the signal victory he had obtained, and then returned to *Baghdâd*. But, before his departure, he appointed *Helâl Ebn Badar* to preside over the province of *Egypt*, that he had wrested out of the enemy's hands ⁹.

Al Hallâj executed at Baghdad.

THE next year, being the 309th of the *Hejra*, beginning May 12th, 921, *Abu Moghith Al Hossein Ebn Mansûr Al Hallâj* was put to death at *Baghdâd*. This extraordinary person has been considered in different lights by the *Moslems*; some of them having looked upon him as a sort of divinity, and others as a juggler and impostor. We are told, that, in summer, he could make winter-fruits appear before any number of spectators, and summer-fruits in winter; that, by stretching out his hands in the air, he could make *dirhêms* fall upon the ground, with this inscription upon them, *ALLAH abed, There is but one GOD*; which he called *the dirhêms of omnipotence*; that he knew every particular transaction in private families; and that he could even penetrate into the most secret recesses of mens minds. A persuasion of such surprising abilities as these could not but gain him a vast number of disciples and followers amongst the vulgar; nor could even several doctors of the law themselves for some time tell what to make of him. Some writers inform us, that he frequently fasted for several days together; and that, when he broke his fast, he only took three mouthfuls of bread, and a little water. With regard to the place of *Al Hallâj*'s nativity, authors are not perfectly agreed; some asserting that he was born at *Nisâbûr*, others at *Merh*, others at *Al Talakân*, and others at *Al Ray*. He came from *Khorasân* into *Irâk*, and went from thence to *Mewa*, where he lived a year in a cave, or, as some will have it, in a place called *Al Hejra*, which was always open at top. He was seen upon mount *Abu Kobais* standing with his bare feet on a stone, and his head uncovered, being at the same time in a violent sweat. After his return to *Baghdâd*, he was much talked of there; many pretending, that the Deity resided in him, nay, that he was GOD himself. The *Visir Hamed* having been told, that he had raised several people from the dead, sent for him, in order to interrogate him about his pretensions. Upon his appearance before the *Visir*, he disclaimed the gift of prophecy, the power of working miracles, and the residence of the Divinity in him; saying, that he had nothing extraordinary in him, and that he worshipped GOD like other men. *Hamed*, therefore, must have immediately dismissed

⁹ EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 510, 511.

him

him, had not one of his books been produced, wherein he maintained, that "if a *Moslem* could not go in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, he ought to perform all the prescribed ceremonies " in some convenient room at home, fitted up and set apart for " that purpose, on the 9th and 10th of *Dhu'lhajja*, feed and " cloath thirty orphans, and afterwards give each of them seven " *dirhims*; and that if he did this, he would from thence reap " all the benefits and advantages accruing to all *Moslems* from " a performance of the aforelaid pilgrimage." This position being manifestly repugnant to what has been advanced in the *Korân*, the doctors of the law unanimously judged *Al Hallâj* worthy of death; which decision being confirmed by the *Khalif*, he was executed in the following manner. First, he received 1000 stripes, without uttering so much as a groan; then one of his hands was cut off, then one of his feet, afterwards the other foot, then the other hand, and, lastly, the fatal stroke was given him, which put an end to his pain. After his execution, his body was burnt, the ashes of it thrown into the *Tigris*, and his head exposed to public view in the market-place of *Baghdâd*. The *Kâdi* who condemned *Al Hallâj* was *Abu Omar*, who passed sentence upon him, not only because he endeavoured to propagate a tenet subversive of the *Mohammedan* faith, but likewise because he fathered so pernicious a notion upon the irreproachable doctor *Al Hasan Bakkteri*, in none of whose works it was to be found. It appears from some good authors, though he denied this to the *Visir*, that he was thoroughly infected with the blasphemous opinions of the *Sâfis*, and even scrupled not to assert, that God had taken up his habitation in him. *Abu'l Hosein Ali Ebn Isa*, a famous and learned doctor, who disputed with him, found him perfectly illiterate, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, and reproved him for his great vanity and impiety. *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Al Fandi*, if we will believe the same historian, saw several of his juggling tricks, and particularly the appearance of a beautiful garden exhibited by him. Some *Arabic* verses attributed to him, that have been preserved by *Al Makin*, seem to point at the union of the divine and human natures in CHRIST; which may have induced some of the *Moslems*, as we find hinted by *Khondemir*, to have taken him for a *Christian*; tho', after all, as has been observed by M. *D'Herbelot*, these verses might only contain certain expressions of the *Mohammedan* mystical theology, by which the *Moslem* enthusiasts understood the intimate union of the divinity with the heart of man detached from the love of worldly things, and transported beyond itself. It may also be farther remarked, that the *Shiites* have entertained the most extravagant fancies of their *Imâms*, and applied particularly to *Ali* several things which are said in

Scrip-

Scripture of CHRIST ; and that most of the other *Mohammedan* sects are tainted with the same madness; there being found many amongst them, and, amongst the *Sûfis* especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and boast of strange revelations before the credulous people. "Matters are come to that pass," says *Al Ghazâli*, "that some boast of an union with GOD, and " of discoursing familiarly with him, without the interposition of a veil, saying, It hath been thus said to us, and " we have thus spoken; affecting to imitate *Al Husein Al Hallâj*, " who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered " by him; he having said, as was proved by credible witnesses, *I am the truth*; or *Abu Yazid Al Bastâmi*, of whom " it is related, that he often used the expression, *Sabbâni*, i. e. " *Praise be unto me!* But this way of talking is the cause of " great mischief amongst the common people; inasmuch that " husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges; nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for " leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their " souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the most stupid " fellows from forming the like pretensions, and catching at " such expressions: for whenever what they say is denied to " be true, they fail not to reply, that our unbelief proceeds " from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a veil, " and logic the work of the mind: whereas what they tell " us appears only within, being discovered by the light of " truth. But this is that truth, the sparks whereof have " flown into several countries, and occasioned great mischiefs; " so that it is more for the advantage of GOD's true religion " to put to death one of those who utter such things, than to " bestow life on ten others." *Tajo'ddin Ali Ebn Ahmed Al Baghdâdi*, who died in the 674th year of the *Hejra*, has written the life of *Abu Moghith Al Husein Ebn Mansûr Al Hallâj*, of whom we have here been speaking, under the title of *Akbar Al Hallâj*. *Al Ghazâli* likewise and *Ebn Kbalcân* have been very prolix on the actions and behaviour of this extraordinary person. *M. D'Herbelot*, in the account he has given of *Al Hallâj*, truly calls *Gayath Addin Ebn Hamam Addin*, surnamed *Khondemîr*, the abbreviator of *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khowând Shâh*, commonly going under the name of *Mirkhond*; though, in another place, he wrongly intimates, that *Khondemîr* and *Khowând Shâh* were the very same person: which falls very little short of a clear and express contradiction.

THE

^r GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 287—289. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 188, 189. KHONDEMIR, AL GHAZALI, apud Pocockium, in

THE same year in which *Al Hallāj* was executed at *Bagh-Yakīn dād*, that is, the 309th of the *Hejra*, *Yakīn Al Harari* was succeeded deprived of the government of *Egypt*, and *Abu Fanus* appointed to succeed him in that post. The new governor did not remain above five days in his office, having been deposed within that term, in order to make way for his predecessor *Yakīn*, or *Takīn*. The *Kbalif*, however, soon removed *Yakīn*, and substituted in his room *Helāl Ebn Yezīd*.

THE following year, being the 310th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ebn Jorair Ebn Mowayyad Al Tabari*, the author of the history we have for the most part followed here, departed this life at *Baghdād*. He was an *Imām* of great piety, as well as of most extensive reading and erudition. The *Moslems* call his valuable work *Al Tarikh Al Tabari*, and have it in such high esteem, that they look upon it as the basis and foundation of all their other histories. *Ebn Al Jāzi* writes, that his history at first consisted of a great number of volumes, and that the copies we now have of it are only an abridgment of a larger work. *Ebn Al Sobki* relates, that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* having asked his friends whether they could take any pleasure in reading a history of every thing that had happened in the world to the age in which they lived, they made answer, that they should very willingly read such a history, if it could any-where be found: upon which, this author having told them, that he had actually compiled 30,000 leaves upon that subject, they immediately replied, that their whole life-time would not be sufficient to read over so voluminous a work in. Whereupon, *Al Tabari* assured them, that he would abridge it as much as he could for their use; and this, says *Ebn Al Sobki*, is the abridgment that still remains in our hands. *Ebn Shohnah* writes, that this history began with the creation of the world; that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 224, was a strenuous defender of the *Korān*; and that, notwithstanding this, he was looked upon as an heretic, or *Shiite*, at *Baghdād*. The last of which articles is confirmed by *Abulfeda*; who says, he was considered as heterodox by the populace of *Baghdād*, because he made not the least mention of the famous *Abmed Ebn Hanbal*, in the treatise he wrote upon the controversies of the *Fakhis*, learned interpreters of the law, or masters of jurisprudence. The *Tarikh* of *Al Tabari* has been translated into *Persic* by *Abu Ali Mohammed Al*

in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 267. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. Abu'l HASAN EBN AL JONDI, apud Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. TA-JO'DDIN ALI EBN ARMED AL BAGHDADI, in *Al Akbbār Al Hallāj*. EBN KHALECAN, EBN SHOHNAH, ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 309. D'HER. Bib. orient. art. *Hallaj*, p. 423, 424. art. *Essbam*, p. 192, 193. art. *Kbondemir*, p. 994. et alib. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 189.

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L 1

Yali,

Yâli, who served some of the *Samânian* princes in the capacity of *Vîsir*, in the time of *Manfûr Ebn Nâb*, and the 352d year of the *Hejra*, according to *M. D'Herbelot*. The same history has also been translated into *Turkish* by an uncertain author, and many copies of this version are to be met with amongst the *Turks*. *Abu Mohammed Abd'allah Ebn Mobammed Al Fargânî* obliged the world with a continuation of the *Târîkh* of *Al Tabari*, and published it under the title of *Selat*. *Abu'l Hâsan Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Hamadâni*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 521, has written another supplement, wherein he has brought the history of which we are speaking down to his own times. *Abu Jaasar* is said by *Abulfeda* to have been born at *Amû*, or *Amol*, the capital of *Tabrestân*, and from thence to have derived the surname of *Al Tabari*. *M. D'Herbelot* is inconsistent with himself, when, in one passage of his book, he asserts, that *Al Tabari* concluded his history with the 300th year of the *Hejra*, and, in another, that he has preserved the *Arabic* verses spoken by *Al Hallâj* at the place of execution, in the year of the *Hejra* 309. *Abulfeda* relates, that the *Târîkh* of *Al Tabari* concludes with the year of the *Hejra* 302. However, we are inclined to believe, that our author continued his work, which he began at the creation of the world, to the day of *Al Hallâj's* execution, if not in a manner to the very time of his own death. *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sahl*, a doctor of great repute amongst the *Sâfis*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Harûn Al Harrâni*, a celebrated physician, died the preceding year. We must beg leave to observe, that an imperfect MS. copy of the *Târîkh* of *Abu Jaasar Al Tabari*, in (A) *Arabic*,

(A) The MS. (1) referred to by *Mr. Ockley* is not properly a part of the *Târîkh* of *Al Tabari*, but only *Al Makin's* abridgment of part of that valuable work. As the diacritical points are preserved in this beautiful manuscript, any person tolerably well versed in the *Arabic* language may, by its assistance, not only oblige the learned world with a much more correct and accurate *Latin* version of part of *Al Makin's* abridgment than that of *Erpenius*, which is a very indifferent one, but likewise with a continuation of that version. For, that part

of *Al Makin's* history, translated into *Latin* by *Erpenius*, and published after his death by *Galen*, ends with the life of *Al Mohtashar* (2) the twenty-eighth *Khalîf* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 512; whereas the *Oxford MS.* goes on to his son and successor *Al Mohtashar*, and the rest of the *Khalîfs* of that line, and ends with *Rucn'addin*, or *Rocn'udin*, the fourth of the *Babrits*, or *Turkish* (3), *Mamlûks*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 676, 20 years after the *Tartars* had made themselves masters of *Baghdad*.

(1) *Land's MSS.* num. 124. A. p. 367, 377, &c.

(2) *Greg. Abu'l-Fazl, in his copy. Al Makin. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmûk, in Al Ja'ib. Al Tabari. Muhammad Ebn Abu'l Sarîr Al Sadûki, in Al Rand. &c.*

according

According to Mr. Ockley, has a place assigned it in the Bodleian library at Oxford¹.

IN the 311th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* removed *Helâl* The *Karmatians* *Ebn Yezîd* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Ab-ned Ebn Keigalag* to preside over that province; but he soon *take* made way for *Yakn Al Harari*, who was again put at the head *Basra*. of the administration there, and continued to govern the *Egyptians* till the death of *Al Moktader*. The same year, *Abu Thâher Solimân Ebn Abu Sa'id Al Jannâbi*, who succeeded his brother *Sa'id* in the command of the *Karmatian* forces, and pretended to great skill in the occult sciences, penetrated to *Basra* with an army of 107,000 men, made himself master of that city, put all the inhabitants that fell into his hands to the sword, burnt the great mosque there, and thoroughly plundered every part of the town. However, being apprehensive of a visit from the *Khalif's* troops, after he had possessed himself of it seventeen days, he thought fit to abandon the place. The *Khalif* constituted *Ali Ebn Ahmed* (or *Mohammed*) *Ebn Al Farât*, whom he delivered out of prison for that purpose, in the latter *Rabî*, the third time, his *Visir*. *Abu Mohammed Ahmed Ebn Al Jorairi*, a doctor held in much esteem amongst the *Sâfis*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Al Sari Al Zajjâj*, a famous grammarian, departed this life the present year. It appears from *Eutychius*, that the *Moslems* demolished the *Melchite* churches of *St. Cosmas* and *St. Cyriacus* in *Al Ramla*, two others in *Afkalon*, *Ashkelon*, or *Askalân*, and *Cæsarea*, and another in *Tanis*, or *Tinnis*, a very ancient city of the lower *Egypt*, which were all afterwards rebuilt by *Al Moktader's* order, in the latter *Jomâda* and *Rajeb*, the present year².

THE next year, being the 312th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thâher* *AbuThâ-* fell in with a caravan of pilgrims, on their return from *Mecca* to her at- *Baghdâd*, in a place called *Al Naher*, or *Al Nahr*, attacked their tacks and escorte, commanded by *Abu'l Hîjâ Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân Abu plunders a Saifo'ddawla*, the governor of *Al Mawfel*, *Diyâr Rabia*, *Dinawâr*, caravan.] a city about forty parasangs of *Cûsa*; and at the same distance from *Marâga* in *Adherbijân*, and *Al Jobâl* in the *Persian Irâk*, intirely defeated it, and cut to pieces the greatest part of the *Khalif's* troops of which it was composed. As for *Abu'l*

¹ AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 310. EBN AL JUZI, EBN AL SOBKI, KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Tarikh Al Thabari*, p. 866, 867. et GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 194. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. introd. p. 39, 40.

² AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 189, 190. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 311. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 512, 513, 514, 515. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 140, 141, 144, 147, 148, &c.

Hijá himself, he was taken prisoner in the action, which was extremely sharp, together with a very considerable number of his soldiers and officers, who all fell into the enemies hands. After which, the rebels plundered the caravan, and carried off most of the women and children belonging to it into captivity. The success *Abu Thâber* had met with on this occasion excited him to advance to *Hajr*, where he took post, without any obstruction from the *Khalif's* forces, which were too weak to oppose him. Most of the people that he permitted to make their escape died of thirst, and the fatigue they were obliged to sustain, in the desert. The *Karmatian* general, who was at this time not above nineteen years of age, is said by the authors followed by *Al Makin* to have made 2220 men and fifty women prisoners, and to have acquired a booty of 1,000,000 *dinârs* in money, together with all the rich effects and provisions of the caravan, worth at least as much more, in this successful expedition w.

Abu Thâ- her sends an embas- sador to Baghdâd. THE same year, *Abu Thâber* released *Abu'l Hijâ*, and many of the other prisoners, and sent an ambassador to *Baghdâd*. The purport of this minister's commission was to desire *Al Moktader* to grant his master the sovereignty, or at least to make him perpetual governor, of *Basra* and *Abwâz*; but this the *Khalif* peremptorily refused. However, as he was not able to reduce the rebels, he treated the ambassador with marks of distinction, and made him a present of a sumptuous vest. About this time, an insurrection happened at *Damejus*, wherein the *Moslems* demolished the large and beautiful church of *St. Mary* there, on which there had been laid out 200,000 *dinârs*, and carried off all the sacred vessels, and other ornaments belonging to it, of almost inestimable value. They also plundered several monasteries and nunneries in that district, and particularly a nunnery near *St. Mary's* church. They likewise pulled down the church of the *Nestorians*, and many of those belonging to the *Melchites*, in the month of *Rajeb*. The *Khalif* put *Ali Ebn Mobammed Ebn Al Farât*, his *Visir*, and his son *Al Mohsen*, to death, in the former *Rabi*, this year x.

He takes and pil- lages Cûfa.

THE following year, being the 313th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thâber* advanced to *Cûfa*, pillaged the town, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried most of the rest into captivity. He likewise took away with him from thence 4000 pieces of rich coloured stuff, or silk, and 3000 camels, besides several other effects that he found in the place, of very con-

w AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 190. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 312. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 222, 223.

x AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 514—517.

siderable

siderable value. About the same time, *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Kbákán*, *Al Moktader's Visir*, wrote to *Ali Ebn Isa* at *Mecca*, ordering him to repair immediately to *Egypt*, and inquire into the state of affairs there. *Ali*, therefore, in pursuance of the order he had received, entered *Egypt* in the beginning of *Rajeb*, and exacted tribute of all the religious settled in the lower part of that tract going under the name of *Al Sa'id*, particularly of the bishops and monks in the monastery of *Míná*. Many of these religious, thus harassed, retired to *Irák*, and carried their complaints to the *Kbalif*; who thereupon commanded the tribute that had been imposed upon them to be remitted, removed the *Visir* from his office, and appointed *Abu'l Abbás Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Al Kbasib* to succeed him. About this time, *Nicolas*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, died, when he had occupied that see thirty-three years; after whom came one *Stephen*, an eunuch, who presided over the church there three years. A surprising meteor, resembling an exceeding large and bright star, or comet, of a very red colour, moving with great velocity from north to east, followed by a terrible flame, and attended with an infinite number of sparks issuing from it, about thirty lances long, and two broad, appeared in *Egypt*, on the fifth of the latter *Rabi*, at sun-set. This meteor exhibited the appearance of a fiery serpent, and continued about three hours; after which, not the faintest traces of it were to be seen. About this time died *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Bashar Al Zahed*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Bagawi*, in the 102d year of his age. We must not forget to observe, that a general, called *Mas'úd*, came from *Africa*, and took the castle, or citadel, of *St. Agatha*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, either this or the preceding year.

IN the 314th year of the *Hejra*, the *Greeks* penetrated to *The Malatka*, the *Melitene* of the antients, situated on the borders of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, took it, slew part of the inhabitants, and made slaves of the rest. However, after they had remained there a few days, they found themselves obliged to abandon the town. The *Khalif Al Moktader* commanded *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, the governor of *Adherbijân*, to advance to *Wâset* against the *Karmatians*, the present year. About the same time, *Naser*, or *Nasr Ebn Ahmed l Sammâni* possessed himself of the city of *Ray*; but soon after, being seized with a violent illness, he found himself obliged to relinquish that place. The *Cambridge Chronicle* seems to intimate, that the

Y. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 516—517. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 313. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

chamberlain (B) of the *Khalif* of *Kairuân* came over the year from *Africa*, and reduced the fortrefs of *Barisân*; but the particulars of this action are not known *.

The Christians gain several advantages over the Moslems, according to the Greek writers.

SOME of the *Greek* authors relate, that the *Moslems* invaded the *Christian* territories several years before the aforesaid intrusion of the *Greeks* into *Cappadocia*; and that *Johannes Curian*, the imperial general in those parts, not only drove them back with great loss, but, having belieged and taken the city of *Melitene*, reduced the adjoining bountry to the form of a province. This, however, was perhaps the expedition placed in the 314th year of the *Hejra* by *Al-Makin*. It seems to appear likewise from *Zonaras*, that, about this time, *Leo* of *Tripoli*, the *Moslem* admiral, was defeated by the *Christian* fleet near the island of *Lemnos*, and had almost all his seamen cut to pieces, and his ships sunk. But we find not the least mention of these transactions in any of the *Arab* historians *.

The Karmatians make a farther progress in Irâk.

THE next year, being the 315th of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 8th, 927, *Abu Thâher Ebn Abu Sa'îd*, the *Karmatian* general, overthrew the *Khalif's* forces with very great slaughter, and took *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Nabâh*, who commanded them, prisoner. He also possessed himself of the city of *Coss*, and even threatened to penetrate to *Baghdâd*; which struck the inhabitants of that capital with the utmost terror and consternation. However, *Al-Muktader*, taking 300,000 *dinîrs* out of the treasury, and being supplied by his mother with 500,000 more, raised a body of 10,000 horse, which he sent to act against the *Karmatians*. But the general who commanded them, not having been able to bring the enemy to a battle,

* *AL MAKIN*, ubi sup. *EUTYCH.* ubi sup. p. 514, 515. *Is.* *ABULFED.* ad ann. *Hej.* 314. *Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigiæ.* ubi sup. * *GEORGE. CEDREN.* ubi sup. p. 622—627. *JOS.* *ZONAR.* ubi sup. p. 188—191.

(B) In the *Latin* version of the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the *Arabic* word *Hâjeb* is taken for the proper name of the *Khalif* of *Kairuân*, who at that time was *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, surnamed *Al-Mobâh*, the founder of the dynasty of the *Fâtimites*; whereas that word generally denotes the chamberlain, or some such officer, in the *Khalifs*, in the *Arab* historians. That it is not a proper name in the passage

here referred to, appears from hence, that neither the *Khalif* of *Kairuân* reigning at this time, nor any of either his predecessors or successors, ever went by such a name. 'Tis surprising that the very learned *Sig. Giosipp Simon Assensani*, a *Maronite*, and professor of *Arabic* in the college at *Rome* (1), who revised and corrected this *Latin* version, should have suffered such a mistake to escape him.

(1) *Jean. Bapt. Carus.* ad *Chronis. Cantabrigiæ.* præf. p. 3.

returned, after the conclusion of the campaign, to *Baghdād*, without having effected any thing considerable. This so animated *Abu Thâber*, that he advanced at the head of his forces to *Anbâr*; though he soon thought fit to retire, without having attempted any thing against that place. As *Anbâr* was not above ten parasangs of *Baghdād*, the *Khalîf* considered the *Karmatian*'s retreat from thence, in the present situation of affairs, as equivalent to a victory; and therefore, with his mother and *Visîr*, returned God thanks, in the most solemn manner, for it; and even, by way of farther acknowledgment to the great arbiter of events, distributed amongst the poor of *Baghdād* no less than fifty thousand *dinârs*. After which, *Abu Thâber* appeared with his army before *Hît*, or *Hait*, a strong castle on the northern bank of the *Euphrates*, about twenty-one parasangs above *Anbâr*, bordering on the desarts of *Al Fazîra*; but, upon taking a view of it, he retired with precipitation to *Hajr*. This so raised the drooping spirits of the *Khalîf*, that he ordered a second thanksgiving for so auspicious an event, and a farther distribution of 100,000 *dirhems* amongst the poor. *Abulfeda* relates, that *Abu Thâber*, with a small body of troops, consisting of only 800 foot and 700 horse, overthrew *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, probably the *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Nabâj* of *Al Makin*, at the head of 40,000 men, when he thought himself so sure of conquering, that he had ordered his secretary to write a letter to the *Khalîf*, notifying the victory his troops had gained over the rebels, before the beginning of the action. In this battle, *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj* himself was taken prisoner, and afterwards put to the sword, by the *Karmatian* general; who found an immense quantity of wealth at *Cûsa*, defeated another of the *Khalîf*'s armies commanded by *Mûnes*, ravaged all that part of *Irâk* bordering upon the *Euphrates*, and, after having thrown the citizens of *Baghdād* into an inexpressible panic, returned laden with spoil to *Hajr*. *Abulâshramîn Al Nafr Ebn Mohammed*, of the house of *Omeyyah*, the *Emîr*, or lord, of *Andalusia*, or rather the *Khalîf* of *Spain*, according to the same author, reduced also the city of *Salado*, and destroyed a considerable part of it, after it had rebelled against him, and sustained a very long siege, the present year. *Mûnes*, one of *Al Muktader*'s best officers, having entertained a suspicion of that prince's sinister intentions towards him, refused for some time to go to the imperial palace, at the *Khalîf*'s invitation; but at last he was prevailed upon to repair thither, and kiss his hand, by the troops that promised to support him. About this time, according to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, of the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân* agreed upon a sort of a truce, or cessation of arms, with the *Calabrians*, after he had taken from them *Aura*, or *Ura*,

the *Uria* of the antients, denominated by the moderns *Oria*; upon which, they left in his hands as hostages, says the writer of that *Chronicon*, *Leo*, bishop of *Sicily*, and the prefect, or governor, of *Calabria*. This affair being terminated, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* dispatched *Al Bolzami* and *Al Kelsbâni*, two grantees of his court, called by that writer *Sbeikhs*, with *Ebn Sâlem* into *Sicily*, to mulct the inhabitants of that island for some disturbances that had happened. We must not forget to observe, that the *Deylamites*, the first of whose princes was *Washûdân Ebn Al Marzabân*, who fixed his residence at *Shabrestân*, began to make a figure, according to *Al Makin*, in the year we are now upon ^b.

Abu Thâ-
her takes
Rahaba
and Kar-
kisia.

THE following year, being the 316th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thâher* seized upon the town of *Rahaba*, and put a vast number of the inhabitants to the sword. He also made himself master of *Karkisia*, or *Karkisyâ*, in *Mesopotamia*, and afterwards retired to *Hajr*, in *Yamâma*, where he chose for the most part to reside. Here he built a palace, to which he gave the name of *Hajra*. The *Khalif* dismissed first from his employment *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Khasib*, his *Visir*, and afterwards *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Al Jarâh*, his successor; substituting in the room of the latter *Abu Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali*, commonly called *Ebn Moklab*, about the middle of the latter *Rabi*. After the reduction of *Rahaba*, *Abu Thâher*, according to *Abulfeda*, made himself master of *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, and treated the inhabitants of that place in a cruel manner. He likewise penetrated to *Sinjâr*, the *Singara* of *Ptolemy*, a considerable city of *Mesopotamia*, in the province of *Diyâr Rabia*, which immediately submitted to him. About the same time, if we will believe this author, *Mardawij Ebn Zayyâr*, or, as he is called by *Al Makin*, *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, the *Deylamite*, having cut off *Asfâr Ebn Shiryeh*, his master, who had seized upon *Jorjân* the preceding year, subdued *Kazwin*, *Ray*, *Hamadân*, *Dinawar*, or *Al Deinawar*, *Kenkewar*, *Yazdejerd*, *Komn*, *Kâshân*, *Esfabân*, *Jarbâdkân*, and the whole mountainous region of *Tabrestân*. The dynasty, therefore, of the *Deylamites*, according to *Abulfeda*, commenced the present year. The same historian farther relates, that *Johannes Curcuas*, who presided over all the imperial territories extending from the *Hellespont* to the frontiers of the *Moslem* empire, obliged the citizens of *Akblath* and *Bedlis* in *Armenia*, at this time, to erect crosses upon the spots, in their respective principal mosques, on

^b AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 190—193. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 315. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 289. KHONDEMIR, *Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigiens.* ubi sup. JOAN. CARUS. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad *Alfragan.* p. 124, 125.

which

which the Christian pulpits had formerly stood; and that the *Iâsedh Abu Awanah Yâkûb Ebn Ishak Ebn Ibrahim Al Esfayni*, author of a *Masnad*, or body of traditions, drawn up after the manner, and upon the principles, of the *Sahib of Moslem Ebn Al Hejâj*, died in the year of the *Hejra* 316. A body of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s forces, under the conduct of an African general, named *Sâin*, took the fortress of *Zarnîna*, or rather *Zarnîwa*, in the month of *Shaabân*, according to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, this year c.

IN the 317th year of the *Hejra*, beginning February 14th, *Al Mok-929, Al Moktader* was constrained to abdicate the *Khalifat*. *tader is Mûnes*, his general, who was greatly esteemed by the *deposed*, diery, having conceived an invincible aversion to him, entered the imperial palace, with a party of twelve horse, the 14th of *Al Moharram*, plundered it, and carried *Al Moktader*, together with his mother, aunt, children, wives, and concubines, prisoners to his own house. The next day, the soldiers saluted *Mohammed Ebn Al Mo'taded*, surnamed *Al Kâber*, *Khalif*. Upon his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, the new *Khalif* made *Abu Ali Ebn Moklah* his *Visir*, and *Bârûk*, or, as others will have it, *Abd'allah Abu'l Hijâ Ebn Hamdân Abu Saifoddawla*, his chamberlain. When the imperial palace was pillaged, *Al Moktader*'s mother lost six hundred thousand *dinârs*. After the late *Khalif*'s abdication, letters were sent into all the provinces, notifying *Al Kâber*'s accession; and people entertained hopes, that the tranquillity of the empire would be settled upon a lasting foundation. But, the third day of the new *Khalif*'s reign, the troops assembled in a tumultuous manner, with great insolence demanded their pay, cut in pieces *Bârûk* the captain of the guards, drove *Ebn Moklah* the *Visir* out of the palace, and placed *Al Moktader* again upon the throne. That prince no sooner found himself repossessed of the *Khalifat*, than he sent for his brother *Al Kâber*, forgave him what was past, expressed an inviolable attachment to his interests, recalled *Ebn Moklah*, and ordered him to communicate to the provinces the news of this last revolution. According to *Eutychius*, not only *Mûnes*, but likewise *Abu'l Hijâ*, *Nâzûk*, and other principal commanders, contributed to the abdication of *Al Moktader*, and assisted at the inauguration of *Al Kâber*. However, continues the same author, the body of infantry, called *Al Mosâfisa*, two days after that event happened, slew *Nâzûk* and *Abu'l Hijâ*, and brought about the restoration of *Al Moktader*, without any

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 193. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 316. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96, 97, 255, 256, &c. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 518, 519. CHRONIC. SICUL. CANTAB. ubi sup. p. 9, 10.

considerable effusion of human blood. *Abulfeda* relates, that *Al Moktader* had rendered himself extremely disagreeable to the army, by permitting his women and eunuchs to govern with an absolute sway, and to flecte his subjects in a most arbitrary and oppressive manner. He also seems to intimate, that *Munes*, contrary to his own inclination, was forced by the soldiery to concur with them in the violent measures which were at this time pursued; but that afterwards this general not a little contributed to *Al Moktader's* re-establishment upon the *Moslem* throne. About this time, *Egypt* was infected with such swarms of locusts, that they darkened the air, intercepted the solar rays, and devoured every thing green in all those parts of that fruitful country which they traversed. The same year, *Abu Thäber*, the *Karmatian* general, and prince of *Hajr*, entered *Mecca* with his troops, killed a great number of the pilgrims, on the 8th of *Dhu'l-hiija*, in the temple there, demolished the small building and capote that covered the well *Zemzem*, and plundered the *Casbe*. Nay, we are told by *Abulfeda*, that they filled this well with the carcases of those going in procession round the *Caaba*, whom they had massacred, amongst which was that of *Elu Al Moballeb*, the prince of *Mecca*, himself. Amongst other profanations by them offered to that celebrated place of the *Moslem* worship, they took away the famous *black stone*, of which we have formerly given our readers a full and ample description, and could not be prevailed upon for love or money to restore it, though one *Yablam*, in the name of the people of *Mecca*, offered no less than 5000 *dinars* for it. However, after they had kept it above twenty-two years, seeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from *Mecca*, they sent it back from *Hajr* of their own accord; at the same time bantering its devotees, by telling them it was not the true stone: but, as it is said, it was proved to be no counterfeit, by its peculiar quality of swimming on water. The *Karmatian*, however, who was sent to take away the golden spoon, or pipe, that carried the rain-water from the top of the *Casbe*, broke his neck in the attempt. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Eutychius* calls *Abu Thäber* *Abu Sa'id Al Janäbi*; though he has been more properly named *Soliman Elu Abu Sa'id Al Janäbi* by *Abulfeda*. The first of those authors also informs us, that, before he advanced to *Mecca*, he incamped in a place going under the name of *Tel-Ar-Ruf*, at a small distance from *Baghdad*, and had several engagements with the *Khalif's* forces; after which, he stopped up all the wells between that capital and *Mecca*, not permitting the caravans of pilgrims to pass to the latter of those cities, either from *Mesopotamia* or *Khorasan*. The same writer also relates,

places, that this *Al Yamnabi* butchered an infinite number of people both within and without the *Caaba*, as also in the streets of *Mecca*; insomuch that the well *Zemzem* was filled with dead bodies, as well as most of the houses of the town, and the ways, vallies, desert places, &c. in the neighbourhood of it. And, to crown all these misfortunes, if any person escaped out of the city with his effects, he was cut to pieces and plundered by the *Arabs* themselves, who were assembled in considerable numbers not far from the gates for that purpose. Some, however, fled to *Jodda*, and made their escape by sea. As the *Karmatian* general carried off all the rich furniture and utensils, both of gold and silver, belonging to the temple of *Mecca*, held in so high a veneration amongst the *Mohammedans*, except the spout, or pipe, above-mentioned; the spoil he acquired on this occasion was of immense value: besides which, he met with a considerable booty in the town; as he gave the place up to his troops to be plundered for seven days together. After he had committed these depredations, he abandoned *Mecca*, and ordered the pillage that had fallen into his hands to be conducted to *Hajr*. It has been already observed, that *Abu Thaber*, to whom *Eutychius* gives also the name of *Solimân Ebn Al Hasan*, attacked the city of *Basra* with his forces in the year of the *Hijra* 311, carried it by assault, put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword, and then of his own accord retired. All which events the last-mentioned author seems to place either in the 312th or 313th year of the *Hijra*; tho' it must be owned, that he so huddles things together there, that we cannot safely depend upon him in this particular. This year, a very sharp debate was carried on at *Baghdâd* between *Abu Bacr Al Mirâzi*, or *Al Marwazi*, the principal of those who were followers of the famous *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, with his adherents, and the members of another sect in that metropolis; concerning the true import and meaning of a controverted passage in the *Korân*. The former inferred from it, that God would hereafter place *Mohammed* upon the throne of his glory near himself; and the latter only, that God would accept of the prophet's intercession for all true *Moslems*, at the day of judgment. The minds of the disputants on both sides were so agitated and inflamed on this occasion, that many murders were committed; insomuch that the city of *Baghdâd*, for some months, became a scene of blood and confusion. About the same time, *Nasr Ebn Ahmed Ebn Nasr Al Basri*, a famous poet, surnamed *Al Khabazari*, departed this life. It ought to be here remarked, that *Eyliâ*, or *Elias*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, died on Saturday, the 13th of the latter *Jomâda*, after he had sat in the patriarchal see there twenty-eight years. It

It appears from the *Cambridge Chronicle*, that *Sâin*, one of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s generals, made an incursion into *Italy*, and penetrated as far as the borders of the *Lower Lombardy*, that is, *Campania*, the duchy of *Benevento*, and the neighbouring tract, with a body of the *Magrebian* troops, took many prisoners, and agreed upon another cessation of arms with the *Calabrians*, the present year^d.

The transactions of the year 318.

THE next year, being the 318th of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Mokhalled* was appointed by the *Khalif* his *Visir*. That prince likewise, about the same time, conferred upon *Nasero'ddawla Ebn Abu'l Hijâ Ebn Hamdân* the government of *Amed*, *Diyâr Becr*, and *Mayâfarkin*, or *Mayyâfâraîn*; ordering him to pay annually a certain sum of money into the exchequer at *Baghdâd*. About the same time, the body of infantry, termed by the *Arabs* *Al Mosâfia*, being grown extremely insolent since the restoration of the *Khalif* *Al Mutader*, were first expelled the city of *Baghdâd*, then that of *Wâset*, and at last totally dispersed. This year, *Sâin* made an incursion into *Calabria*, took a fortress in that province, named *Termûlab*, and carried with him into the *Moslem* territories 12,000 prisoners, without having sustained any considerable loss^e.

Mardawij, the king of Deylam, extends his conquests.

THE following year, being the 319th of the *Hejra*, *Obeid'allah Ebn Mobammed* was nominated by the *Khalif* to act in the capacity of *Visir*. He did not, however, continue long in that sublime post to which he had been advanced; *Al Hasan Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Wabeb* being appointed to succeed him, before the end of the month *Shawwâl*. About the same time, died *Abu Becr Al Nabrawâni*, a noted poet, who wrote some celebrated elegiacal verses upon a cat; being, at the time of his death, about an hundred years old. This year, *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, or *Mardawij Ebn Zayyâr*, the king, or prince, of *Deylam*, made himself master of *Hamadân*, violated the women there, and put 30,000 of the inhabitants to the sword. The *Khalif*, receiving advice of the havock he had made, sent an army, under the command of *Harûn Ebn Arab*, to reduce him; of which the *Deylamites* being informed, he advanced at the head of his troops to attack the *Khalif*'s forces, engaged them between *Hamadân* and *Kazwin*, and overthrew them with incredible slaughter;

^d AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 193, 194. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 289, 290. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 518—525. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ISM. ABULFED. Poc. not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 119. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou Thaber*, p. 40. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. ^e AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 194. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 522, 523. ISM. ABULFED. & Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

after

After which, he ravaged the country as far as *Holwân*, and the frontiers of *Irâk*, and at last carried the city of *Esfahân* by assault. But of the great exploits of *Mardawij Ebn Razâz*, as well as those of the other *Deylamite* princes, our readers may expect a particular and circumstantial account in another part of this work, to which it will more properly belong.

IN the 320th year of the *Hejra*, commencing Jan. 13th, 932, the *Khalif Al Moktader* was killed at *Baghdâd*; of which tragical event some of the oriental historians have handed down to us the following particulars. *Mûnes*, the *Khalif's* general, having entertained a suspicion, that his master intended to throw him into prison, left the court in disgust, and retired to *Al Mawfel*. Soon after his arrival there, he assembled a body of troops, with which he marched directly to *Baghdâd*. *Al Moktader*, having received advice of his approach, led his forces out of the city, in order to give him battle. A fierce conflict ensued between the contending parties, in which the *Khalif* was killed, stript, and had his head cut off by one of the barbarians in *Munes's* army, who immediately brought it to his general. The body of that prince was buried by a *Curd*, who passed by it soon after the end of the action, and saw it lie naked, and exposed to public view, on the field of battle. In this manner fell *Al Moktader*, on Wednesday the 28th of *Shawâl*, soon after he had completed the 38th year of his age, and had sat upon the *Moslem* throne about twenty-five years. He conferred upon *Abu Fadl Ebn Jaasar Ebn Al Farât* the office of *Visir*, towards the close of the latter *Rabi*. After his death, his head was carried on a lance, in the midst of a vast crowd of people, through the principal streets of *Baghdâd*.

THIS affair, however, has been more particularly related by *Abulfeda* and *Abu'l-Faraj*. Those authors write, that *Mûnes*, being greatly displeased with the *Khalif's* conduct, retired towards *Al Mawfel*; of which that prince being apprized, he wrote to the head of the family of *Hamdân*, who then governed the people there, and commanded him to oppose the rebel with all his forces. The prince, or *Emir*, of *Al Mawfel*, continue they, having received the *Khalif's* letter, immediately drew together an army of 30,000 men, with which he advanced towards *Mûnes*, then attended by only a body of 800 horse, in order to attack him. That general, however, hav-

¹ EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 522—525. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 191, 192. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 319. D'HERB. Biblioth. orient. art. *Dilem*, p. 295. et art. *Mardawige*, p. 555.

² AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 194. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 524—527.

ing probably been reinforced by some fresh troops, waited for him upon a spot of ground at a small distance from *Al Mawfel*, engaged him with great bravery, and at last put him to flight; after which, he made himself master of all the towns and villages, as well as all the riches, belonging to the descendants of *Hamdân*. This victory had such an effect upon the minds of the soldiery, that a very considerable part of the *Khalif's* forces captioned in *Syria* and *Egypt*, and even at *Baghdâd* itself, deserted him, and joined *Mînes*; which enabled that rebel, after nine months preparations at *Al Mawfel*, to march through *Tecrit*, at the head of a numerous army, to *Baghdâd*. Upon his arrival there, he pitched his tents before the gate *Al Shammâsia*, and immediately invested the town. *Al Moktader's* friends, finding their master and themselves upon the point of being closely besieged, persuaded the *Khalif* to go out of the city in *Mohammed's* cloke, preceded by the doctors of the law, and other persons of note, with copies of the *Korân* open in their hands, in order to shew himself to the rebels; imagining that they would be touched with reverence of his person at so august a sight, and be thereby the more readily induced to return to a sense of their duty. At first he stood upon an eminence, with his attendants, and seemed unwilling to fight; but the signal at last, by his order, being given, a general action immediately ensued. The flower of his troops having already deserted him, *Al Moktader's* men were soon put to flight, and he himself, with several of the run-aways, endeavouring to return into the town, surrounded by a party of the *Magrebian* soldiers; one of whom, after a profusion of the most opprobrious language, ran him through with his sword, and the others instantly dispatched him. After which, they cut off his head, and carried it upon a pole to the rebel general, then at *Al Rashidâ*, who had not been present in the action. The *Magrebians* likewise intirely stripped him, not leaving him so much as his breeches on to cover those parts which nature commands us to conceal, and buried him in the place where he fell. When *Al Moktader's* head was brought to *Mînes*, at the sight of it, he is said to have wept, and to have discovered signs of the most unfeigned grief. He also posted a guard upon the imperial palace, in order to prevent its being plundered, and commanded his men not to offer the least violence to any of the late *Khalif's* family or domestics there ^b.

The circumstance

MIRKHOUD, the *Persian* historian, has given us a long detail of the circumstances attending this prince's death, most

^b ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 320. GREG. ABUL-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 290, 291.

which have been omitted by the *Arab* writers. *Al Mok-attending* *tader*, according to this author, having caused his brother *Al Al Mok-Kâber* to be imprisoned, for the part he had acted in the late tader's revolt, which terminated in the elevation of that prince to the death, *ac-* *Maßem* throne, though he sat not above two days thereon, re-cording *of* *Mirk-* *hond*. *Al Kâber*, having been informed of his brother's design, engaged a *Barbarian*, or *Ma-* *grebian*, officer, who was an excellent horseman, and intirely at his devotion, to assassinate him. In order to effect this with the greater facility, he procured the assistance of *Munes*, the eunuch, who was not a little disaffected to the *Khalif*, and who consequently came into *Al Kâber*'s measures with uncommon alacrity. The *Magrebian*, charged with this commission, sought all opportunities of killing the *Khalif*; and one day observing him seated in the place called *Sbammûsia*, to see some feats at arms and horse-races there, he presented himself before him, in order to be admitted to partake of those diversions; when he performed his part with so much dexterity and address, that the *Khalif* made him repeat it several times, and commanded his guards to retire, that he might have a more free and extensive view in the place. The *Magrebian* thinking that a proper opportunity of carrying his design into execution now offered itself, immediately turned his horse towards the *Khalif*, rushed upon him in an instant, and thrust his lance into his breast with such force, that he fell from his seat, and soon after died of the wound he then received. As soon as the officer had given the blow, he rode directly to the prison where *Al Kâber* was confined, in order to deliver him from thence, and put him in possession of the *Khalifat*. But passing through the market-place, he met an ass loaded with thorns, which the people of that country make use of to heat their ovens. At this the *Magrebian*'s horse took fright, and ran with his master against a butcher's stall with such violence, that a hook belonging thereto stuck fast in his chin; the horse being by this means deprived of his rider, and leaving him hanging thereon. Soon after this accident, a party of the *Khalif*'s guards, who observed what had been done, and closely pursued the assassin, came up with him, made a fire of the thorns on the ass's back, and burnt him therein. This is the account of *Al Maktader*'s death preserved by *Mirkhond*, an author of good repute; though, for several reasons, we prefer, as more consonant to truth, the relation of that tragical event handed down to us by the *Arab* historians cited here ¹.

¹ MIRKHOND.

*His person,
character,
and the
great offi-
cers of his
court.*

WITH regard to his person, *Al Moktader* had a round handsome face, and the hair of his head, as well as his beard, was exceeding gray; though he had but just completed the 38th year of his age at the time of his death. He had likewise very good eyes, was of a middle stature, and a fair complexion. As to his disposition, he was religious, delighted in giving of alms, and fasted often. He had many secretaries, governors of provinces and cities, and counsellors, or *Vizirs*. Some of the women and girls belonging to the court had a great hand in the administration, particularly a girl named *Yamek*, who was so thoroughly versed in all the weightier points of the *Mohammedan* law, that both the judges, in the determination of criminal causes, and the doctors of the law, in their most important decisions, found themselves obliged to have recourse to her for her assistance. *Al Moktader* reigned twenty-five years, and created twelve principal counsellors, or *Vizirs*; which cannot, with truth, be said of any of his predecessors. From the time that the *Karmatians* took *Meca*, and carried from thence the celebrated *black stone*, to the day of this prince's death, not a single *Moslem* performed the pilgrimage thither; which never happened in the reign of any of the preceding *Khalifs*. *Al Moktader* is said to have given away to the poor, and appropriated to charitable uses, above seventy millions of *dinârs*. He also distributed a vast number of jewels, a considerable quantity of the most precious unguents, and above sixty-three grains of civet, amongst the girls that he kept for his own use, and some other favourites that had an uncommon ascendant over him. His *Vizirs*, or *Wazirs*, some of whom had different names, or surnames, assigned them by different authors, were *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Hasan*, *Ali Ebn Ahmed* (or *Mohammed*) sometimes called *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Al Farât*, *Abu'l Kasem Al Khâkânî*, *Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Khâkân*, *Ali Ebn Isha Ebn Al Jarâh*, *Abu Ali Ebn Mohammed*, generally known by the name of *Ebn Mekleh*, *Ahmed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Ahmed Al Khasib*, *Soliman Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Mokhalled*, *Obeidallah Ebn Mohammed Al Kadâni*, *Al Hasan Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Obeidallah Ebn Soliman Ebn Waheb*, *Abu'l Fadl Ebn Jaasar Ebn Al Farât*, who received from his mother the denomination of *Ebn Khaizarâna*, and *Al Fadl Ebn Jaasar Ebn Al Karân*. The most famous of his judges were *Yusef Ebn Yakûb*, his son *Mohammed*, *Abdallah Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Ishak Al Bahlûl*, *Omar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Yusef*, *Al Hasan Ebn Ali*, and *Omar Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*. His chamberlains were *Saws*, *Al Mo'assî's* servant, *Nasr Al Kasûrî*, *Yakûb Al Mo'tadedî*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Rayek*. The inscription of his seal was, *Praise be to God,*

to whom no other being is similar, and who is the creator of all things. That this *Khalif*, in whose reign the two Greek emperors *Leo* and *Alexander* died, was a prince of great justice and moderation, appears from his remission of the tribute imposed upon the *Christian* bishops and religious in *Egypt* by *Ali Ebn Isa*, his governor of that country; as well as from several other things we have related of him here; and particularly from the order he issued to oblige his *Moslem* subjects to rebuild several churches in *Egypt* that his officers had demolished there. We are told by *Al Makin*, that a Greek pinnace, sent by the emperor for intelligence; and to discover a proper place for landing a body of troops in, was taken by some of the *Moslem* guard-ships stationed in the mouths of the *Nile*, in the 314th year of the *Hejra*; and that a man, who by his dress seemed to be a person of distinction, was found therein, who confessed that he was a spy, and declared that the *Christians* would soon appear on the coast with a fleet of 2000 sail, and a numerous body of land-forces on board; in order to make a descent. This news not a little alarmed the governor of *Egypt*, who thereupon sent for a reinforcement from *Syria*, and took all other necessary precautions to render abortive the enemy's designs. But the *Christian* fleet being soon after shattered by a storm, in which were lost above 300 ships, and all the soldiers and sailors therein drowned; the *Greeks* found themselves obliged to make the best of their way to their own ports, and thereby delivered the *Egyptians*, whom they had struck with such terror, from all apprehensions of the invasion with which they had been threatened ^k.

BEFORE we conclude what we have to say of the *Khalif* Several *Al Moktader*, it may not be improper to touch upon the characters of two of the most learned men that flourished in his reign. The famous *Mohammed Ebn Jaber Ebn Sennan Abu Abd'allah Al Harrani*, a native of *Batân*, or *Battân*, one of the dependencies of *Harrân*, and thence commonly called *Al Battâni*, or *Albatâni*, so justly celebrated for the accurate astronomical observations he made at *Araçta*, or *Aracca*, that is, the city of *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, departed this life in the 317th year of the *Hejra*. This great mathematician and philosopher professed the *Sabian* religion, which chiefly prevailed at the time of his birth in the city of *Harrân*, and all the adjacent tract belonging to it. And for this reason it is, that his tables are called the *Sabian Tables*. He began his observations in the year of the *Hejra* 264, and concluded them in 306; though the fixed stars are placed therein, ac-

^k AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 195—198. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 524—527. GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.

according to their situation, in the year 299. In the 320th year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, died *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Zacaria*, *Zechariah*, or *Zacarias Al Râzi*, a person extremely well versed in all kinds of antient learning, though he excelled most in physic, and is stiled the phoenix of his age by that writer. However, *Osaiba*, the author of *The Lives of the Physicians*, quotes two writers; one of whom places the death of *Al Râzi* either about the year of the *Hejra* 290, or a little after 300, and the other in the year 310, or 320. *Abulfeda* relates, that he died in the 311th, and *Ebn Shabnab* fixes his decease in the 310th, year of the *Moslem æra*. In his younger years, he gave himself up intirely to music; but afterwards applied himself to the study of philosophy, with so much success, that he made a wonderful progress in every branch of it, and composed a great number of books both upon physical and philosophical subjects. He first presided over the hospital either at *Ray* or *Jondisâbâr*, and afterwards for a time over that at *Baghdâd*. He got webs, or pearls, in his eyes, by immoderate eating of beans; and, towards the close of his life, lost both of them by cataracts. He would not permit an oculist, who came to couch his eyes, to touch them with his instrument, because he could not tell of how many tunics, or little coats, the eye did consist; saying at the same time, that he was not so desirous of recovering his sight, as he had already seen enough of the world to make him nauseate and abhor it. We are told, that he spent almost all his time in writing, either adversaries or fair copies of books. He is said to have penned twelve pieces in alchymy, wherein he asserted the possibility of a transmutation of metals, and to have understood astrology, or the art of predicting future events, from the aspects and configurations of the celestial bodies. He was liberal, munificent, and courteous to all men; as likewise extremely charitable to the poor, when they were sick, not only giving them his advice as a physician, but supplying all their wants in the most ample manner. Some authors relate, that he was one of the principal physicians of the *Khalif Al Moktader*, and at the top of his profession when he was not above forty years of age. This is the doctor who, in the schools of physic, is commonly called *Rhazes*, or *Rhazis*, a corruption of *Râzi*; which surname he derived from the city of *Ray*, where he was born. He has by some been accused of *Pyrrhonism*, or *Scepticism*, because he did not sufficiently understand *Aristotle* in many particulars. *M. D'Herbelot* thinks, that he was the author of the piece, intituled, *Ekbtiarat Al Najûmiâh*, which has been abridged in *Persic* under the title of *Hakkam Alûlamiâh*, in the *French king's library*, N^o 890, and not *Fakhr'eddîn Ebn Omar*,

is some suppose. *Al Râzi* also wrote a comment upon *Aristotle's* treatise *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, *De Interpretatione*, called by the *Arabs* *Bari Arminias*, that is, *the book of interpretation*, according to some of the eastern writers. *Al Ca'bi* is reported to have told *Al Râzi*, that he demonstrated himself to be ignorant of physic, by his not being able to cure his own eyes; to be a stranger to astrology, by not foreseeing the misfortunes that came upon him; and to be unacquainted with alchymy, by his poverty. But all the facts here mentioned are looked upon as envious falsehoods by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Bakhtîshûa Ebn Yahya* and *Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korra*, the *Sabian*, and father of *Thâbet Ebn Senân*, the historian, were likewise two of the *Khalîf Al Moktader's* principal physicians, and in great favour with that prince. But of the latter of these we shall give a more particular account, at the conclusion of our history of the following reign¹.

S E C T. XLI.

AFTER the death of *Al Moktader*, *Mûnes* proposed that *Al Kâher* prince's son *Abu'l Abbâs*, who had been his pupil, to the *succeeds* grandees of the court for *Khalîf*. But, in opposition to this *bro-* motion, *Ishak Al Nûbakhti* thought fit to observe, that the late *ther Al* *Khalîf Al Moktader* had been intirely under the management and *Mokta-* direction of his mother, his aunt, and his servants; that they *der in the* should be again in the same situation, if a minor ascended the *Khalifat*. throne; and that therefore, as they now wanted a prince who could govern both himself and his subjects, they ought to cast their eyes upon *Abu Mansûr Mobammed Ebn Al Mo'taded*, surnamed *Al Kâher Bi'llah*, as the most proper person of the house of *Al Abbâs* to be advanced to the *Khalîfat*. *Mûnes*, for some time, shewed himself extremely averse to the elevation of *Al Kâher*, as being perfectly well acquainted with the cruel and avaricious disposition of that prince. However, he suffered himself at last to be persuaded by *Al Nûbakhti* to concur with the other great officers in the election of the new *Khalîf*, assisted at his inauguration, and took the oath of allegiance to him. *Al Kâher*, upon his accession, conferred the office of *Hâjeb*, that is, chamberlain, or master of his chamber, upon *Balik*, ordered all *Al Moktader's* children and domestics to be brought before him, and caused them to be tortured, to force them to confess what sums of money his predecessor had

¹ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 291—293. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 317. OSAIBA, EBN SHOMNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Batan*, p. 193. & art. *Razi*, p. 712, 713. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 213, 214, 251, 252.

distributed amongst them. He also put his mother-in-law *Shah's*, or *Sa's*, to the rack, to oblige her to produce the remainder of her money and her jewels, after she had deposited in his hands all her rich cloaths, her most valuable furniture, and other effects, and 100,000 *dinârs*. However, she persisted in the declaration she had made upon oath, that she had nothing remaining in her possession of any real value; though two persons asserting the contrary appeared as evidences against her. This so enraged the *Khalif*, that he commanded her, though then very infirm, and even sick of the dropsy, to be stript naked, and hung up by the heels, with her head downwards, in such a posture that her urine ran all over her body. Nay, he is said not only to have exposed to public view, but even to have kicked and beaten, those parts that modesty joins her sex to conceal. In the midst of her tortures, however, she had courage enough to tell him that she was his mother, and to reproach him with ingratitude; she having once diverted the *Khalif Al Moktader*, her son, from his resolution, when he had determined to put him to death. This monster's own mother, according to some of the eastern writers, was named *Fenân*. He is said to have made *Mohammed Ebn Al Kasim* his *Visir*, soon after he took the government upon him; though several authors make *Ebn Moklab* his first *Visir*. Two persons of distinction, called *Ebn Salma* and *Ebn Al-dâya*, were sent by the *Khalif* of *Kairuân* this year to Sicily, to mulct the *Moslems*, probably for the depredations they committed in the *Christian* territories, there. About the same time, died *Abu Ansur Mohammed Ebn Yusef*, the learned *Kâfi* of *Baghdâd*, *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Saleh*, one of the followers of the famous *Al Shâfi'i*, and *Abu Noaim Abd'almâlek*, a learned and religious *Moslem* of the same sect. *Al Kâber Bîllab* was created *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*, the 28th of *Shawâl*, the present year ^a.

He cuts off several of his great men. THE following year, being the 321st of the *Hejra*, beginning Jan. 1st, 933, and not the 322d of that æra, as we find advanced by M. D'Herbelot, *Al Kâber* gave the charge of *Visir* to the famous *Ebn Moklab* (if he had not that honourable post conferred upon him the preceding year); who, according to an eastern writer of good repute, first formed the beautiful character now used by the *Arabs* from the *Cûfic*. About this time, the *Khalif* commanded *Ahmed Ebn Al Mo'assî* to be confined in a house by himself, where he soon pined away with grief.

^a GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 293, 294. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 526, 527. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 198—200. ISM. ABULFEN. ad ann. Hej. 320. KHONDAMIR, Chron. Sic. Cantabr. ubi sup.

Ebn 'ab, or *Sa'f*, *Al Moktader's* mother, died this year, after *Al Kâber* had thoroughly pillaged her, stript her of all her possessions, and treated her in a most barbarous manner. This and other instances of his avarice and cruelty so alienated the affections of *Balik*, *Ali* his son, *Ebn Moklab*, *Ahmed Ebn Zairac*, and *Mûnes*, who was at first inclined to favour *Ahmed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Moktader's* pretensions to the *Khalîfat*, from *Al Kâber*, that they conspired against him, and came to a resolution to depose him. But *Tdbarîf*, or *Tharîf*, *Al Saccari* having found means to convey himself into the palace in women's cloaths, notwithstanding the conspirators had possessed themselves of all the avenues to it, and discovered the whole affair to the *Khalîf*; that prince, thus opportunely informed of the design, by the assistance of the dependents of *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, got *Balik*, his son *Ali*, *Mûnes*, and *Ahmed Ebn Zairac*, into his hands, and ordered all their heads to be cut off. As for *Ebn Moklab*, he made his escape to *Wâset*, where he kept himself concealed till, by the assistance of *Simûl*, the chief of the Turkish militia, or rather the leader of the partisans of *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, he brought about a new revolution at the *Moslem* court. He was succeeded by *Abu Jaasar Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem* in the sublime post of *Vîzir*, or *Wazîr*. The same year, *Takin Al Harari*, the governor of *Egypt*, whom we have already so often mentioned, died at *Mesr*, or *Al Fostat*, and was succeeded by *Abu Beccr Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Tagaj*, surnamed *Al Akhsîd*, as he was soon after by *Ahmed Ebn Keigâlag*. *Ebn Salma* and *Ebn Aldjâ* returned this year to *Africa*, but met with a very indifferent reception from the *Khalîf* of *Kairuân*; that prince being highly displeased with their conduct. About this time, according to *Abulfeda*, commenced the dynasty of the *Bûiyyans*, which was founded by one *Bûiya*, a *Deylamite*, of royal extraction, surnamed *Abu Shajâ*. *Abu Beccr Mohammed Ebn Al Huscin*, commonly known by the name or surname of *Ebn Doreldi*, a celebrated poet and philologer, who wrote a great number of learned books, but was too much given to wine and music, died in the month of *Shaabân*, being at the time of his death about ninety-eight years of age; as did likewise, on the same day, *Abu Hishem Ebn Ali*, a *Metaxalite* sophist, or metaphysician, born in the year of the *Hejra* 247. Both of these learned men were interred in the common burying-place at *Baghdâd*. *Mohammed Ebn Yusef Al Farbâri*, so denominated from *Farbâr*, a town in the territory of *Bokhâra*, placed by some of the eastern writers at a small distance from the *Oxus*, where he was born in the year of the *Hejra* 231, (who had been acquainted with the famous *Al Bokhârî*) and *Abu Jaasar Ahmad Ebn Mohammed Al Azdi*, the principal of the sect of *Abu Hanîfa* in *Egypt*,

two men of great piety and erudition, also departed this life, the present year. We must not forget to observe, that the *Khalif Al Kâber* commanded the heads of the conspirators to be exposed to public view in all the principal streets of *Baghdâd* ⁿ.

Al Kâber is deposed.

THE next year, being the 322d of the *Hejra*, commencing December 22d, 933, *Ebn Moklah* excited the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians* to a revolt against *Al Kâber*, by insinuating to the leaders, that he had broken his word with regard to *Bahr*, his son *Ali*, *Ahmed Ebn Zairac*, and *Mânes*, whom he had put to death, after he had promised them their lives, and taken them under his protection; that he had served many other persons of transcendent merit in the same manner; and that, in short, they themselves had great reason to be afraid of his perfidious conduct. Secret conferences were likewise held between him and *Simâ*, general of the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians*, who had all the *Turkish* militia at his devotion; whom he sometimes visited in women's cloaths, sometimes in the habit of a common beggar, and at others in that of a blind mendicant; wherein the plan of operations relative to the deposition of the *Khalif* was gradually settled and adjusted. Not content with this, he also made a present to *Simâ's* astrologer of 200 *dinârs*, and another to his interpreter of dreams, engaging them thereby to assist him in the execution of this plan, and by their predictions and interpretations to inspire the general himself with such sentiments as might impel him to act with vigour in the affair. The former of these, therefore, assured *Simâ*, that his horoscope indicated a violent death to him on the part of the *Khalif*; and the latter, that his dreams pointed out to him the same thing. This so alarmed and terrified *Simâ*, that, in his defence, he resolved to drive *Al Kâber* from the throne as soon as possible; of which the *Visir* being informed, he sent *Salâm*, or *Salâma*, the *Khalif's* chamberlain, and *Isa*, his physician, to apprize him of the danger he was in. But *Al Kâber* having spent the greater part of the night in carousing, and being then asleep, upon their arrival at the palace, they were not permitted to see him. Soon after this, the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians* forced their way into the palace, possessed themselves of every apartment there, and by the noise they made on this occasion awaked him; when, being struck with terror, he hid himself under the roof,

ⁿ GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 294—298. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 233, 589, &c. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 199. ABULFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 321. EBN SHOHNAH, Chronic. Sic. Cantabrig. & JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup.

or covering, of a bagnio, where he for a short time lay concealed. But the rebels soon discovered him, took him from thence, deprived him of the use of his eyes with a red-hot iron, threw him into prison, and plundered the city of *Baghdād*. A little before his deposition, he put to death *Ishak Al Nūbakhti*, who had been so instrumental in his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Al Kāber* was deposed on *Wednesday*, the sixth of the former *Jomāda*, after he had reigned about one year and seven months, and was succeeded by *Ahmed Abu'l Abbās Ebn Al Muktader*, surnamed *Al Rādi*, or *Al Rādi Bi'llah*; he himself, according to *Al Makin*, having been the first who saluted him *Khalif*. However, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, he could not be prevailed upon, by any means whatsoever, to abdicate, before proper witnesses, the *Khalifat*. *Al Kāber* remained in a state of confinement till the latter *Rabi*, in the year of the *Hejra* 333, when the *Khalif Al Mottaki* released him, and sent him home. After he had recovered his liberty, he was reduced to such extreme poverty, that he found himself obliged to beg on *Fridays* at the door of the great mosque in *Baghdād*. The son of *Abu Mūsā Al Hāshemī* once gave him a thousand *dirhems* there. Another person, according to *Al Makin*, at a certain time saw him in rags addressing himself to the people, that resorted to the mosque of *Al Mansūr*, in the following terms: "Remember him who was formerly your *Khalif*, and is now reduced to the necessity of asking you for alms." He died either in the 338th, or the 339th, year of the *Hejra*; being then, according to some, fifty-two, or, as others will have it, fifty-five, years of age; and was buried in the house of *Ebn Thāher*. He was rash, cruel, avaricious, and a person of a very iniquitous conduct. His *Wazīrs*, or *Visirs*, were *Ebn Moklab*, *Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Abd'allah*, *Ahmed Ebn At'allah Al Hasani*, and *Isa*; and his chamberlains *Ba'ik*, *Ali Ebn Balik*, and *Salāma Al Tolūni*. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Wednesday*; but the inscription of his seal has not been handed down to us. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, a native of *Al Fostāt*, was constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*, and received the name of *Anba Euty chius*, the 8th of *Safar*, the preceding year, being the 321st of the *Hejra*, and the first of *Al Kāber's* reign. He was at first a physician, of the *Melchite* persuasion, and, at the time of his promotion, about sixty years of age.

* GREG. ABUL-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 298, 299. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 199, 200. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 322. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 526, 527, 530, 531.

Some farther particulars relating to Al Kâher.

MIRKHOND writes, that the *Khalîf Al Kâber* owed his advancement to *Mânes*, the eunuch, who had been his master and governor; but that he soon forgot his obligations to that general, and ordered him, together with many other servants of the *Khalîf Al Moktader*, to be put to death. The same author likewise observes, that *Mânes* was a person of an extraordinary size; and that his head was so large, that his brains, being taken out of it, after it had been cut off, weighed six pounds of *Baghdâd*; upon which, a *Persian* poet thought fit to remark, that the larger any head was, the greater number of infirmities it was subject to. After this execution, continues that historian, the dependents and domestics of *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, excited a tumult in *Baghdâd*, during which, they talked of placing *Abu Ahmed Ebn Al Moctâfi* upon the *Moslem* throne. *Al Kâber*, having been apprized of this, commanded *Abu Ahmed* to be brought before him; and, after having sent him into the *Haram*, the most retired part of the palace where the women lived, ordered him to be nailed with four nails to the wall of one of the chambers there; tho', according to some of the *Arab* writers, this poor prince was only immured in that place, where he soon after ended his days. Whilst *Abu Ahmed* was in this wretched situation, *Al Kâber* sent for one *Abu Yahya*, a man of the gown, who was very rich, and told him he wanted 200,000 *dinârs*. *Abu Yahya* declared to the *Khalîf*, that he was not able to supply him with so large a sum. Upon which, that prince said to him, "*Abu Ahmed*, who is within here, assured me that you could, and he would advise you to do it." *Abu Yahya* then stepped into the room where *Abu Ahmed* was confined, and, to his infinite surprize, saw him there nailed to the wall. This sight struck him with such terror, that he immediately furnished *Al Kâber* with the money demanded of him, and by that means maintained himself in the possession of all his dignities and employments.

Isa Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Attâr and Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korra were Al Kâher's principal n s.

AMONGST the learned men that flourished in *Al Kâber's* reign, we may rank *Isa*, already mentioned here, and *Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korrah*, likewise taken notice of above, both of them physicians to that prince. *Isa* was the son of one *Yusef*, who went under the name of *Ebn Al Attâr*, and was a great favourite of the *Khalîf* he had the honour to serve. Such confidence did *Al Kâber* repose in *Isa*, that he frequently sent by him his commands to the *Vizir*, and imparted many secrets to him. As for *Senân Ebn Thâbet*, he likewise had good interest with his master; but was not so much esteemed by him as was *Isa Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Attâr*. However, the *Khalîf*,

P. MIRKHOND. Vide etiam AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 198, 199.

being

being now and then not a little pleased with his conversation, rested him to embrace *Mohammedism*; which, for some time, he stiffly refused, but, as he was extremely afraid of *Al Kâber's* ferocity, he at last agreed to do it, and accordingly professed himself a *Moslem*. After which, he continued, during a certain term, in the *Khalif's* service; but being often terrified by *Al Kâber's* commands, he found himself obliged to fly into *Khorasân*, from whence he afterwards returned to *Baghdâd*, where he died in the 331st year of the *Hejra*. The following merry story has been told of this *Senân* by *Abu'l-Faraj*. The *Khalif* once commanded him to examine the physicians of *Baghdâd*, in order to discover their abilities, and see whether or no they imposed upon his subjects. Soon after he had received this order, a person of gravity and a very good aspect, exceedingly well dressed, came to him to be examined; upon which, *Senân*, having first paid his respects to him in a proper manner, desired him to give a specimen of his skill in physic, and to name the doctor who had instructed him in that art. Upon this, the other took a paper out of his sleeve, that contained in it a certain number of *diârs*, laid it down before *Senân*, and frankly told him that he knew nothing at all of the matter; that he could neither write nor read; but that, as he supported himself and his family by his practice, he begged he would not ruin him, by telling the truth to the *Khalif*. To this *Senân*, who could not forbear laughing at what he heard, replied, that he would not expose him, provided he would promise never to attend a patient whose distemper he did not understand, and that he would neither prescribe phlebotomy nor cathartics in any cases but such as were perfectly well known to him. This the doctor readily agreed to, saying at the same time, that he never ventured beyond oxymel and a julep, when he prescribed to his patients; and immediately left him. The next day, a young physician of an agreeable mien, in a neat and decent dress, waited upon *Senân*, who asked him to whom he was obliged for his knowledge in the art he professed. The other answered, "To my father." "Who is your father?" said *Senân*. "The doctor," replied the young man, "who was with you yesterday." "A noble doctor, truly!" replied *Senân*. "Do you," continued he, "prescribe in the same manner?" "Always," returned the young physician. "Take care then," said *Senân*, "that you go on as you have done, improve in your profession as your father does, that he may have a son as like him (rather than go in peace, as Dr. Pocock has translated the original *Arabic* here) as possible." All *Senân's* works are held in great esteem. He was an excellent astronomer, and one who had rendered himself famous throughout the east. Nor is this to be wondered at,

at, since the *Sabians*, whose religion both he and his ancestors professed, cultivated the study of astronomy above any other sect or nation, during the period we are now upon. As the *Khalif Al Kâber* obliged *Senân* to embrace *Mohammedism*, he has been surnamed *Al Kâberi*, or the *Kâberian*, by some of the oriental writers †.

S E C T. XLII.

Al Râdi is proclaimed Khalif. AFTER the deposition of *Al Kâber*, his nephew *Abu'l Abbas Ahmed Ebn Al Mektader*, surnamed *Al Râdi*, or *Al Râi Bî'llah*, was taken out of the prison where he had been confined by that prince, and placed upon the *Moslem* throne. This happened on the sixth of the former *Jomâda*, the very day his uncle was deposed. The new *Khalif's* mother was denominated *Talâm*, according to *Al Makin*. Upon his accession, *Ali Ebn Isa* petitioned for the post of *Visir*; but the new *Khalif* told him, that *Ebn Moklab* was better qualified to take upon himself the government of the empire, in the present critical situation of affairs; and therefore he conferred upon him that arduous charge. About this time, *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, the king, or prince, of *Deylam*, overthrew, in several engagements, *Ma'bcân Ebn Mâli*, took *Amid*, or *Amed*, in *Mesopotamia*, and possessed himself of the province of *Tabrîstân*; *Metabar As'a*, the *Khalif's* lieutenant of *Kherâsân*, not being able to make head against him there. It appears from some of the eastern writers, that *Al Kâber*, a little before he was deposed, granted to *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz* the investiture of *Ray*, *Marish*, *Zanjân*, and *Abhar*, upon condition that he restored the city of *Esfahân*, from whence his brother *Wasmakin* had driven the famous *Ali Abu'l Hasan Amad's-dawla Ebn Bâiya* a little before. With this proposal *Mardawij* immediately closed, and recalled his brother from *Esfahân*; but soon after receiving advice, that *Al Kâber* was deposed, and his nephew *Al Râdi* advanced to the *Khalifat*, he sent *Wasmakin* with all possible expedition to seize again upon that city, and to secure to himself, without delay, the possession of *Ray*, *Abwâz*, and *Fârs*. He also concluded a treaty of peace with *Amad's-dawla Ebn Bâiya*; the principal article of which was, that each party should keep possession of what he had made himself master of. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Joannes Cur-*

† GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 299—301. EDM. CASTEL. lex. heptaglot. in voc. צר, p. 3157. Lond. 1669. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. apud JOANNEM SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxoniens. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Senân Ben Tâbath*, p. 804.

cuas, the imperial general, invaded the *Moslem* territories, and took the city of *Malatia*, after a long and obstinate siege, the first day of the latter *Jomâda*, the present year. After the surrender of the place, he sent a detachment of his troops to conduct the *Moslem* garison, that had made a brave defence, to one of the *Khalif's* fortresses, and reduced a large extent of territory to the obedience of the emperor. *Abu Mohammed Obsid'allab Al Mobdi*, the first of the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Kairwân*, died the 14th of the former *Rabi*, after he had reigned twenty-four years, three months, and six days, the present year; being at the time of his death (C) about fifty-three, or, according to *Abulfeda*, sixty-three, years of age. He was succeeded by his son *Abu'l Kasem Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Kayem*, who was created *Khalif* at *Al Mohdia*, the day his father expired; though the *Moslems* of *Sicily*, for near six months, heard nothing of this remarkable event. Nay, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, the new *Khalif*, for reasons of state, concealed his father's death a whole year. About the same time, *Abu Ali Mohammed Al Rudbâri* and *Al Husein Ebn Abd'allab Al Nassaj* (or the weaver), two of the principal *Sâfis*, as well as *Abu Noaim Al Forjâni Al Astarabâdi* and *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Jaafar Al Kattâni*, a celebrated scholar of *Al Jonaid*, two very learned men, departed this life. We are told by *Abulfeda* and the *Cambridge Chronicle*, that *Abu'l Kasem* sent a body of his troops into *Italy*, that reduced the city of *Genoa*, and made a descent upon the island of *Sardinia*, the following year*.

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 201, 202. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 301. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 528, 529. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 555. Chron. Sic. Cant. p. 10. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. Saracenic. rer. epit. p. 99. Panormi, 1720.

(C) *Erpenius*, in his *Latin* version of *Al Makin*, makes *Al Mobdi* to have been 53 years old at the time of his decease; whereas, according to the original *Arabic*, both in the *Oxford* manuscript, and that which he translated, this prince was only thirty years of age when he died. However, it must be owned, that *Al Makin* (3), or rather the historian he follows, affirms the founder of the dynasty of the *Fâtemites* to have been born in the year of the *Hejra* 269, and consequently to have been about fifty-three years old at the time of his death. Notwithstanding which, *Abulfeda* (4) and *Ebn Shobnab* (5) make the 322d year of the *Hejra*, in which he died, to have been coincident with the 63d year of his age.

(3) *Al Makin*, *bist. Sar.* p. 187, 201, 322.

(5) *Ebn Shobnab*.

(4) *Isw. Abulfed. a. l. ann. H. j.*

BEFORE

BEFORE we conclude our account of the transactions of the year of the *Hajra* 322, it must be observed, that the famous, or rather infamous, *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Shalmagani*, so denominated from *Shalmaganu*, a town in the territory of *Wâset*, the place of his nativity, was crucified, together with *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Awn*, one of his disciples, for the impious opinions he maintained. This impostor held, that as much of the Deity resided in created beings, and particularly men, as their respective capacities would admit; that every human soul passed from one body to another, through an indefinite and indeterminate series of ages; and that *Ali* was the most excellent of mortals, nay that he was either GOD himself, or at least a partaker of the divine nature, and extremely like him. *Al Shalmagani*, with many of his followers, kept himself for some time concealed; but at last, in the month of *Shawâl*, this year, he came out of his lurking-place, and endeavoured to poison the minds of the *Khalif's* subjects with his impious tenets. Being brought before *Ebn Makhlab*, upon whom *Al Râdi*, at *Sinn's* persuasion, had conferred the post of *Wazîr*, he denied the erroneous opinions laid to his charge; though he owned, that his followers asserted GOD to have taken up his residence in him. *Ebn Makhlab*, not satisfied with what he alleged in his defence, sent him, for farther examination, to the *Khalif*; *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Awn* and *Mohammed Ebn Abdûs*, two of his disciples, at the same time attending him. Upon the appearance of these impostors before the *Khalif*, he commanded *Ebn Abu Awn* and *Ebn Makhlab* to beat *Al Shalmagani* with their fists, though they had not scrupled to attribute divinity to him; which the latter of them, with no small reluctance, did, though the other, instead of doing it, kissed his head and his beard, crying out, "My Superior, my Lord, and my God!" *Al Shalmagani* was then asked, whether he had not a little before denied, that he ever arrogated to himself divine honours? to which he answered in the affirmative, and seemed to blame *Ebn Abu Awn* for his extravagant conduct. However, being at last, on a certain day, examined by all the great doctors of the law, he was by them judged worthy of death; and, in consequence of the sentence then passed upon him, he was, with *Ebn Abu Awn*, executed, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, at *Baghdâd*. After the execution, the bodies of both of them were reduced to ashes, in order to inspire the populace with the greater abhorrence of their impiety. For a more particular account of all the blasphemous tenets propagated by *Al Shalmagani* and his followers, as well as the *Sâfis*, who were at least very nearly related to them, we must

must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the authors cited here.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 323, beginning *December* 11th, The principal 334, *Mardawij Ebn Ramâz*, or *Ebn Zayyâr*, the king of *Dey-cipal am*, who had made himself master of *Al Jebâl*, and other adjacent provinces, was assassinated by some of the *Turks* in his service, and succeeded by his brother *Wafsnakin*, *Wafsnakin*, or 323 *Wafsnakir*. But of this we shall give our readers a more particular and circumstantial account hereafter. The same year, *Abu Thâber*, the *Karmatian* general, and prince of *Hajr*, plundered a caravan, and put a great number of pilgrims to the sword. *Abu Mohammed Nasero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdan* likewise delivered up to his brother *Ali Abu'l Hasan Saifeddawla Mayâfârkîn*, or *Mayyâfârkîn*, and *Diyâr Becr*, the present year. About the same time, *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bâya* possessed himself of *Esfahan*, and proposed afterwards to reduce to his obedience *Hamadan*, *Komn*, *Kâshân*, *Karaj*, *Al Ray*, *Kazwin*, *Kenkerwar*, and all the territories of *Wafsnakin*. In the month of either the former or latter *Jomâda*, the troops mutinied at *Baghdâd*, broke open the house of *Ebn Meklab*, *Al Râdi's* *Wazir*, and obliged him and his son to fly over the *Tigris* into the western town; though the commotion, raised by them on this occasion, was afterwards appeased. The same year, died *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Arafab*, commonly called *Nasrbuyab*, descended from the famous *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra*, who had formerly been the *Khalif's* governor of *Khorasân*. He bore the character of a most celebrated grammarian, and was born in the year of the *Hejra* 244. *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Mohammed Ebn Tagaj*, surnamed *Al Akhsbid*, subjugated also *Egypt*, which he entered in the month of *Ramadân*, and annexed it to the opulent province of *Syria*, which he had before wrested out of the *Khalif's* hands. Several violent shocks of an earthquake were felt in *Egypt*, the third of *Dhu'lkaada*, soon after *Anba Theodosius*, or *Stephen*, who had been with *Mânes*, the eunuch, at *Baghdâd*, was constituted patriarch of *Antioch* in *Syria*. About the same time, many of those meteors called *falling stars*, of a very remarkable kind, likewise appeared in *Egypt*. This year, the followers of the famous *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, who were now become very numerous, raised a great commotion in *Baghdâd*, entering people's houses, spilling their wine, if they found any, beating the singing-women they met with, and breaking their instruments

¹ *ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 265. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. in art. Hakim beamrillab. See also SÂLE's prelim. disc. p. 176, 177.*

to pieces; insomuch that a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty. We must not forget to observe, that *Rendâsh*, the *Moslem* governor of *Tabermân*, or *Taormina*, died there the preceding year; nor that the *Cambridge Chronicle* mentions a dreadful tempest and inundation, as happening at *Palermo* in *Sicily*, and destroying many men and houses there, in that we are now upon¹.

Al Râdi
creates a
minister
superior to
his *Visîr*.

THE following year, being the 324th of the *Hejra*, commencing Nov. 30th, 935, the *Khalîf Al Râdi*, finding himself pressed on all sides by the usurpers who had dismembered the *Moslem* empire, and reduced to great straits by the incapacity of his *Visîr*, created *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Rayek Emîr Al Omrà* (D), or assigned him the charge of *commandant of commandants*, which the title of *Emîr Al Omrà*, that is, the *Emîr of Emîrs*, or the supreme *Emîr*, imports. This great officer, or rather prime minister, was trusted with the administration of all military affairs, and had the intire management of the finances, in a much more absolute and unlimited manner than any of the *Khalîf's Visîrs*, committed to him. Nay, he officiated for the *Khalîf* in the great mosque at *Baghdâd*, and had his name mentioned in the public divine service throughout the empire. In a word, *Al Râdi* was intirely governed by this *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Rayek* and his secretary, insomuch that he could not take out of the treasury a single *dinâr* for his own use, without their permission. As for *Ebn Moklah*, who was a person of considerable abilities, though not equal to the post in which he had been placed, the *Khalîf* left him for some time in possession of the charge of *Visîr*; but at last, on account of his shuffling and pragmatrical disposition, he found himself obliged to dismiss him. *Ebn Rayek* came from *Wâset*, over the people of which city he then presided as governor, or rather sovereign, the 25th of *Dhu'l-hajja*, to *Baghdâd*. Soon after which, he appointed *Abmed Ets*

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 202, 203. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 301, 302. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABUEFED. ad ann. Hej. 323. Chronic. Sic. Arabic. Cantabrigienf. p. 10, 11. JOAN. BAPT. CAUS. ubi sup.

(D) That the name of this great officer was *Emîr Al Omrà*, and not *Emîr Al Omara*, as we find it written (6) by M. D'Herbelot, will be acknowledged by every one who is not an intire stranger to the genius of the A-

rabic language. Hence the word *Omrâ*, the plural of *Emîr*, is given as a title (7) to all the nobility of the first rank, in the empire of the *Mogul*, or *Mogkol*, and in *Tartary*.

(6) D'Herbel. *Biblioth. orient.* p. 705. *Shâh*, p. 55. Lond. 1742.

(7) Fraser's *History of Nadir*

li of Chfa his secretary of state. *Abulfeda* relates, that the *Hazarians*, with *Al Modbaffer Ebn Yâkût* at their head, deposed *Ebn Moklah*, and after him *Ali Ebn Iſa*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn ſa*, and *Abu Jaafar Ebn Al Kaſem*, whom they had ſucceſſively appointed to officiate as *Viſir*, within the ſpace of a few months. He alſo writes, that *Ebn Rayek*, who had aſſumed to himſelf the ſovereignty of *Wâſet* and *Baſra*, *Al Barîdi*, who had ſeized upon *Ahwâz*, and the other governors of provinces, having reſuſed to ſend their reſpective tributes to *Baghdâd*, the *Khalif's* treaſury was quite exhausted, inſomuch that he found himſelf obliged to employ *Ebn Rayek*, who had amaſſed conſiderable ſums, as the *Emîr Al Omrâ*; which put the government of the *Moſlem* empire, without any reſtriction or reſerve, into his hands. The ſame author likewiſe intimates, that he diſarmed the *Sâjians* immediately after his arrival at *Baghdâd*; which inſpired the *Hazarians* with an averſion to him. *Mohammed Ebn Tagaj*, and ſome of his officers, aſſembled a body of troops at *Barka*, whither they had been obliged to retire out of *Egypt*, with which they returned to *Alexandria*, drove the garifon of that city to the river of *Raſbid*, purſued them thither, and intirely defeated them. Many of the *Egyptians* were killed in the action, and moſt of the reſt taken priſoners; after which, the citizens of *Alexandria*, that had been forced to abandon the place, returned home. About the ſame time, *Al Râdi* granted the inveſtiture of *Egypt*, in the fullreſt and moſt ſolemn manner, to *Al Akhſbid*, and recalled *Ahmed Ebn Keigalag* from that country. This year, *Adado'ddawla Abu Shajâ Fanakhoſrû Ebn Rocno'ddawla Al Haſan Ebn Bûiya*, afterwards lord, or king, of *Persia*, was born at *Eſfahân*; and, before the cloſe of it, *Hajaza Al Barmaki*, deſcended from *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmak*, or *Barmac*, extremely well verſed in various parts of learning, *Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Ebn Al Moſleſi*, the author of a great number of books of good repute, and the *Imâm Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Niſâbüri*, a follower of the famous *Al Shâfeî*, born in the 238th year of the *Hejra*, departed this life. An eaſt-wind, that blew with great violence in *Sicily* the 11th of *July*, utterly deſtroyed the vintage there. From this time the office of *Viſir* became only a nominal poſt, the *Emîr Al Omrâ* continuing to govern the *Khalifat* with an abſolute ſway, till the power of the *Seljukians*, or oriental *Turks*, began to decline at *Baghdâd*.

* KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ EUTYCH. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 324. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. & JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup.

An inglorious treaty concluded with Abu Thâher.

THE next year, being the 325th of the *Moslem* era, *Ebn Rayek*, who possessed the charge of *Emîr Al Omrà*, and, in consequence thereof, had the intire direction of the state, concluded a treaty of peace with *Abu Thâher*, prince of the *Karmatians*, who had made himself master of *Câsa*, by no means glorious to the *Khalîf*. For, the principal article of this treaty was, that *Ebn Rayek* should remit the *Karmatians* from *Baghdâd* the annual sum of 120,000 *dinârs*. However, *Abu Thâher*, in consideration of this tribute, engaged never for the future to molest the caravans of pilgrims in their passage to *Mecca* ^u.

Al Barîdi becomes tributary to the Khalîf.

THE same year, *Ebn Rayek*, and the *Khalîf* in person, marched with a powerful army to *Wâset*, in order to drive from thence the rebel *Abu Abd'allah Al Barîdi*, who had seized upon that city. *Al Barîdi*, finding himself not in a condition to make head against the *Khalîf's* forces, purchased a peace of *Al Râdi*, by submitting to pay a monthly tribute of 30,000 *dinârs*. But, after the *Khalîf's* departure to *Baghdâd*, he rebelled again, took *Basra*, together with the district belonging to it, and in a short time grew more powerful than he was before ^w.

Al Barîdi is driven from Wâset, Abwâz, and Basra, and flies to Amado'd-dawla's court.

THIS rebellion greatly embarrassing the *Khalîf's* affairs, the scene of it being in the very neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, *Ebn Rayek* sent *Yabcam*, the Turk, with a numerous army to extinguish it, and, if possible, to get the author of it into his hands. But *Al Barîdi*, finding himself not in a condition to oppose *Yabcam*, fled at his approach; upon which, *Wâset*, *Abwâz*, and *Basra*, immediately submitted to the *Khalîf's* forces, and *Ebn Rayek* appointed *Yabcam* to preside over *Abwâz* in quality of governor, who thereupon engaged himself to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalîf* of 38,000 *dinârs*. After *Al Barîdi* had been driven from *Wâset*, *Abwâz*, and *Basra*, he took sanctuary at *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya's* court; who sent his brother *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Bûiya* with him, attended by a strong body of troops, to dislodge *Yabcam* from his new acquisitions, the following year. The *Moslems*, about this time, plundered the church of the resurrection at *Jerusalem*, and reduced a considerable part of it to ashes; one *Christopher*, a native of *Askalon*, or *Askelon*, being then the patriarch there. The same year, died *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Kharraz*, a grammarian, who wrote a pretty large commentary upon the *Korân*. An insurrection happened at *Gergenti*, the *Agrigentum* of the antients, in *Sicily*, April 17th, when the people of that city assembled in great numbers,

^u KHONDEMIR & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED: in chr. ad an. Hej. 325. ^w AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 204.

drove

drove *Ebn Amrân* from *Calata-Bellotta*, called by the *Arabs* *Ka'lat-Al-Bellât*, and pillaged the garison of that place. *Al Emir Sâlem*, receiving advice of what had happened, marched against the insurgents with an army of *Sicilians* and *Cottâmians*, or *Catâmians*, a very powerful and warlike *Arab*, or *Moorish*, nation, and laid siege to *Afrâb*, or *Ofrâb*; of which the *Gergentines* being informed, they advanced to the besiegers camp, engaged the *Emir's* forces, on *Saturday, June 24th*, and overthrew them with incredible slaughter. A prodigious number of the *Cottâmians*, together with *Abu Dekâk*, their general, perished in the action. After this defeat, they made excursions as far as the gates of *Palermo*, and even attempted to form the siege of that city. For which purpose, they advanced to a place going under the name of *Mesid Bâlis*, not far from the town; but were repulsed by the inhabitants of *Palermo* with very considerable loss; who, being supported by *Al Emir Sâlem Ebn Al Rashîd*, and *Al Maimûn Ebn Mûsa*, pursued them as far as *Marnûa*, and put many of them to the sword. This *Emir* had been appointed governor of the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily* by *Abu'lKasem*, or *AlKayem*, the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, and grievously oppressed the *Sicilians*, particularly the *Gergentines*, who could not bear his yoke, and therefore expelled the *Moslem* garison out of their city. This so enraged the *African Khalîf*, that he sent an army to reduce them; which shut them in on all sides, cut off all communication between them and the other *Sicilians*, and reduced them to very great straits. However, they found means to apply to the *Greek* emperor for assistance, who thereupon sent a body of his best troops to their relief; which enabled them to repulse the besiegers in all their assaults, to destroy vast numbers of their men, and, in fine, to sustain a sharp and vigorous siege four whole years *.

THE provinces of the *Khalîfat* at this time were divided in such a manner amongst divers princes, that the *Khalîf* possessed only an appearance of pre-eminence in dignity, which regarded more the affairs of religion than those of the state. This will be sufficiently manifest from the following list of the tyrants, or usurpers, who had set up for themselves, in different parts of the *Moslem* empire, at the commencement of the year we are now upon.

The Khalîf at this time is only in possession of the city and district of Baghdâd

* AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 528—531 ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. p. 11, 12. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 99, 100. AL KADI SHAHABO'D-DIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in hist. cui tit. *Asmedfar*, conservat. in Biblioth. Escorial. & Lat. reddit. à Marco Dobelio. Vide etiam AUGUSTIN. INVEG. annal. Panorm. tom. ii.

THE cities of *Wâset*, *Basra*, and *Cûsa*, with the rest of the *Arabian Irâk*, were considered as the property or peculium of *Ebn Râyek*, the *Emir Al Omrà*; though *Al Barîdî* seized upon them, in the beginning of the present year.

THE country of *Fârs*, *Fârsîstân*, or *Persia* properly so called, was possessed by *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya*, the first prince or chief of the dynasty of the *Bûiyans*, who held his residence in the city of *Shîràz*.

PART of the tract denominated *Al Jebâl*, together with the remainder of the *Persian Irâk*, which is the mountainous part of *Persia*, and the country of the ancient *Parthians*, recognized for their master *Rucno'ddawla*, or *Rucno'ddawla, Al Hasan Ebn Bûiya*, the brother of *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya*, who resided at *Esfabân*.

THE other part of that country was possessed by *Washmakîn*, *Washmakîn*, or *Washmakir*, the *Deylamite*, the brother of *Mardawîj*.

DIYAR RABIA, *Diyâr Becr*, *Diyâr Modar*, and the city of *Al Mawfel*, or *Mosul*, acknowledged for their sovereigns the *Hamdânites*, or the princes of the race of *Hamdân*.

EGYPT and *Syria* no longer obeyed the *Khalîfs*, but only *Mohammed Ebn Tâj*, or *Tagaj*, surnamed *Al Akhsîd*, who had been formerly appointed governor of those provinces by the same *Khalîfs*.

AFRICA had been subjugated by the *Fâtemites*, who had chased from thence the *Aglabites*, governors of the city of *Kairwân* and its dependencies for the *Khalîfs*. The master of that country at this time was *Al Kayem Abu'l Kasem Ebn Ouballab Al Mohdî*, whose successors founded a new *Khalîfat* in *Egypt*.

SPAIN, or at least the *Moslem* part of it, was governed by *Abû alrahmân Al Nasr Ebn Mohammed*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who soon after this time assumed the title of *Emir Al Mâmenîn*, prince, king, or emperor, of the faithful, which was peculiar to the *Khalîfs*.

THE *Moslem* provinces in *Sicily*, except the city of *Girgenti*, whose inhabitants had expelled the *Magrebian* garrison, had for their immediate governor *Al Emir Salem Ebn Al Rashîd*, who was the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*'s lieutenant there.

THE *Moslem* territories in *Crete* owned for their sovereign one who probably was a descendant of *Apochapsus*, or *Ala Kabs*, the *Spanish Magrebian* admiral, who reduced that island, about the year of our LORD 812.

THE provinces of *Khorasân* and *Mawarâlnahr*, or the *Transoxana*, were under the domination of *Al Nasr Ebn Abmed*, of the dynasty of the *Samnânians*.

THE

THE provinces of *Tabrestân*, *Ûrjân*, or *Georgiâna*, and *Azanderân*, had kings of the first dynasty of the *Deylavites*.

THE province of *Kermân* was occupied by *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Eytâ*, or *Elias*, *Al Sammâni*, who had made himself master of it, before the commencement of the present year.

AND, lastly, the provinces of *Yamâma* and *Babrein*, including the district of *Hajr*, were in the possession of *Abu Thâber*, the *Karmatian*.

HENCE it appears, that, in the 325th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalîf Al Râdi*, or rather *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râyek*, the *Emîr Al Omrà*, kept possession of only the city of *Baghdâd*, and its dependencies; scarce even the very shadow of sovereignty remaining in any other part of the empire to him. 'Tis true, at first the name of the *Khalîf* was revered by the princes, who had set up for themselves, in all the provinces, mentioned in the mosques, during the time of public service there, throughout the empire, and impress upon the current coin. But their veneration for him being gradually diminished, the princes, or *Emîrs*, considered him only as the great *Imâm*, or sovereign pontiff of the religion of the *Moslems*, who had nothing more to do than to perform divine service, harangue the people in the great mosque at *Baghdâd*, and decide certain points of right; in the last of which particulars his power was likewise very much limited. 'Tis also true, that the same *Khalîfs*, in process of time, shook off the yoke of these *Emîrs*, and asserted their independency on them. But notwithstanding this, their power gradually declined, and was scarce the shadow of what it had formerly been, from the period we are now upon to the taking of *Baghdâd* by the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, who intirely abolished the *Khalîfat*.

IN the 326th year of the *Hejra*, beginning Nov. 8th, 937, *Ebn Ebn Moklah*, who, after the amotion of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Isa* Moklah and *Al Fadl Ebn Jaasar* from that post, had been re-established in the charge of *Visîr*, wrote, on the part of the *Khalîf Al Râdi*, a letter to *Yahcam*, the *Turk*, telling him that now it was time for him to advance to *Baghdâd* at the head of a body of troops, in order to deliver the *Khalîfat* from the tyranny of *Ebn Râyek*, and to occupy his place. But this letter having been intercepted, *Ebn Râyek* discovered to the *Khalîf* the treason of the *Visîr*, who had dared to write such a letter to *Yahcam*, without

† AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 203, 204. MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU'L-FARAJ, ISM. ABU'LFED. EUTYCH. CHRONIC. SIC. CANTAB. GEORG. CEDREN. JOAN. ZONAR. RODERIC. TOLRTAN. D'HERBEL. CARUSIUS, alique scriptor. plurim. pass.

his master's knowledge, and even against his express orders. *Ebn Moklab*, upon his appearing before the *Khalif*, at first denied the fact; but the letter in his own hand-writing being produced against him, he was found guilty of what had been laid to his charge, sent immediately to prison, brought afterwards to his trial, and condemned by the judges to have his right hand cut off, for having committed so heinous a crime. When sentence was pronounced, he complained bitterly of the severity of it, and of the iniquity of cutting off the right hand of a man who had invented the most beautiful character that had ever been in use amongst the *Arabs*, had written several copies of the *Korân*, the book held in the highest veneration and esteem amongst the *Moslems*, in so elegant a manner that they passed for master-pieces in the art of writing, and had finally been *Visir* to three successive *Khalifs*. Nor did he content himself with bare complaints. He inveighed bitterly against the judges, *Ebn Râyek*, and the *Khalif* himself. Wherefore, the executioner, in pursuance of the sentence that had been passed upon him, did not only deprive him of his right hand, but likewise, some days afterwards, cut out his tongue. After which, he was confined in one of the dungeons belonging to the imperial palace. *Al Makin*, or rather his translator *Erpenius*, relates, that, having no servant allowed him, he drew water out of a well (E) that

was

(E) The passage here referred to in *Al Makin*, *Yekâl annabo labako darb*, has been translated by *Erpenius*, "Aiunt autem illic apud eum fuisse puteum;" whereas it ought to have been rendered, "Aiunt autem magnam eum prehensisse miseriam (vel angustiam)" in conformity to the parallel passage in *Abu'l-Faraj* (8), *Walabako shakâ shaddid ala an mâi*, "Et magna eum prehensit miseria, donec moreretur." Which passages imply, that *Ebn Moklab* was reduced in prison to a state of great misery, and continued in such a state to the time of his death. Mr. *Guisse* (9) has the following marginal

note on *Erpenius*'s translation of these words of *Al Makin*: "Hæc non significant voces Arabicæ; videntur potius idem videri quod apud *Abul Pbaragi* (rectius *Abul-Faraj*) "de eodem—Magnâque miseriâ afflictus est, donec moreretur." And that this observation is just, as well as our translation of the foregoing words of *Al Makin*, seems to be clearly evinced by *Abu'lfeda* (10), when he relates, "that to *Ebn Moklab*'s other MISERIES was added a diarrhoea; of which, not being allowed the use of a servant, he MISERABLY perished." Other arguments might be offered, would the li-

(8) *Greg. Abu'l-Faraj*, ubi sup. p. 303.

(9) *Al Makin*, b. 1. p. 205.

Arab. Lat. per Thomam Erpenium, cum annotat. MSS. Guil. Guisse, p. 205, in *Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.* c. 7. 4. art.

(10) *Ism. Abu'feda*, in *chron. ad an. H. 326*.

was by him with his left hand and his mouth. He died, according to *Al Makin*, in the month of *Shawâl* 329; or, as *Abu'l-feda* will have it, in the year 338, and was no less than three times interred; first, in the prison where he died, afterwards in his son *Abu'l Hasan's* house, and lastly in his own. He is said likewise to have written three copies of the *Korân* that in beauty surpassed all the rest, and to have performed three times the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. It has also been remarked, that when he beat *Ebn Sîbîd* for reading to him in a careless manner, that reader wished he might lose his hand; which afterwards came to pass. We are informed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Ebn Moklab* wrote a letter to the *Khalîf* himself, advising him therein to dismiss *Ebn Râyek*, and all his adherents, and telling him, that this would bring into his coffers 3,000,000,000 *dinârs*. But the *Khalîf*, continues that writer, communicated the contents of this letter, in which *Ebn Moklab* likewise pressed him to confer the post of *Emîr Al Omrà* upon *Yahcam*, to *Ebn Râyek*; which, at last, proved the total ruin of the *Visîr*. A specimen of his poetical performances, which were tolerably good, has been preserved by *Al Makin*. Notwithstanding what has been here observed, a certain writer affirms, that not *Ebn Moklab*, but his brother *Abd'allah Al Hasan* was the inventor of the modern *Arabic* character; though this was brought to a greater degree of perfection by *Ali Ebn Bowâb*, who flourished in the following century, and reduced to its present form by *Yakût Al Mostâfemi*, secretary to the *Khalîf Al Mostâfem*, the last of the *Khalîfs* of the house of *Al Abbâs* ².

THE deposition and imprisonment of *Ebn Moklab* for the *Yahcam* present occasioned a sort of calm, though *Ebn Râyek* was by ^{seizes upon} no means hereby secured in the possession of his charge. For, *Baghdâd*, *Yahcam*, resolving not to lose the opportunity offered him by ^{and forces} the treason of the *Visîr*, advanced at the head of his troops into ^{the} the territory of *Baghdâd*, overthrew the *Khalîf's* forces under ^{to make} the command of *Ebn Râyek*, and made himself master of that ^{him} capital. This obliged *Ebn Râyek* to betake himself to flight, ^{Al Omrà.} and to abandon the post of *Emîr Al Omrà*, which was im-

² ALMAKIN, ubi sup. p. 205. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 303. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an Hej. 326. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moklab*, p. 589, 590. & art. *Radhi*, p. 705. Vide etiam GEORG. JAC. KEHR, in monarch. Asia-tico-Saracenic. flat. &c. p. 5. Lipsiæ, 1724.

mits prescribed us in this part of our work permit, in support of the emendation of *Erpenius's* Latin version of *Al Makin* here submitted to the consideration of the learned.

mediately occupied by *Yahcam*. The *Khalif* himself, however, gained nothing by this change; still living in an intire dependence on his minister, and even without the least appearance of authority. The affairs of the *Karmatians* this year were in a very declining condition, insomuch that *Abu Tâber* found it extremely difficult to maintain himself in the possession of *Hajr*. We must not forget to observe, that *Moezz-ud-dawla Ahmed Ebn Bûiya* took *Abuwâz* in the beginning of the campaign, and put *Basra* once more into the hands of *Al Barîdî*; though he could not possess himself of *Wâset*. Here *Yahcam* still kept his ground, forced *Moezz-ud-dawla* to retire, and afterwards drove *Ebn-Râyek* from *Baghdâd*. Upon *Yahcam*'s expulsion of his predecessor from the *Khalif*'s councils, after he had remained in the sublime post of *Emîr Al Omrà* one year, ten months, and sixteen days, he himself immediately entered upon that charge, and made *Mohammed Ebn Yahya Ebn Shîrazâd* his secretary of state. This year, the *Sicilians*, under the conduct of *Ebn Al Satâb* and *AbuTâr*, revolted against *Al Emîr Sâlem*; but were routed by him Sept. 17th, though he lost one of his principal officers in the action, named *Abu Nattâr Al Afwad*, who seems to have been of *Moorish* or *Magrebian* extraction. Several of the ringleaders, that fell into his hands, the *Emîr* ordered to be impaled the 20th of the same month, to deter others from joining the revoltors; but this severity produced a quite contrary effect. For the *Sicilians*, being exasperated at *Sâlem*'s cruelty, assembled a numerous army, and engaged the *Magrebian* forces, commanded by the *Emîr* in person, Oct. 7th, with very great bravery; but, after an obstinate dispute, they were intirely defeated, and pursued as far as the gates of *Palermo*, which the victors entered without opposition, and immediately formed the siege of the citadel there. *Abu'l Kafem*, or *Al Kayem*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, having received advice of this rebellion, sent *Khalîl* with a powerful fleet, and a strong body of land-forces on board, to extinguish it. *Khalîl* soon arrived on the coast of *Sicily*, made a descent with his troops, took possession of the city of *Palermo*, Oct. 23d, and intirely dismantled it; which so incensed the *Gergentines*, that they sallied upon the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*'s troops with such courage, that they put them to flight, killed many of them upon the spot, amongst which were *Ebn Abu Harîr* and *Ali Ebn Abu'l Hoesin*, *Sâlem*'s son-in-law, two officers of distinction, and dispersed the rest in such a manner that they could never afterwards rally. But, notwithstanding this blow, *Khalîl* continued the siege of *Gergenti*; though, for the space of eight months, he could make little or no impression upon the town. It must be remembered, that the *Moslems* concluded a treaty of

of peace with the *Greeks*, by one article of which a mutual release of prisoners was agreed upon, the present year ^a.

IN the 327th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Râdi*, with *The trans-* a powerful army, commanded by *Yabcam*, marched against *allions of* *Nasero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, who presided over the year of the people of *Diyâr Rabla*, *Diyâr Becr*, and *Al Mawfel*, or the *Hejra* *Mosul*, overthrew him with very great slaughter, and pursued 327. him to the gates of *Al Mawfel*; to which city he afterwards laid siege, and obliged *Nasero'ddawla* to fly to *Amed*; but whilst the *Khalif* was engaged in this expedition, *Ebn Râyek* appeared at the head of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*; of which *Yabcam* being informed, he concluded a peace with *Nasero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, on condition that he paid him an annual tribute of 500,000 *dinârs*. In order to pacify *Ebn Râyek*, he also put him in possession of *Harrân*, *Al Robâ*, or *Edessa*, *Al Awâsem*, *Kinnisrin*, and several districts bordering upon the *Euphrates*. This year, *Abu Thâher*, prince of the *Karmatians*, permitted the caravans of pilgrims, together with the escorte that attended them, to pass, for the first time since the year 319, out of *Syria* to *Mecca*; though he obliged them to pay, for this permission, the sum of 25,000 *dinârs*. *Omayyah Ebn Ishak*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, rebelled against *Abd'alrahmân Al Nasr Ebn Mohammed*, the *Emîr*, or lord, of *Andalusia*, in the city of *Sbantarîn*, the present year. *Ebn Ishak*, being supported by a body of *Gallician* troops, defeated a *Moslem* army, that was sent against him; but, in a second engagement, he was overthrown by *Abd'alrahmân's* forces, and lost the greatest part of his men; which obliged him to submit immediately, upon the terms prescribed, to the *Emîr*. *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Hâtem Al Râzi*, the author of the piece, intituled, *Al Harjo wa Al Tadilo*, and *Abu'l Donya Othmân Ebn Al Khat-tâb Al Albajjo*, two famous traditionists, as likewise *Mohammed Ebn Jaasar*, of *Jassa*, or *Joppa*, a celebrated author, and *Abu'l Kasem Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mahmûd*, commonly called *Al Alani*, the *Motazalite*, who entertained several heterodox tenets, died before the close of this year. About the same time, *Khalil*, the *Magrebian* general, who commanded the *Khalif* of *Kairuân's* forces that carried on the siege of *Gergenti*, returned with the greatest part of his troops to *Palermo*, where he exacted a large sum of money of the inhabitants, by way of mulct, or fine, which

^a AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 205, 206. EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 705. ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. p. 12, 13. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 100. PANORMI, 1720.

he sent immediately to *Africa*. This enabled the *Khalif* to order him from thence a reinforcement; after the arrival of which in *Sicily*, he took *Abúshár*, or *Euteria*, *Al Sirát*, the *Afforus*, or *Afforium*, of the antients, and the modern *Azare*, or *Ajaro*, *Akláfinab*, or *Sclafanum*, and *Kalbarab*, all of them places of considerable strength. He also advanced at the head of his army to *Calata Bellotta*, to form the siege of that town; of which the *Gergentines*, to whom the preservation of that fortress was of the utmost consequence, receiving advice, they fell upon the besiegers with such fury, that they put a great number of them to the sword, and, as the *Cambridge Chronicle* seems to insinuate, forced the rest to abandon the siege. This action happened on the 10th of *July*, and proved so fatal to the *Magrebian* troops, that they durst not appear again in the neighbourhood of *Calata Bellotta* before the commencement of the following campaign ^b.

Ebn Ráyek is defeated by Al Akhsid.

THE next year, being the 328th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Bar Mohammed Ebn Ráyek* made himself master of *Hems*, *Damascus*, and *Al Ramla*; after which, he penetrated to *Arisb* in *Egypt*. But here *Mohammed Al Akhsid Ebn Tagaj* met him, and gave him battle, about the middle of the month of *Ramadan*. *Ebn Ráyek's* troops behaved with such bravery in the beginning of the action, that they bore down all before them, and forced the *Egyptians* every-where to give way. But, instead of following their blow, and pursuing the fugitives with the ardour they ought to have done, they amused themselves with plundering their camp; upon which, a body of *Al Akhsid's* troops that had been placed in ambuscade, and observed the disorder they were in, rushed out upon them, and charged them with such fury, that they soon put them to flight. The greatest part of *Ebn Ráyek's* forces were killed upon the spot, and the rest of them so effectually dispersed, that they could never afterwards rally; *Ebn Ráyek* himself not having been able to make his escape to *Damascus* with above 70 men. After this, *Ebn Ráyek* defeated *Abu Nafr* (F), *Al Akhsid's* brother,

^b AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 206. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 327. CHRON. SIC. ARAB. CANTAB. ET JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

(F) *Abu Nafr* himself, according to *Abu'lfida*, was killed in the action; which so affected *Ebn Ráyek*, that he sent an embassy to *Al Akhsid*, to carry to that prince his compliments of condolence, and to assure him, that he had no hand in, and was extremely for-

ry for, his brother's death. To which this author adds, that *Ebn Ráyek* sent his own son *Mazabem* to *Al Akhsid*, and desired that prince to sacrifice him to the manes of his brother, if he thought proper. But *Al Akhsid*, continues he, was so far from being acted by any vindictive

ther, in the month of *Dbu'lkaada*, and put a vast number of his men to the sword. This victory was soon followed by a peace between *Ebn Rāyek* and *Al Akhsbid*, by the principal articles of which the city of *Al Ramla* was ceded to *Al Akhsbid*, upon condition that he paid to *Ebn Rāyek* the annual sum of 140,000 *dinārs*; and the latter of these *Emirs* remained in peaceable possession of the remaining part of *Syria*, which he had before in a great measure reduced by force of arms^c.

THIS year, *Al Sabbakī* was killed in that part of *Syria*, or *Al Shānī*, called by the *Arabs* *Thogūr*; which seems to answer to the *Syria Antiochena* of the antients. About the same time, died *Mohammed Al Calini*, one of the *Imāmian Imāms*, generally denominated *Ebn Shambūd*, *Al Mokri Mohammed Ebn Ahmed*, and *Abu Mohammed Al Mortaefh*, a doctor of the *Sūfis*; as also *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Al Kafem*, going for the most part under the name of *Ebn Al Ambarek*, a celebrated grammarian, and the author of the book intituled, *Kitāb Al Wafī wa Al Ibtidāi*, a piece held in good esteem amongst the *Moslems*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 271. *Abu Omar Ahmed Ebn Abd Rabbih Ebn Janib Al Cortobī* likewise departed this life, before the close of the year we are now upon. His grandfather *Janib*, who was a native of *Corduba*, is said to have been first one of *Heshām Ebn Abd'alrahmān's* slaves; though he had afterwards his liberty given him by that prince, who was the second *Emir* of the house of *Ommiyah* that presided over the *Moslems* in *Spain*. As for *Abu Omar*, he was one of those learned men who spent their time chiefly in forming volumes of the traditions that had before been only committed to memory. The book that bears the title of *Al Acd*, or *Al Akd*, one of the most excellent of its kind, is a proof of his singular merit. At the time of his death, he was about eighty-two lunar years of age^d.

IT appears from some of the authors followed by *Al Makin*, Sa'id that Sa'id Ebn Batrik, known also by the name of *Anba Eu-Ebn Batiybius*, an excellent physician, and a native of *Al Fostāt*, whotrik, or had been advanced to the patriarchate of *Alexandria* in 321, Euty-died the present year. This author, who was a *Nicelbite*, be-
dies.

^c AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 206, 207. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad. an. Hej. 328. EUSEB. RENAUD. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 343. Parisiis, 1713.

^d ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi sup.

dictive sentiments on this occasion, that he made *Moxabem* a present of several sumptuous mantles, or clokes, treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and at last sent him back loaded with honours to his father in *Syria* (11),

(11) *Ijm. Abu'lfed*, in *chron. ad ann. Hej. 328*.

gan his annals with the creation of the world, and brought them down to the year of the *Hejra* 327. This work, intituled *Nadhm Al Jawhar, a contexture of gems, or a string of pearls*, has been published with a *Latin* version by the famous Dr. *Peacock*, professor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages in the university of *Oxford*, where it was printed in the year of our LORD 1656. We are told by M. *Renaudot* (G), that it is incomparably better than any general history to be met with amongst the *Orientals*; and that it has been followed not only by the *Christian* writers, but likewise by *Al Makrizi*, and other *Mohammedan* authors. *Eutychius* is also said to have composed a physical treatise, that bore the title of *Kitâb fil thebb*, and to have been extremely well versed in all the branches of literature then in vogue. Another piece has likewise been ascribed to him of the controversial kind, which was written against the *Egyptian* heretics, who gave him no small trouble, during the time that he sat in the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, which was seven years and six months. He was at last attacked by a diarrhoea, which from the beginning he judged would prove fatal to him, and therefore removed to *Alexandria*, where he died on *Monday*, the last day of the month *Rajeb*. His brother, *Isa Ebn Ba-*

(G) Our learned and polite readers will not expect, that we should here give any formal answer to the false and injurious reflection thrown out by M. *Renaudot* against Mr. *Selden*, whom he represents as intirely unacquainted with oriental history, and to his unpolite treatment of the great Dr. *Peacock*, to whom he affects to shew an apparent disregard, almost as often as he speaks of him. For, in order to expose such treatment of those shining ornaments of oriental literature as this, 'tis sufficient barely to mention it. We must, however, beg leave to observe, that M. *Renaudot* treats the very learned *Joh Ludolfus* in much the same manner; and that he scarce ever bestows encomiums

upon any but some few of his own nation. This indicates a meanness of soul, which cannot fail of drawing down upon that writer the contempt of all men of real learning, who must be acted by more elevated sentiments, and induced with a more generous turn of mind. But, notwithstanding the high notion he entertained of his own superior abilities, with regard to eastern literature, which discovers itself in almost every page of the book here referred to, were we disposed to recriminate, we might very justly remark, that scarce any piece of the same size abounds more with inaccuracies, not to say egregious blunders, than the performance he so highly valued himself upon (12).

(12) *Renaud. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobit. p. 347, 348, & alibi passim. Parisiis, 1713. Vide etiam Renaud. præfat. ad hist. patr. Alex. Jac. & Joan. Gagn. præfat. ad Ism. Abu l'jed. de vit. & reb. gest. Mohammed. &c. p. 12-16. Oxon. 1723.*

trik was likewise a physician of great note, on whose account he compiled the general history above-mentioned. Other books of considerable erudition have likewise been attributed to him. The learned Dr. Cave and the abbot *Martin la Farina* took *Eutychius* to have been the author of the *Chronicon Siculum*, in the public library at *Cambridge*; which Arabic MS. formerly belonged to the famous *Thomas Erpenius*, and has been published, with a Latin version, by *Joannes Baptista Carusius*, a Sicilian writer. But that *Eutychius* could not have been the author of this *Chronicon*, we may fairly infer from the following considerations. First, the history itself ends with the year of CHRIST 965; whereas *Eutychius* died in the 328th year of the *Hejra*, which nearly corresponds with the 940th of the Christian era. Secondly, the compiler of it appears to have been a Sicilian, from the perfect knowledge he had of the cities, towns, and villages, of *Sicily*; and from his supputation of years, which exactly answers to that of the *Sicilians*, who begin their year on the first of *September*, in common with almost all the *Greeks*, and make the creation of the world to have preceded the birth of CHRIST 5508 years, not 5491, or 5492, as the church of *Alexandria* maintains. Thirdly, the person who penned the *Chronicon* makes use of only the *Roman* or *Latin* names of the months, and never computes by the years of the *Hejra*, as *Eutychius* does; which of itself sufficiently demonstrates, that this history ought not to be attributed to him. As the *Cambridge* manuscript is found at the end of a MS. copy of *Eutychius's* annals, we are not to be so much surprized at what has been advanced by the learned men above-mentioned in the point before us; but we cannot so well account for the palpable mistake of Dr. Cave and *Carusius*, when they assert that *Eutychius* died in the year of our LORD 950, except we suppose that they never perused the *Târikh Al Moslemîn*, or the history of the *Moslems*, written by *Al Makin*, which has been so often referred to here ^d.

THE same year, *Khalîl* with the *Magrebian* forces took post *The transf-*
again before *Calata Bellotta*, and formed a second time the *actions in*
siege of that place; of which the *Gergentines* being apprized, *Sicily this*
they sent a body of troops to the relief of the town, which in *year.*
the month of *November* surprized the besiegers by night, and
made themselves masters of their camp. About the same time,

^d AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 208, 209. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 530—533. & alib. EBN ABI OSAIB. in vit. medicor. JOAN. SELDEN. præfat. ad Eutych. orig. ecclef. Alexandrin. edit. Londini, 1642. RENAUD. hist. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobit. p. 347, 348. Parisiis, 1713. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 104. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. præfat. ad Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiensi. Panormi, 1720.

Al Emir Sâlem, who had presided over the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily* twenty-two years, and had been a victorious prince, departed this life in his castle. A grievous famine likewise raged in *Palermo* and the neighbouring villages to such a degree, that parents found themselves obliged to eat their children, for want of other food. The *Magrebeans* laid siege a third time to *Catala Bellotta*, notwithstanding the blow they had formerly received, and took it in the month of *March*, the present year*.

The Kha-
lif *Al*
Râdi dies.

THE following year, being the 329th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 6th, 940, the *Khalif Al Râdi* died, the 16th of the former *Rabi*, of a dropsy, at *Baghdad*. Some authors, however, relate, that immoderate coition was the cause of his death. He reigned six years, ten months, and ten days; and had completed the 30th year of his age a few months before his decease, according to *Al Makin*. As to his person, he had, if *Abulfeda* may be credited, a thin beard, and was of a swarthy complexion. With regard to his disposition, he was liberal, munificent, mild, well versed in the literature of the *Arabs*, eloquent, a good poet, and a great admirer of the conversation of learned men. He was the last of the *Khalifs* that wrote verses, at least of the *Khalifs* that wrote such verses as were thought worthy of having a place assigned them in the *Moslem* annals. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by *Abulfeda* and *Al Makin*. He was the last likewise of the *Moslem* emperors that officiated constantly in the mosque, that commanded the forces, that had the disposal of the publick money, and that in short exercised any kind of real authority over the *Arabs*. His successors, for a considerable period at least, enjoyed little more than the bare title of *Khalif*, and of this they were even at last deprived by the *Tartars*. *Ebn Moklah* was his first *Wazir*, or *Visir*, and *Mohammed Ebn Yâkût* his first chamberlain. The latter of these was succeeded in his post by *Dacâ*, who had before served the *Khalif* in an inferior capacity. The first day of *Al Râdi*'s reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Saturday*, according to *Al Makin*. *Macarius* was constituted patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, in the year of the *Hejra* 323, about a year after this prince's accession, and sat in that see, if we will believe the above-mentioned author and *Al Makrizi*, about twenty years. His mother, who was one of his father *Al Moktader*'s concubines, has been denominated *Talâm* by *Abulfeda*; and the name of *Talâm* has been given her by *Al Makin*. *Senân Ebn Thâbet Al Harrâni*, that most ce-

* Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigienf. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. Vide etiam bin. inscript. Arabic. a Joan. Baptist. Carus. edit. Panormi, 1720.

lebrated physician, was one of his constant companions, and in the highest favour with him. Amongst the memorable events of this year we may likewise rank the death of *Bakhrîshûa Ebn Yahya*, who had been physician to the *Khalîf Al Moktader*, and made no inconsiderable figure at that prince's court. *Mati Ebn Yûnes*, *Mata Ebn Yûnes*, or *Matta* (*Matthew*) *Ebn Yunas*, surnamed *the sage*, and *the philosopher*, who, according to *Mohammed Ebn Ishak Al Nadîm*, his companion and intimate friend, was the greatest logician of the country and age wherein he lived, died about the time we are now upon, in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Râdi*. He instructed many young men in the principles of logic, which he himself learned of *Rûfil* and *Benyâmin*, two *Jacobite* monks; though he laid the first foundation of his knowledge in the school of one *Mâr Mâri*. He was a native of *Dair Kani*, or *Dair Kana*, and a strenuous assertor of the tenets of the *Nestorian* sect. Some of the eastern writers have represented *Al Râdi* as endued with many virtues highly becoming a great prince, several of which have been just touched upon; but, for a detail of these, the learned and curious reader must have recourse to those writers themselves, the limits we have prescribed ourselves in this part of our work not permitting us to expatiate any farther upon them here^f.

^f AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 201, 207, 208. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 303, 304. ISM. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 329. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Radhi*, p. 706.

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.

